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JANUARY, 1891.

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN QUESTION.

BY GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.

I HAVE been requested to give an explanation of the threatened Indian outbreak, in view of the popular belief that the Indians had been so far subjugated and reduced in numbers that an uprising was no longer considered serious. An account is also desired of the present situation, and I am asked the extent to which the Indians are a source of danger, even though the present troubles are averted, who is to blame for the outbreak, and how peace can be assured for the future.

The questions are quite comprehensive. In reply I would say that it is a misfortune that the people of many sections are so little acquainted with the inhabitants, character, resources, and necessities of this country, which constitutes one great nation. Circumstances have given the people of the West better opportunities of observing it in its entirety.

Again, it is somewhat surprising to notice how little interest the people of the great Mississippi valley take in the local affairs of the Pacific or Atlantic States. Frequently the press and public men have announced that we have no necessity for a navy to protect our commerce; that we have no need of modern coast-defences and improved artillery to protect our twenty-seven ports of entry and five billions of property scattered along the Pacific, Atlantic, and Gulf coasts; that as far as foreign complications and foreign wars are concerned we have suddenly reached "the

millennium," when arbitration (which is a most excellent measure to rely upon when both parties are afraid) is to determine all questions of international controversy. On the other hand, the people living in the densely-populated regions of the Atlantic States have formed the impression, in which perhaps the hope or desire is father to the thought, that after two hundred years of Indian warfare we have reached the end of all serious controversy between the Indians and the white race.

The fact that we have had a few years of peace is no guarantee that it will continue. Within the last sixteen years we have had no less than nine Indian wars, and now we find ourselves threatened with a more serious and general uprising than any that has occurred during the whole history of Indian warfare. The confederation of the "Six Nations" by the prophet, the campaigns of Tecumseh, and the conspiracy of Pontiac did not extend over so vast an area of country or embrace so many different tribes, many of whom have been hostile to each other, as the present conspiracy; and while the conditions are somewhat similar to those which have preceded other Indian confederations, conspiracies, and wars, this one has unusual features and causes.

The Indians are practically a doomed race, and none realize it better than themselves. They have contended inch by inch for every foot of territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The strength, superior intelligence, and ingenuity of the white race in the construction of weapons of war, and their vast superiority in numbers, have not deterred the Indians from resisting the power of the whites and beginning hostilities, sometimes even with apparently little justification, cause, or hope of success; and there would be nothing remarkable in the history of such a warlike people if they made one desperate effort in the death-struggle of the race.

The subjugation of a race by their enemies cannot but create feelings of most intense hatred and animosity. Possibly if we should put ourselves in their place, we might comprehend their feelings. Suppose, for instance, that, instead of being a nation of vast wealth, population, prosperity, and happiness, our numbers were narrowed down to two hundred and fifty thousand souls, scattered in bands, villages, or settlements of from five hundred to twenty thousand people, and confined within the limits of comparatively small districts. Suppose this vast continent had been overrun by sixty millions of people from Africa, India, or China,

claiming that their civilization, customs, and beliefs were older and better than ours, compelling us to adopt their habits, language, and religion, obliging us to wear the same style of raiment, cut our hair according to their fashion, live upon the same food, sing the same songs, worship the same Allahs, Vishnus, and Brahmas; and we realized that such a conquest and the presence of such a horde of enemies had become a withering blight and a destroying scourge to our race: what then would be our feelings towards such a people? In considering this question we may be able to realize something of the feelings of the Indians of to-day. They remember the romance of the freedom and independence they once enjoyed; the time when they could move from one pleasant valley to another; when they had all that an Indian desires, namely, plenty of food, comfortable lodges made of skins of the buffalo or elk, plenty of their kind of clothing; and when they were allowed to enjoy their customs, rites, and amusements, savage and brutal as they were.

The first time the writer met Sitting Bull was under a flag of truce between the lines, when he had a thousand warriors behind him; and during the conversation I think he expressed in a few words the true sentiment of the Indian. He was what might be considered a devotional man, frequently offering a little prayer and saluting the Great Spirit. One remark of his is certainly significant. Raising his eyes toward heaven, he said: "God Almighty made me an Indian, and he did not make me an agency Indian, and I do not intend to be one." That remark was indorsed by huge grunts of the stalwart savages within hearing, and it is the sentiment of the non-treaty, disaffected Indians of every tribe in every section of the great West. They prefer to be Indians in their wild and independent life rather than to be confined to the limits of any agency.

While we have continued the policy of using the military force of the government against them with all severity, as soon as that is completed and the tribes are subjugated, they are suddenly turned over to civilians, some from the far-off Eastern States, to try various experiments and to carry out the theories that they have of civilization. Take, for instance, the Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Comanches of the Indian Territory. Their history has been a history of peace and war for many years. In 1874 they had a great convention or medicine-dance, which resulted in a

general uprising, in which they became a terror to the whole southwest country. After committing many crimes and after many engagements with the troops, they were finally worn down and subjugated, and surrendered with scarcely any means of continuing hostilities. Most of the few remaining war ponies they had were sold; they gave up their pale and emaciated white captives, who in turn passed down the line of warriors and pointed out not less than seventy Comanches who had committed horrible atrocities during the eight months of hostility. These seventy warriors were sent to Florida for punishment, and the military control of the tribes was withdrawn. Within a few years the warriors were returned to the Indian Territory, and in nine years from that time the same Indians were rearmed and remounted, in better condition for war than before, and ripe for an outbreak. The commanding general of the army and the department commander were sent to the Indian Territory, and nearly one-fourth of the army was concentrated in that department to prevent a serious outbreak, endangering the peace of Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, by the same Indians who are now in a threatening condition.

Again, take the Sioux nation that committed the terrible massacre of '62 in Minnesota, in which it was authoritatively stated that one thousand lives were lost, and a very large military force was employed to bring them under control. Thirty of the principal leaders were tried and hanged, but yet that experience did not deter others of the same Indians from engaging in the subsequent wars of the Sioux nation. In 1867 the Sioux were again in a condition of hostility, and the Fetterman massacre occurred, the Indians being led by the same man (Red Cloud) who is said recently to have been instrumental in causing dissatisfaction among the different tribes. Treaties were made with them in 1869, but in 1876 they were again openly hostile, spreading terror over a vast section of country, embracing a portion of the two Dakotas, Montana, northern Nebraska, and a part of Wyoming. The massacre on the Little Big Horn followed in 1876, in which two hundred and sixty officers and soldiers under General Custer perished. After two seasons of campaigning against them by the United States troops, during the winter of 1875 and the summer of 1876, and the terribly severe winter campaign of 1876 and 1877, upwards of five thousand agreed to surrender, and nine of

their principal men gave themselves as hostages that the tribes would surrender on the Yellowstone or at the different agencies; which they did with the exception of two bands under the leadership of Lame Deer and Sitting Bull. The former was killed in the following May, and the latter driven to Canada and kept north of the boundary for three years, until he and his followers finally surrendered between 1877 and 1881.

For four years from 1877 to 1881 they were under military control, and many of them were made self-sustaining. They were disarmed and dismounted, their war ponies were sold and the proceeds returned to them in domestic stock, and in a few years they had a large herd of cattle, and wagons and cultivated fields. In 1881 they were ordered to be sent down the Yellowstone and Missouri to the southern agencies, and although they implored the different officers to write or telegraph to the authorities in Washington to leave them where their crops were developing in the fields, they were loaded on five large steamboats and shipped down the river, and turned over to the Indian agent at Standing Rock Agency.

Many of these same Indians are now in a condition of threatening hostility. Within the short space of ten years we find the condition of the Cheyennes and Sioux Indians to be as follows: The fine herd of cattle belonging to the Cheyennes has disappeared. They claim that it has been partly taken by the whites, and that they were obliged to use the remainder for food. They claim that it was almost impossible for them to obtain food without committing depredations, and they stated in the presence of the commission recently visiting them that they were "compelled to eat their dogs in order to sustain life." The fact that they have not received sufficient food is admitted by the agents and the officers of the government who have had opportunities of knowing, and their condition is again as threatening as at any time when they have not been in hostility.

The Sioux Indians during that time were under the charge of civil agents, who have been frequently changed and often inexperienced. Many of the tribes have become rearmed and remounted, and have assumed a threatening attitude. They claim that the government has not fulfilled its treaties and has failed to make large enough appropriations for their support; they also claim that they have suffered for want of food, and the evidence

of this is beyond question and sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced, intelligent mind. The statements of the officers, inspectors both of the military and the Interior Department, of agents, of missionaries and civilians familiar with their condition, leave no room for reasonable doubt that this is one of the principal causes of the present disturbance. While statements may be made as to the amount of money that has been expended by the government to feed the different tribes, and while there is no intention of questioning the honesty of all concerned, the manner of distributing those appropriations will furnish one reason for the deficit.

Another cause is the unfortunate failure of the crops in the plains country during the last two years. It has been almost impossible for the Indians to raise anything from the ground for self-support; in fact, white settlers have been very unfortunate and their losses have been serious and universal through a large section of that country. They have struggled on from year to year; occasionally they would raise good crops of corn, which they were compelled to sell for from fourteen to twenty cents per bushel, while in the season of drought their labor was almost entirely lost. So serious have been their misfortunes that many hundreds have left the country within the last few years, passing over the mountains to the Pacific slope or returning to the east banks of the Missouri and the Mississippi.

The Indian, however, cannot migrate from one part of the United States to another; neither can he obtain employment as readily as white people, either upon or beyond the Indian reservations. He must remain in comparative idleness and accept the results of the drought. This creates a feeling of discontent, even among the loyal and well-disposed, while there is quite a large element that is hostile and opposed to every process of civilization.

In this condition of affairs the Indians realize the inevitable, and as they see their numbers gradually diminishing, their strength and power gone, they pray to their God for some supernatural help to aid them in the restoration of their former independence, and for the destruction of their enemies. At this stage emissaries from a certain religious sect or people living on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains came among them announcing that the real messiah had appeared; and in order to convince themselves, delegations of Sioux, Cheyennes, and other tribes left their reservations a year ago last November, travelling through the Arapahoe

and Shoshone reservations in Wyoming, and thence via the Union Pacific they passed into Utah, and were joined by others, Bannocks and Pi-Utes, until they came to a large conclave of whites and Indians in Nevada. They were there told that those present were all believers in this new religion, that they were all an oppressed people, that the whites and Indians there were all the same, and that the messiah had returned to them.

So well was this deception played by men masquerading and personating the Christ that they made these superstitious savages believe that all who had faith in this "new religion" would occupy the earth, and all who did not would be destroyed; and they were told that which is most precious to the Indian heart, that the spirits of their departed relatives would be resurrected, and that after the whites were destroyed they would come back driving vast herds of buffaloes and wild horses. They there met the representatives of fourteen tribes of Indians, and after several months they returned to the various tribes and announced what they had seen and heard, fully convinced that what had been told them was true. But in order to gratify the savage nature of the warlike Sioux they agreed that *acts* would be necessary to appease or hasten the coming of the messiah; that they must help remove the whites and thereby show their faith by their works.

To the disaffected, turbulent, hostile spirit of such men as Sitting Bull and others this was like a revelation; nothing could be more gratifying; and the false prophets and medicine-men immediately took advantage of the condition of the Indians to proclaim this doctrine and spread disaffection among the different tribes.

In early life Sitting Bull gained his reputation as a warrior by incessantly organizing and leading raiding parties and by his perpetual hostility to the white race. Few Indians have appeared on this continent who have been more successful in organizing and drawing to them large bodies of the discontented of their people. Emissaries travelled in various directions, not alone from his tribe, but more especially from the Shoshones and Arapahoes, who have been to some extent peaceable for many years, going to the different tribes and endeavoring to persuade them to this belief. Emissaries from Sitting Bull carried the tidings to the different tribes to get all the arms and ammunition possible, and meet all the warriors near the Black Hills in the spring. They visited the band of Sioux Indians north of the British boundary, and sym-

pathy and promises of support were returned. The first sign of disturbance was to be the signal for the gathering of the warriors.

During the last few years of peace, and while there was apparently no danger of immediate outbreak, the Indians have been getting a large amount of ammunition and arms. The Indian's instinct is always to obtain some weapon of warfare or defence, and if he cannot obtain a rifle, he will get a knife or a bow and arrow. His favorite weapon, and one he has been most desirous of obtaining, is the long-range Winchester rifle, which is a rifle of the most effective kind.

The theory that a few lines of railway and the disappearance of the vast herds of buffaloes have made it impracticable for Indians to go to war is erroneous. They are in a better condition for war at present than ever before; they can live upon domestic stock, and there is abundance of it scattered over the plains country and much of the mountain country; and the numerous horse-ranches would furnish them a remount in nearly every valley. The Nez Percés, Bannocks, and Apaches in their recent wars lived and moved entirely upon the stock of white settlers. The area over which they could roam is the country west of the Missouri River between the Canadian boundary and the Rio Grande. It contains a very sparse population that has been struggling to plant homes.

Another reason of encouragement to the Indians to assume hostilities, and one of which their false prophets take advantage in influencing their followers, is the misfortunes that have occurred to the white people in the plains country during the last few years. Three years ago a very large percentage of the domestic stock was destroyed by the intensely cold winter of 1887, and the losses were ruinous to thousands of white settlers and ranchmen. The drought during the last two years has been very serious, and has caused many of the poor settlers who have been struggling for years to support themselves and their families to leave that country in pursuit of better fields west of the Rocky Mountains or east of the Missouri. This, the false prophets claim, is an indication that the Great Spirit is angry with the white people for destroying their buffaloes (cattle) and causing them to leave the country, and that in time their buffaloes will return, as well as their dead relatives.

While the Indians have been in this disaffected condition and rearming and remounting, the little army that is the only safe-

guard between the unprotected settlers and the savage hordes has been employed in other fields, and its supplies and equipments have been seriously curtailed. Congress has fixed the limit of the enlisted men in the army, the number of employees, the number of horses and the number of mules, and the limit is what might be required in time of peace rather than what is actually required in serious warfare. Congress, however, has not limited Indian wars. This necessarily causes much embarrassment to the United States troops ; yet it has been the experience of the army of the United States to cope with the large number of savage tribes, experiencing all the dangers and hardships of a war in which no quarter is expected, and every officer and soldier who enters an Indian campaign realizes that, unless he achieves success, naught awaits him but torture or death.

No one who has not experienced it can comprehend or appreciate the fortitude, hardships, and sacrifices displayed and endured by our army in its years of experience in Indian warfare ; frequently in the wildest and most rugged sections of country, amid cañons, mountains, and lava-beds, under the tropical heats of the south or in the Arctic blizzards of the extreme north ; yet year after year it discharges whatever service is required of it with most commendable fidelity.

You ask me who is responsible for this condition of affairs. The answer is both the whites and the Indians.

First—Those white men who have compelled the Indians to live upon limited tracts of land and allowed them to get into the condition in which we now find them, dissatisfied and equipped for war.

Second—Another class of whites are those who have committed the great crime of instilling into the minds of these superstitious and vicious savages the delusion that they have a messiah among them, and that the white people who do not believe it will be destroyed by some supernatural power : it matters not whether the Indians have been incited by this class of white people in actual words to open hostilities or not ; the deceptions that have been practised upon them have aroused their warlike natures until they are in a condition for devastation, plunder, ravage, and all the horrors that savage fiends can inflict upon defenceless and unprotected people.

Third—Another class of people who are responsible are the

white men who have made merchandise of the welfare and safety of their own people; in other words, those who have sold thousands of improved magazine long-range rifles and tons of ammunition to savages, which alone enable them to devastate the country. Those Indians could manufacture neither a rifle, a cartridge, nor a knife; yet they are better armed and better supplied with ammunition to-day than at any time in their history.

Fourth—Those who are to blame for this threatened danger are the Indians themselves; and Halleck's description of Red Jacket is not a bad illustration of the Indian's double character. While they have wrongs and grievances that have been fully enumerated, at the same time they have friends anxious to protect their interests; but, notwithstanding this, they would in justification of some real or imaginary wrong, or prompted by some wild, savage religious frenzy, ravage a country and brain the innocent prattling babe with fiendish delight as readily as they would meet a stalwart foe.

If you ask for the remedy that will prevent the possibility of such a condition of affairs in the future, I would say that I have not changed the opinion formed and stated in an article in this REVIEW thirteen years ago. After careful observation of all the principal tribes in the United States, I believe that those people who have been and are still a terror to the peace and good order of certain States and territories should be placed under some government just and strong enough to control them. The time has arrived when the lives, welfare, prosperity, and future of those great States are too precious and too valuable to be jeopardized by these yearly alarms and frequent Indian wars. While thousands of people have fled from their little homes, and abandoned most of their property, to seek shelter and refuge in any place where it could be obtained, and while thousands of resolute and intrepid officers and soldiers are enduring the severity of a Dakota winter to hold in restraint these tribes of turbulent savages, it is hoped that some conclusion will be reached by the government to permanently end the present state of affairs. The subject is too serious for selfishness, acrimony, or partisanship. It requires judicious, humane, and patriotic treatment.

NELSON A. MILES.

IRELAND IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

BY W. E. H. LECKY, AUTHOR OF A "HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY."

THE kind of interest which belongs to Irish history is curiously different from that which attaches to the history of England and to that of most of the great nations of the Continent. In very few histories do we find so little national unity or continuous progress, or such long spaces which are almost wholly occupied by perplexed, petty internal broils, often stained by atrocious crimes, but turning on no large issue and leading to no clear or stable results. Except during the great missionary period of the sixth and seventh centuries, and during a brief portion of the eighteenth century, we have little of the interest that arises from dramatic situations or shining characters, and in few countries has the highest intellect been, on the whole, so slightly connected with the administration of affairs. To a philosophical student of politics, however, Irish history possesses an interest of the highest order. It is an invaluable study of morbid anatomy. In very few histories can we trace so clearly the effects of political and social circumstances in forming national character; the calamity of missed opportunities and of fluctuating and procrastinating policy; the folly of attempting to govern by the same methods and institutions nations that are wholly different in their characters and their civilization.

The idea which still floats vaguely in many minds that Ireland, before the arrival of the Normans, was a single and independent nation, is wholly false. Ireland was not a nation, but a collection of separate tribes and kingdoms, engaged in almost constant warfare. In this respect, however, she resembled many countries which have since attained the most perfect unity, and there can be little doubt that, if her development had been impeded by no extraneous influences, Ireland would have followed

the same path as England or France. Much stress has been justly laid on the disorganizing influence of a long succession of Danish invasions, though it must be remembered that Ireland owes to the Danes the foundation of some of her most important cities. Roman conquest, which introduced into most of Europe invaluable elements of order, organization, and respect for law, never extended to Ireland. The Anglo-Norman invasion and conquest produced consequences which were almost wholly evil. If the invaders had been driven from the Irish shore, the natural course of development would, no doubt, have been in time continued. If the invaders had completely conquered Ireland, a fusion might have taken place as complete and as healthy as in England. Neither of these two events occurred. The English conquest was prolonged over nearly four hundred years. A hostile and separate power was planted in the centre of Ireland, sufficiently powerful to prevent the formation of another civilization, yet not sufficiently powerful to impose a civilization of its own. Feudalism was introduced, but the keystone of the system, a strong resident sovereign, was wanting, and Ireland was soon torn by the wars of great Anglo-Norman nobles, who were, in fact, independent sovereigns, much like the old Irish kings. The Scotch invasion of the fourteenth century added enormously to the anarchy and confusion ; the English power as a living reality contracted to the narrow limits of the pale ; in outlying districts the Anglo-Norman assimilated quickly with the Celtic element, while the English legislators in Ireland, alarmed at the tendency, made it the main object of their policy, in the words of Sir John Davies, "to make a perpetual separation and enmity between the English and Irish, pretending no doubt that the English should in the end root out the Irish."

Such a state of things continued till the long and terrible wars of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth broke the power of the independent chiefs and of the Celtic clans, and gave Ireland, for the first time, a political unity. It is one of the great infelicities of Irish history that this result was obtained at the very period of the Reformation. The conquerors adopted one religion, while the conquered retained the other, and thus a new and most enduring barrier was raised between the two nations in Ireland, and a pernicious antagonism was established between law and religion.

Another influence not less powerful than religion had at the

same time come into play. It had become the English policy to place great bodies of English and Scotch settlers on the land that was confiscated in consequence of rebellion, and under the impulse of the strong spirit of adventure which grew up in the generation that followed the Reformation, streams of English and Scotch adventurers poured over. The great settlement of Ulster under James I. proved ultimately a success, and laid the foundation of the prosperity of that province. Other plantations were in time absorbed and assimilated by the Celtic population; but vast revolutions in the ownership of land, accompanied by the subversion of the old tribal customs, laid the foundation of an agrarian war which still continues.

Religious and agrarian causes combined with the civil war in England to produce the great rebellion of 1641 and the eleven years of ghastly, exterminating war which followed. Hardly any page in human history is more appalling. A full third of the population of Ireland perished. Thirty or forty thousand of the most energetic left the country and took service in foreign armies. Great tracts were left absolutely depopulated, and after the rearrangement of land, which was accomplished by the Act of Settlement, the immense preponderance of landed property remained in the hands of the Protestant nation.

New elements, however, of great energy had been planted in Ireland, and the field had been thrown open to their exertions. The excellence of Irish wool and the cheapness of Irish labor laid the foundation of a flourishing woollen manufacture, and with peace, mild administration, and much practical tolerance, the wounds of the country seemed gradually healing. The later Stuart reigns, which form a dark page in English history, were a period of considerable prosperity in Ireland, but that period was soon interrupted by the Revolution. There was no general or passionate rising in Ireland resembling that of 1641, but it was inevitable that the Irish Catholics should have adopted the side of the Catholic King, and it was equally inevitable that when a Catholic Parliament, consisting largely of sons of the men whose properties had recently been confiscated, had assembled at Dublin, its members should have made a desperate effort to reverse their fortunes and replace the land of the country mainly in Catholic hands. The battle of the Boyne shattered the Catholic hopes, and it was followed by a new confiscation, by a new emigration of

the ablest and most energetic Catholics, by a long period of commercial restraints, penal laws, and complete Protestant ascendency.

The commercial restraints formed part of a protective policy which was at that time general in Europe, and which was severely felt in the American colonies. Though it did not absolutely originate in, it was greatly intensified by, the Revolution, which gave the manufacturing and commercial classes a new power in English government. The linen manufacture was spared, but the total destruction by law of the flourishing woollen manufacture, followed by a number of other restrictions imposed on other branches of industry, deprived Ireland of her most promising sources of wealth, drove great multitudes of energetic Protestants out of the country, and threw the people more and more upon the soil as almost their sole means of support.

The penal laws against the Catholics accompanied or closely followed the commercial restraints. The blame of them may be divided with some equality between the government of England and the Parliament of Ireland. It was the Irish Parliament which enacted these laws, but an English act first made the Irish Parliament exclusively Protestant, and the whole legislation was carried at a time when the Irish Parliament was completely dependent, and incompetent even to discuss any measure without the previous approbation of the English government. In order to judge this legislation with equity, it must be remembered that in the beginning of the eighteenth century restrictive laws against Protestantism in Catholic countries, and against Catholicism in Protestant ones, almost universally prevailed. The laws against Irish Catholics were, on the whole, less stringent than those against Catholics in England. They were largely modelled after the French legislation against the Huguenots, but persecution in Ireland never approached in severity that of Louis XIV., and was absolutely insignificant compared with that which had extirpated Protestantism and Judaism from Spain. The code, however, was not mainly the product of religious feeling, but of policy, and in this respect it has been defended in its broad outlines, though not in all its details, by such Irishmen as Charlemont, Flood, and Parsons. They argue that at the close of a long period of savage civil war it was absolutely necessary for a small minority, who found themselves in possession of the govern-

ment and land of the country, to deprive the conquered and hostile majority of every element of political and military strength. This was the real object of the code. It was a mission of self-defence justified by necessity, and by the fact that it produced in Ireland for the space of about eighty years the most perfect tranquillity.

There is much truth is these considerations, but it is also true that the penal code produced more pernicious moral, social, and political effects than many sanguinary persecutions. In other countries disqualifying or persecuting laws were directed against small fractions of the nation. In Ireland they were directed against the bulk of the community. Being supported by little or no genuine religious fanaticism or proselytizing ardor, they made few Protestants except in the upper orders, where many conformed in order to keep their land or to enter professions; but they drove nearly all the best and most energetic Catholics to the Continent; they discouraged industry; closed the door of knowledge; taught the people to look upon law as something hostile to religion; introduced division and immorality into families by the rewards they offered to apostasy; and condemned the whole country to poverty and impotence by fatally depressing the great majority of its people. Under the influence of the penal laws the Catholics inevitably acquired the vices of serfs, and the Protestants the vices of monopolists. A great portion of the code was pronounced, with good reason, to be flagrantly opposed to the articles of the treaty of Limerick, and it completed the work of the confiscations by making the landlord class in Ireland almost wholly Protestant, while the great majority of the tenantry were Catholics.

There was a moment, however, in the beginning of the century when the whole current of Irish history might easily have changed. Scotland had suffered, like Ireland, from the protective policy that followed the Revolution, and her independent Parliament had retaliated by measures which threatened the speedy separation of the two crowns, and soon led to a legislative union. In Ireland such an union was ardently desired by enlightened Irishmen, and there is every reason to believe that it could then have been carried with universal consent. The Catholics were perfectly passive, and would gladly have accepted a change which withdrew them from the direct government of the conquerors in

a recent civil war. The Protestants had as yet no distinctively national feeling, and a legislative union would have emancipated their industry and added enormously to their security. Molyneux, the first great champion of the legislative independence of Ireland, emphatically declared that he and those who thought with him would gladly have accepted the alternative of an union, and both the Irish houses of Parliament voted addresses in favor of such a measure. If it had been carried, Ireland would have been at least saved from the evils that rose from the commercial restrictions and from the extreme jobbing that grew up around the local legislature, and she would, perhaps, have been saved from some parts of the penal code. But the golden opportunity was lost. The English commercial classes dreaded Irish competition in their markets, and the petition of the Irish legislature was disregarded.

Nearly seventy years of quiet followed. The establishment of the Hanoverian dynasty, the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745, the different wars in which England was engaged, left Ireland absolutely undisturbed. The House of Commons then sat for a whole reign and met only every second year. It was completely subservient to the English Privy Council, and it consisted so largely of nomination boroughs that a few great nobles commanded a decisive preponderance, and they practically conducted the government and administered the patronage of Ireland. There were great jobbing and corruption, but taxation, on the whole, was exceedingly light, and there was no tendency to throw it unduly on the poor, or to create in Ireland any of those many feudal burdens that prevailed in France and Germany. The practical evil most felt was the system of tithes for the support of the Protestant establishment, and it was aggravated by a very unfair exemption of pasture land, and also by the prevailing system of farming out tithes to a class of men known as tithe proctors. In the country districts all power was concentrated in the hands of the landlords, who, with many faults and under many difficulties, at least succeeded in attaining a large measure of genuine popularity.

There was an Irish army of twelve thousand men, but the greater part of it was always sent abroad in time of war, and Ireland was then often left with not more than five thousand soldiers. No militia and no constabulary force existed, but when Whiteboy or other disturbances arose, the landlords put them-

selves at the head of their tenantry, and usually succeeded in suppressing them. Law was very little observed; industrial virtues were at the lowest ebb; there was abundance of drunkenness, idleness, turbulence, neglect of duty, extreme ignorance, and extreme poverty; but there was not much real oppression or religious bigotry, and there were no signs of political disturbance or conspiracy. After a few years the portions of the penal code which restricted the Catholic worship became a dead-letter, and Catholic chapels were everywhere rising on the Protestant estates. The monopoly, however, of place and power continued, though the legal profession was full of professing converts. The theological temperature in both sects had greatly subsided. Land was usually let by the owner on long leases, and at very low rents to tenants who almost invariably divided and sublet their tenancies.

At a later period of the century, when population pressed closely on subsistence, the system of middlemen produced a fierce competition which raised rent in the lower grades to an enormous height, but this evil was less felt with a scanty population, and the hierarchy of tenants at least saved the landlords from the dangerous isolation which their circumstances tended to produce. Arthur Young, who examined the condition of the country very carefully between 1776 and 1778, perceived great signs of growing prosperity, especially in the towns, and, although agriculture was far behind that of England, he found a considerable number of active, intelligent, and improving landlords. In the opinion of Young the rental of Ireland was unduly and unnaturally low, but he urged the landlords to exercise a more direct and controlling influence over their estates, and he recommended them, for this purpose, to give leases for shorter periods and gradually to abolish the system of middlemen and subletting.

In the north there was a powerful, intelligent Protestant community, with a strong leaning to republicanism. They were chiefly Presbyterians, and they resented bitterly the commercial restrictions and the obligation of paying tithes to an Episcopal church. The Irish Parliament was so constituted that they had no political power at all equivalent to their importance, and, like the Presbyterians in England, they were burdened by the Test Act, and their marriages were only valid if celebrated in the Established Church. The great power of the bishops, both in

the Privy Council and in the House of Lords, formed a very serious obstacle to church reform. In all classes of Protestants, however, in the closing years of George II., there was a strong resentment at the political subjection of Ireland, and a determination to obtain, if possible, those constitutional rights which the Revolution of 1688 had secured for England.

It is impossible, within the narrow limits assigned to me, to give even a sketch of the successive stages by which the independence of the Irish Parliament was established. The movement began with the Octennial Act, limiting the duration of Parliament, and it came to full maturity during the war of the American Revolution. Among the Irish Catholics there appears to have been absolutely no sympathy with the American cause, but Ulster Protestantism was enthusiastically on the side of America. Presbyterians from Ulster bore a considerable part in the American armies, and under the influence of American example public opinion in Ireland rapidly advanced. The great volunteer movement of 1778 and the following years was originated by the fact that the government could supply no troops for the defence of Ulster at a time when it was in imminent danger of attack from France. The Protestant gentry called their people to arms; and a great Protestant force was created, which not only secured the country against foreign danger and maintained the most perfect internal order, but also exercised a decisive influence over Irish politics. Volunteer conventions were assembled which represented both property and educated Protestant opinion much more truly than the borough Parliament, and which loudly demanded free trade and Parliamentary independence. Grattan made himself the mouthpiece of the popular feeling; and the English government and Parliament yielded to the demand. The whole system of commercial restraints, which prevented Ireland from developing her resources and trading with foreign countries and the British colonies, was abolished, leaving the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland to be regulated by special acts. The power of the Privy Council over Irish legislation was abolished. The appellate jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords was restored, and, above all, the sole competence of the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland to legislate for Ireland was recognized. The Irish Parliament nearly at the same time made

great steps towards uniting the people by relieving the Presbyterians from the Test Act and from the restrictions on their marriages, and the Catholics from those parts of the penal code which chiefly restrained their worship, their education, and their industry. At the same time the Protestant monopoly of political power and of the higher offices remained.

Ireland thus found herself in possession of a Parliament which was, in name at least, perfectly independent. It was a purely Protestant Parliament, elected by Protestants, consisting mainly of landlords and great Protestant lawyers, and representing pre-eminently the property of the country. It was intensely and exclusively loyal, and always ready to adopt far more stringent coercive measures against anarchy and sedition than have ever been adopted by an imperial parliament. It included many men of great talents and great liberality, and through the county constituencies and the representatives of the chief towns educated public opinion was seriously felt within its walls ; but the large majority of its members sat for nomination boroughs within the control of the government, and places and pensions were inordinately multiplied for the purpose of securing a majority.

Could this constitution last ? In framing the course of foreign and imperial policy, in all questions of peace or war, of negotiations or alliances, the Irish Parliament had no voice. Yet it might in time of war, by withholding its concurrence, withdraw the whole weight of Ireland from the forces and fatally dislocate the policy of the empire. It might pursue a commercial policy absolutely inconsistent with imperial interests, and bring Ireland into intimate commercial connection with the enemies of England ; and if English party spirit extended to Ireland and ran in opposite directions in the two legislatures, a collision was inevitable. The Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary, who administered the government of Ireland, were appointed by a British ministry representing the dominant British party ; the counsels of the Irish government were framed in a British cabinet ; the royal consent was given to every Irish bill under the great seal of Great Britain and upon the advice of a British minister. If a machine so constituted could work as long as it was in the hands of a small and undoubtedly loyal and largely-influenced class, could it work if Parliamentary reform made the Irish Parliament subject to the fierce and fluctuating tides of popular opinion ?

above all, if Catholic enfranchisement brought a vast, ignorant, and possibly seditious element into political life ?

It was the recorded opinion of each successive Lord Lieutenant who administered the Irish government after 1782 that it could not, and that it must sooner or later end either in an union or a separation. They said this, though they fully acknowledged the perfect loyalty hitherto shown by the Irish Parliament; the liberality with which it voted its supplies ; the care with which it subordinated its particular measures to the general interests of the empire. The failure—not solely or even mainly through Irish fault—of an attempt to establish a fixed commercial arrangement between England and Ireland, and a difference between the British and Irish parliaments on the imperial question of a regency, strengthened the opinion of the English government, and for many years before the Union was enacted it was in contemplation. On the two great and pressing questions at issue this policy exercised a powerful influence. The government obstinately resisted every serious attempt to reform the Parliament, lest they should lose that controlling power which they believed to be essential to the permanence of the connection. On the Catholic question their views were more fluctuating, but their dominant impression was that emancipation could only be safely conceded in an imperial parliament, and that it ought to be reserved as a boon which might one day make a legislative union acceptable to the Irish people.

In Ireland, or at least in Protestant Ireland, the idea of an union was now intensely unpopular, but the reformers in the Irish Parliament were seriously divided. Flood and Charlemont desired Parliamentary reform on a purely Protestant basis. They believed that this would include in political life the bulk of the property, loyalty, intelligence, and energy of the country, and that the Irish Catholics could not for a long period, be safely admitted to political power. Grattan, on the other hand, believed that it was the first interest of Ireland to efface the political distinction between the two creeds and nations, and that an introduction of a certain proportion of Catholic gentry into the Irish Parliament would be in the highest degree beneficial. He, at the same time, always taught that Ireland was utterly unfit for democracy, and that under her peculiar conditions no policy could be more disastrous than one which would "destroy the

influence of landed property"; "set population adrift from the influence of property"; subvert or weaken the guiding influence of the loyal and educated. When the United Irishmen proposed a reform bill which would have made the Irish Parliament a purely democratic body, Grattan denounced it with the greatest vehemence. "This plan of personal representation," he said, "from a revolution of power, would speedily lead to a revolution of property, and become a plan of plunder as well as a scene of confusion. . . . Of such a representation the first ordinance would be robbery, accompanied with the circumstance incidental to robbery, murder." He believed, however, that with a substantial property qualification independent constituencies might be formed which would safely represent the best elements of both creeds.

The denial of Parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, and the refusal of the Irish Parliament to deal with the still more pressing question of tithes, produced much disaffection; but still the country was steadily improving, and no serious danger was felt till the French Revolution burst upon Europe. In every country it stimulated the smouldering elements of disorder. In few countries was its influence more fatal than in Ireland. I have very lately described at length the terrible years of growing conspiracy, anarchy, and crime; of fluctuating policy, and savage repression, and revived religious animosity, and maddening panic, deliberately and malignantly fomented, that preceded and prepared the rebellion. It is sufficient here to say that in the beginning of 1798 three provinces were organized to assist a French invasion. But at the last moment the leaders were betrayed and arrested; the French did not arrive; the rebellion was almost confined to a few Leinster counties, and it broke out without leaders and without a plan. In most places the rebels proved to be wretched bands of marauders intent only on plunder, and, although they committed many murders, they were utterly incapable of meeting the loyalists in the field. But in Wexford priests put themselves at the head of the movement and turned it into a religious war, deriving its main force from religious fanaticism, and waged with desperate courage and ferocity. The massacre of Protestants on Vinegar Hill, in Scullabogue Barn, and on Wexford Bridge, and the general character the rebellion in Leinster assumed, at once and forever checked all that

tendency to rebellion which had so long existed among the Protestants of Ulster. Some 20,000 persons perished before the flame was extinguished. The repression was as savage as the rebellion, and it left Ireland torn by fiercer religious animosities than at any period since the Restoration.

It will dispel many illusions if the reader will remember that the great Irish rebellion was directed mainly against the Irish Parliament, and that it received its death-blow from Irish loyalists acting under that Parliament before any assistance arrived from England. The conspiracy began among Protestants and Deists, who aimed at an union of sects for the purpose of obtaining a democratic republic. It turned into a war which was scarcely less essentially religious than the wars of the Cevennes or of the Anabaptists. Yet two great Catholic provinces remained quiet during the struggle, and a great proportion of the loyalist force which crushed the rebellion consisted of Catholic militia.

The English government thought that the time had now come for carrying a legislative union, and, in the eyes of Lord Cornwallis at least, one of its chief recommendations was that it would take the government of Ireland out of the hands of the triumphant party, and would make Catholic emancipation a possibility. The Catholic bishops were sounded and found to be very favorable. They declared their full willingness to accept an endowment for the priesthood and to give the English government a right of veto on episcopal appointments, and they warmly, efficiently, and unanimously supported the Union. The great majority of the Catholic landed gentry and probably of the lower priests were on the same side; but in general the Catholic laity seem to have shown little interest and to have taken little part in the contest. In Dublin, Catholics as well as Protestants were generally hostile, but Catholic Cork was decidedly favorable, and an assurance that the government desired to carry emancipation in an imperial parliament proved sufficient to prevent any serious Catholic opposition. The United Irishmen seem to have witnessed rather with pleasure than the reverse the dethronement of the body which had defeated them, and the Presbyterians showed scarcely any interest in the question.

Yet outside the ranks of the Catholic clergy the measure found few active supporters, while the Protestants of the Established Church were in general ardently and passionately hostile.

The great majority of the county members and the great preponderance of petitions were against the Union, and the opposition to it, which was led by Foster, Grattan, Parsons, and Plunket, comprised nearly all the independent and unbribed talent in Parliament. The very eminent ability of that small group of Protestant gentlemen never flashed more brightly than in the closing scenes, and there was a moment when the attitude of the Orangemen and the yeomanry was so menacing that the government were seriously alarmed. But a lavish distribution of peerages and places purchased a majority, and the troops stationed in Ireland were too numerous for armed opposition to be possible. In truth, however, no opposition beyond the dimensions of a riot was to be feared. Outside Dublin, Catholic, Presbyterian, and seditious Ireland remained almost indifferent. Even before the measure had passed, opposition speakers complained bitterly that they were deserted by popular support; and it is a memorable fact that in the general election that followed the Union not a single Irish member of Parliament was defeated because he had voted for it.

Pitt intended the Union to be immediately followed by measures admitting the Catholics into the Imperial Parliament, paying the priests, and commuting the tithes. If these three measures, or even if the last two (which were, in truth, the most important), had been promptly carried, the Union might have become popular. The Catholic question had, of late, been greatly mismanaged. The chief men who directed the government in Ireland were bitterly opposed to any concession of political power to the Catholics, but the views of the English ministers had been materially changed. They desired above all things to separate the Catholics from the United Irishmen, and in 1793 they forced upon their reluctant advisers in Ireland an act which extended the suffrage to the vast ignorant Catholic masses, though it left the Catholic gentry still excluded from Parliament. Two years later Lord Fitzwilliam was sent over with instructions to postpone the question if possible, but with authority, as he believed, to carry emancipation if it could not be postponed, and he found the Irish Parliament perfectly prepared to pass it. But the opposition of the King and a question of patronage produced a fatal division and led to the recall of the Viceroy. The passions aroused by the rebellion greatly increased the difficulties of admitting

Catholics to a separate Parliament, but there is clear evidence that at the time of the Union the Irish Protestants were in favor of their admission into the imperial one. The dispositions of the King were well known, but it was believed that, if the scheme of Pitt was submitted to him as the matured policy of an united cabinet, he must have yielded. It is well known how the plan was prematurely revealed; how Pitt resigned office when the King refused his consent; how the agitation of the question threw the King into an access of insanity; and how Pitt then promised that he would not again raise it during the reign. Pitt's conduct on this occasion is, and probably always will be, differently judged. There can be but one opinion of its calamitous effect upon Irish history.

Ninety years have passed since the Union, and the conditions of Ireland have completely changed. The whole system of religious disqualification and commercial disability has long since passed away. Every path has been thrown open, and English professions, as well as the great colonial and Indian services, are crowded with Irishmen. The Established Church no longer exists. Representation has been placed on a broadly democratic basis, giving Ireland, however, an absurdly disproportioned weight in the representation of the kingdom, and its poorest and most backward districts an absurdly disproportioned weight in the representation of Ireland. Finally, an attempt has been made to put down agrarian agitation by legislation to which there is no real parallel in English history, and some parts of which would have been impossible under the Constitution of the United States. Landlords who possessed by the clearest title known to English law the most absolute ownership of their estates have been converted into mere rent-chargers. Tenants who entered upon their tenancies under formal written contracts for limited periods have been rooted forever on the soil. Rents have been reduced by judicial sentence, with complete disregard both to previous contracts and to market value, and the legal owner has had no option of refusing the change and reëntering on the occupation of his land. A scheme of purchase, too, based upon imperial credit, has been established and will probably soon be largely extended, which is so extravagantly and almost grotesquely favorable to the tenant that it enables him by paying for the space of forty-nine years, instead of his reduced judicial rent, an annual sum

which is considerably smaller, to purchase the freehold of his farm. It is a simple and incontestable truth that neither in the United States, nor in England, nor in any portion of the continent of Europe, is the agricultural tenant so favored by law as in Ireland, or anything of the nature of landlord oppression made so impossible. But though agitation has diminished, it has not ceased, and the great body of the poorer Catholics still follow the banner of home rule.

About a third of the population of Ireland, on the other hand, regard home rule as the greatest catastrophe that could befall themselves, their country, or the empire ; and it is worthy of notice that they include almost all the descendants of Grattan's Parliament, and of the volunteers, and of those classes who in the eighteenth century sustained the spirit of nationality in Ireland. Belfast and the surrounding counties, which alone in Ireland have attained the full height and vigor of English industrial civilization ; almost all the Protestants, both Episcopalian and Nonconformist ; almost all the Catholic gentry ; the decided preponderance of Catholics in the lay professions, and a great and guiding section of the Catholic middle class are on the same side. Their conviction does not rest upon any abstract doctrine about the evil of federal governments or of local parliaments. It rests upon their firm persuasion that in the existing conditions of Ireland no parliament could be established there which could be trusted to fulfil the most elementary conditions of honest government—to maintain law ; to protect property ; to observe or enforce contracts ; to secure the rights and liberties of individuals and minorities ; to act loyally in times of difficulty and danger in the interests of the empire.

They know that the existing home-rule movement has grown up under the guidance and by the support of men who are implacable enemies to the British Empire ; that it has been for years the steady object of its leaders to inspire the Irish masses with feelings of hatred to that empire, contempt for contracts, defiance of law and of those who administer it ; that, having signally failed in rousing the agricultural population in a national struggle, those leaders resolved to turn the movement into an organized attack upon landed property ; that in the prosecution of this enterprise they have been guilty, not only of measures which are grossly and palpably dishonest, but also of an amount

of intimidation, of cruelty, of systematic disregard for individual freedom scarcely paralleled in any country during the present century; and finally that, through subscriptions which are not drawn from Ireland, political agitation in Ireland has become a large and highly lucrative trade—a trade which, like most others, will no doubt continue as long as it pays.

The nature, methods, and objects of the organization which would probably exercise a dominant influence over an Irish parliament have been established by overwhelming evidence and beyond all reasonable doubt, after a long, careful, and most impartial judicial investigation. I do not know whether the report of the late special commissioners and the evidence on which it is founded have been reprinted in America, or whether many Americans have studied the admirable work in which Professor Dicey—perhaps the ablest of living writers on political subjects—has very recently summed up their conclusions. American readers may find in these works abundant evidence of the true character of the Irish home-rule movement. If they read them with impartiality, they will, I believe, have little difficulty in concluding that there have been few political movements in the nineteenth century which are less deserving of the respect or support of honest men.

W. E. H. Lecky.

THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

BY THE HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

THE immigration into the United States from 1874 to 1889, inclusive,—a period of sixteen years,—has amounted to 6,418,633 persons, without counting since 1884 the overland immigration from Canada or Mexico. To put it in another form, the immigration into the United States during the last sixteen years is equal to one-tenth of the entire population of the country at the present time, and has furnished probably every four years enough voters to decide a Presidential election, if rightly distributed. During those sixteen years immigration has fluctuated with the business prosperity of the country, the highest point being reached in 1881 and 1882, 720,645 persons arriving in the former year and 730,349 in the latter, while the average annual immigration has been 401,164. If we divide these sixteen years into two periods of eight years each, one of the two heaviest years coming in the first and one in the second half, we find that for the eight years from 1874 to 1881, inclusive, the average annual rate of immigration was 307,185, and for the eight years from 1882 to 1889, inclusive, it was 482,643—a gain of 57.1 per cent. During the last eight years the exclusion of the Chinese since 1882 has caused the immigration from Asia to decline from over thirty thousand to a few hundreds annually, and in addition to this real loss no attempt has been made since 1883 to compute the very heavy overland immigration from Canada, which, of course, makes a still further apparent decrease. Yet, despite these important deductions, there has been the large gain of 175,458 persons in the average annual immigration of the last eight years as compared with the eight years next preceding. As it is thus apparent that immigration is increasing in quantity, the next point is to determine its quality.

In the consular reports on "Emigration and Immigration,"

published by the State Department in 1887, when Mr. Bayard was Secretary, a table is given which classifies the immigration into the United States from 1873 to 1886, inclusive, as follows :

Professional	31,803
Skilled	587,349
Miscellaneous	2,052,294
Occupation not stated	128,782
Without occupation	2,596,188

Taking the table as it stands, and throwing out those immigrants "with occupations not stated," it appears that of all the vast immigration during those fourteen years 48.1 per cent., or nearly one-half, are persons avowedly without occupation or training, or, in other words, unskilled labor of the lowest kind, while professional and skilled labor amounts to only 11.49 per cent. of the whole. "Miscellaneous," which is neither skilled nor professional labor, amounts to 38 per cent. It may be assumed that the same proportions hold good for the three years from 1886 to 1889, and it must be noted also that the detailed tables indicate that the number of persons without occupation increases in a slightly larger ratio than the rate of increase of the total immigration.

These figures give an idea of the general character of the foreign immigration into the United States during a long period of fourteen years. It is more important, however, to determine whether the immigration of this general character improves or deteriorates as it increases. This can be ascertained best by examining the rate of increase in the immigration from the different countries from which it chiefly comes during the two periods of eight years each from 1874 to 1881 and from 1882 to 1889, respectively :

	Annual average.		Percentage of difference.	
	1874-1881.	1882-1889.		
France	6,064	4,885	19.4	Decrease.
Norway	10,767	16,862	59.5	Increase.
Great Britain and Ireland	86,649	145,461	67.8	"
Germany	76,416	135,052	76.7	"
Switzerland	4,159	7,831	88.3	"
Netherlands	2,535	4,847	91.2	"
Sweden	18,224	37,730	107.	"
Denmark	4,012	8,663	114.3	"
Austria	9,272	21,926	136.5	"
Belgium	847	2,023	138.8	"
Poland	1,691	4,498	166.	"
Italy	7,893	30,474	286.	"
Russia	5,430	21,567	297.	"
Hungary	2,273	13,101	476.4	"

These percentages of increase are interesting and deeply significant. The nations of Europe which chiefly contributed to

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER AND NATIONALITY OF IMMIGRANTS ARRIVED IN THE UNITED STATES DURING EACH YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, FROM 1874 TO 1889, INCLUSIVE.

COUNTRIES.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.
England	43,396	30,040	21,051	18,122	19,581	40,997	64,190	76,547	70,893	61,432	53,270	44,710	58,422	83,036	76,040	61,815
Ireland	47,688	29,969	16,506	13,791	17,113	27,651	84,799	70,909	72,937	83,654	58,589	49,793	52,912	72,888	71,966	60,492
Scotland	8,765	5,739	4,383	3,408	3,700	8,728	14,495	16,451	15,957	10,839	8,791	10,174	13,916	22,067	23,412	14,948
Wales	558	419	294	232	311	1,046	948	1,316	1,633	1,430	1,011	931	1,343	1,614	1,714	920
Great Britain, not specified	15	12	9	1	1	2	6	7	8	6	95	2	8	4	9	12
Total Great Britain and Ireland	100,422	66,179	42,243	35,554	40,706	78,424	164,438	165,230	161,428	157,361	121,756	105,610	126,601	179,609	173,141	138,187
Austria	6,891	6,039	6,047	4,376	4,881	6,259	18,252	21,437	18,315	17,928	20,688	16,456	22,006	24,786	28,809	26,424
Belgium	705	623	454	367	454	753	1,484	1,939	1,129	1,673	1,722	1,363	1,641	2,987	2,961	2,704
Denmark	3,188	1,951	1,624	1,617	2,688	3,532	8,778	8,951	12,769	9,747	7,633	5,870	6,634	9,305	8,756	8,597
France	8,741	8,607	6,723	5,127	4,608	4,121	4,939	5,653	5,560	4,016	3,690	3,138	4,085	5,604	6,872	6,118
Germany	56,927	36,565	31,323	27,417	31,958	43,531	134,040	249,572	232,264	184,389	155,529	107,668	86,301	111,324	106,975	95,965
Gibraltar	5	4	16	1	.....	2	17	4	4	7	.....	7	11	8	25	1
Greece	20	27	24	18	13	23	22	17	177	25	56	171	106	509	627	217
Hungary	852	747	475	540	632	1,518	6,668	6,756	11,602	12,308	10,708	9,181	18,110	14,301	12,856	15,746
Italy (continental)	5,787	3,315	2,862	3,610	5,163	9,027	12,756	20,101	29,349	29,512	14,441	15,480	30,472	46,185	47,424	29,609
Italy (insular):																
Sardinia	8	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	75	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sicily	72	29	116	48	228	14	25	2	13	25	52	5	93	71	432	629
Islands of the Mediterranean:																
Corsica	1	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Crete	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Malta	10	5	2	7	1	2	1	4	.....	.....	4	8	1	2	1	.....
Netherlands	1,532	1,073	709	572	652	1,199	3,730	10,812	7,880	4,926	3,731	2,499	2,667	5,276	5,457	6,339
Norway	6,581	4,465	6,031	4,333	5,216	9,488	23,054	26,967	27,197	21,295	13,906	11,692	13,859	18,322	17,178	11,446
Sweden	4,336	6,031	5,204	4,774	6,176	16,659	46,723	55,892	60,413	32,596	24,017	21,508	32,222	51,236	48,845	31,005
Portugal	52	1,212	816	552	648	576	161	59	89	650	186	593	71	108	21	164
Roumania	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	55	81	116	781	301	2,204	635	1,483	421
Russia	7,447	4,369	6,787	3,370	4,216	3,784	5,278	8,193	17,497	6,907	15,122	16,517	25,980	23,521	35,504	31,495
Finland	4	23	21	8	22	19	247	320	708	8,107	407	434	840	2,294	1,849	1,992
Poland	1,449	707	854	320	554	876	2,488	6,283	4,246	2,151	4,369	3,101	6,396	4,960	5,902	4,866
Spain	571	529	597	542	432	534	420	405	328	245	334	319	452	483	506	654
Switzerland	2,436	1,641	1,572	1,612	2,051	3,834	8,498	11,628	11,839	11,433	8,215	5,126	4,518	6,561	7,622	7,336
Turkey in Europe	21	56	46	25	23	34	62	50	118	80	187	155	178	171	247	234
Heligoland	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
Total all other Europe	107,637	77,999	72,305	59,237	70,676	105,787	277,658	435,101	441,658	341,136	285,850	221,592	258,847	328,651	340,352	281,942
Total Europe	208,059	144,178	114,548	94,791	111,382	184,211	442,096	600,331	603,086	498,497	407,606	327,202	385,448	508,260	513,493	420,129

the upbuilding of the original thirteen colonies were the English, the Scotch-Irish, so called, the Dutch, the Germans, and the Huguenot French. With the exception of the last they were practically all people of the same stock. During this century and until very recent years these same nations, with the addition of Ireland and the Scandinavian countries, have continued to furnish the chief component parts of the immigration which has helped to populate so rapidly the territory of the United States. Among all these people, with few exceptions, community of race or language, or both, has facilitated the work of assimilation. In the last ten years, however, as appears from the figures just given, new and wholly different elements have been introduced into our immigration, and—what is more important still—the rate of immigration of these new elements has risen with much greater rapidity than that of those which previously had furnished the bulk of the population of the country. The mass of immigration, absolutely speaking, continues, of course, to come from the United Kingdom and from Germany, but relatively the immigration from these two sources is declining rapidly in comparison with the immigration from Italy and from the Slavic countries of Russia, Poland, Hungary,* and Bohemia, the last of which appears under the head of Austria. Of the generally good character of the immigration from the United Kingdom, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries it is hardly necessary to speak; but I will quote a single sentence from the State Department report already referred to, in regard to the immigration from the United Kingdom and Germany:

"The diagrams show the remarkable predominance of the United Kingdom and Germany in supplying the United States with skilled labor, and also the fact that the Germans represent those industries that depend upon hand labor or the requirements of everyday life, while the English supply the mechanical element. While Germany sends blacksmiths, butchers, carpenters, coopers, saddlers, shoemakers, and tailors, the United Kingdom supplies miners, engineers, iron- and steel-workers, mechanics and artisans, weavers and spinners. This distinction is clearly marked and is certainly important."

Now as to the immigration from the other countries, which has been increasing so much faster than that to which we have been accustomed, and which we know from experience to be in the

*The Hungarian immigration appears to be mainly Slavic, and not Magyar, and hence I have classified it with that of the Slavic countries.

main valuable. Consul-General Jüssen says in his report (1886) in regard to the Austrian immigration :

"The young men who want to escape military service, the ultra-socialist, the anarchist, the men who have lost all social and business footing here, the bankrupt, embezzler, and swindler, stop not to obtain permission of the government, and naturally the authorities have no sort of record here either as to the number or the place of destination of this class of emigrants. . . . The government would, as a matter of course, prohibit, if it could do so, the emigration of all young men subject to military duty, but it is quite natural that it feels no regret to get rid of the ultra-socialists and anarchists, and that it is quite willing the bankrupt and swindler should depart for foreign countries and that the paupers should find support away from home."

He also speaks as follows in regard to the Bohemian emigration, which forms a large part of that which is classed under the head of Austria :

"The labor and agricultural classes of Bohemia probably supply the greatest number of emigrants to the United States, and among the Bohemian industrial laborers some of the most violent ultra-socialists are to be found. The great majority of these Bohemian laborers, both of the industrial and agricultural class, are illiterate and ignorant in the extreme. They stand in great awe of the police authorities at home."

In regard to Hungarian emigration, Mr. Sterne, consul at Budapesth, speaks (1886) as follows :

"I am of the opinion that with the present condition of the labor market in the United States there is no room there at present for this class of people. I even believe that under more favorable conditions in the United States these Slovacks are not a desirable acquisition for us to make, since they appear to have so many items in common with the Chinese. Like these, they are extremely frugal, the love of whiskey of the former being balanced by the opium habit of the latter. Their ambition lacks both in quality and quantity. Thus they will work similarly cheap as the Chinese, and will interfere with a civilized laborer's earning a 'white' laborer's wages."

The emigration from Italy comes largely from the southern provinces—from Naples and Sicily ; a smaller proportion being drawn from the finer population of northern Italy. In regard to this Italian emigration, Mr. Alden, consul-general at Rome, says (1886) :

"As to the habits and morals of the emigrants to the United States from the northern and central portions of Italy, both men and women are sober and industrious, and as a rule trustworthy and moral. They are generally strong, powerful workers, and capable of enduring great fatigue. A less favo[illegible] view may be taken of the emigrants from the southern districts ar[illegible] These are the most illiterate parts of Italy, and in these districts [illegible]vas for many years extremely prevalent."

In regard to the emigration from Russia, Mr. Young, the consul-general, says (1886) :

"The government of Russia does not encourage emigration. On the contrary, it prohibits all Russian subjects from leaving the empire of Russia, except Poles and Jews. . . . The Mennonites have emigrated perhaps more extensively than any other class of Russian subjects. . . . The lowest classes generally form the greater part of emigration."

Thus it is proved, first, that immigration to this country is increasing, and, second, that it is making its greatest relative increase from races most alien to the body of the American people and from the lowest and most illiterate classes among those races. In other words, it is apparent that, while our immigration is increasing, it is showing at the same time a marked tendency to deteriorate in character.

It has been the policy of the United States until very recent years to encourage immigration in all possible ways, which was, under the circumstances, a wise and obvious course to pursue. The natural growth of the people established in the thirteen colonies was not sufficient to occupy or develop the vast territory and valuable resources of the Union. We therefore opened our arms to the people of every land and invited them to come in, and when all the region beyond the Alleghanies, or even beyond the Mississippi, was still a wilderness, the general wisdom of this policy could not be gainsaid. To the practical advantages to be gained from the rapid filling-up of the country we also joined the sentimental and generous reason that this free country was to be a haven of refuge for the unfortunate of every land.

This liberality toward immigration, combined with the normal growth of the population, in the course of the present century rapidly filled the country, and the conditions under which, at the outset we had opened our doors and asked every one to come in changed radically. The first sign of an awakening to this altered state of things was in the movement against the Chinese. When that great reservoir of cheap labor was opened and when its streams began to pour into the United States, the American people, first on the western coast and then elsewhere, suddenly were roused to the fact that they were threatened with a flood of low-class labor which would absolutely destroy good rates of wages among American workingmen by a competition which could not be met, and which at the same time threatened

the quality of American citizenship. The result was the Chinese-Exclusion Act, much contested in its inception, but the wisdom of which everybody now admits. The next awakening came upon the discovery that employers of labor were engaged in making contracts with large bodies of working people in other countries, and importing them into the United States to work for a remuneration far below that which American workmen were accustomed to receive. This resulted in the passage of the Alien Contract-Labor Law, intended to stop the importation of this low-priced labor. No one doubts to-day that the general principle of that law is sound, although its details are defective and its enforcement so imperfect that it has little practical effect.

Such have been the actual departures thus far from the former policy of the United States in regard to immigration. That they were needed is certain. That they are insufficient appears to be equally so. The committee of the Fiftieth Congress appointed by Speaker Carlisle to investigate the subject of immigration say at the close of their report:

"Certainly the effect of the present unrestricted system of immigration, as applicable to the conditions under consideration, upon the industrial situation of this country, has been very bad, and the committee believe that the time has come when immigration should be more effectively regulated; that persons who immigrate to the United States should at least be composed of those who in good faith desire to become its citizens and are worthy to be such."

As one example of the practical effect of unrestricted immigration the committee cite the case of the coal-mining country.

"Generally speaking, the class of immigrants who have lately been imported and employed in the coal regions of this country are not such, in the opinion of the committee, as would make desirable inhabitants of the United States. They are of a very low order of intelligence. They do not come here with the intention of becoming citizens; their whole purpose being to accumulate by parsimonious, rigid, and unhealthy economy a sum of money and then return to their native land. They live in miserable sheds like beasts; the food they eat is so meagre, scant, unwholesome, and revolting that it would nauseate and disgust an American workman, and he would find it difficult to sustain life upon it. Their habits are vicious, their customs are disgusting, and the effect of their presence here upon our social condition is to be deplored. They have not the influences, as we understand them, of a home; they do not know what the word means; and, in the opinion of the committee, no amount of effort would improve their morals or 'Americanize' this class of immigrants. They have been brought here in such numbers, and have been employed at such low wages, that it has resulted in their replacing the American citizens who formerly performed

this class of labor, until now there are comparatively few Americans engaged in mining coal in Pennsylvania."

The state of facts thus set forth by this committee, of which Mr. Ford, of Michigan, was chairman, grows out of changed conditions. We no longer have endless tracts of fertile land crying for settlement. Many parts of the United States, it is true, are still unsettled, and much of our territory is sparsely inhabited as compared to the standards of Europe. None the less, the conditions have changed utterly from the days when the supply of vacant land was indefinite, the demand for labor almost unbounded, and the supply of people very limited. We have now a large population, the natural increase of which is quite sufficient to take up our unoccupied lands and develop our resources with due rapidity. In many parts of the country the struggle for existence in large cities has become as fierce as in the old world. Our labor market, if we may judge from the statistics of the unemployed, is overstocked in many places, and that means a tendency toward a decline in wages. This tendency is perilous both socially and politically. In a country where every man has a vote, and where the government is of and by the people, it is as essential as it is right everywhere that the rate of wages should be high and the average standard of living good. If it comes to be otherwise, our whole system is in serious danger.

That this is not a fanciful anxiety is only too readily proved. Any one who is desirous of knowing in practical detail the degrading effect of this constant importation of the lowest forms of labor can find a vivid picture of its results in the very interesting book just published by Mr. Riis, entitled "How the Other Half Lives." The story which he tells of the condition of a large mass of the laboring population in the city of New York is enough to alarm every thinking man; and this dreadful condition of things is intensified every day by the steady inflow of immigration, which is constantly pulling down the wages of the working people of New York and affecting in a similar way the entire labor market of the United States.

In a word, the continued introduction into the labor market of four hundred thousand persons annually, half of whom have no occupation and most of whom represent the rudest form of labor, has a very great effect in reducing the rates of wages and disturbing the labor market. This, of course, is too ob-

to need comment, and this tendency to constantly lower wages by the competition of an increasing and deteriorating immigration is a danger to the people of the United States the gravity of which can hardly be overestimated. Moreover, the shifting of the sources of the immigration is unfavorable, and is bringing to the country people whom it is very difficult to assimilate and who do not promise well for the standard of civilization in the United States—a matter as serious as the effect on the labor market.

The question, therefore, arises,—and there is no more important question before the American people,—What shall be done to protect our labor against this undue competition, and to guard our citizenship against an infusion which seems to threaten deterioration? We have the power, of course, to prohibit all immigration, or to limit the number of persons to be admitted to the country annually, or—which would have the same effect—to impose upon immigrants a heavy capitation tax. Such rough and stringent measures are certainly neither necessary nor desirable if we can overcome the difficulties and dangers of the situation by more moderate legislation. These methods, moreover, are indiscriminate; and what is to be desired, if possible, is restriction which shall at the same time discriminate. We demand now that immigrants shall not be paupers or diseased or criminals, but these and all other existing requirements are vague, and the methods provided for their enforcement are still more indefinite and are perfectly ineffective. Any law, to be of use, must require, in the first place, that immigrants shall bring from their native country, from the United States consul or other diplomatic representative, an effective certificate that they are not obnoxious to any of the existing laws of the United States. We ought, in addition, to make our test still more definite by requiring a medical certificate in order to exclude unsound and diseased persons.

In reference to this matter of medical inspection, Surgeon-General Hamilton, in his report just published, states, as an illustration of the inefficiency of the present law, that of fifteen insane persons and eleven idiots reported by the medical officer at New York, four of the insane and all of the idiots were permitted to land. In this same report, which is one of the ablest and most important papers that have appeared on the subject of immigration, Dr. Hamilton says further that every emigrant should "produce to the consul a certificate from a legally-qualified resi-

dent physician to the effect that such emigrant is at the time suffering from no contagious or chronic disease or disability." Dr. Hamilton also states that at the present time there is no medical inspection whatever of immigrants except at the port of New York, and thus we have practically no protection against the importation of disease or insanity.

We ought also to insist that the consular certificate be given only after careful inquiry and due proof, and we must make a further definite test which will discriminate against illiteracy if we desire any intelligent restriction or sifting of the total mass of immigration. It is a truism to say that one of the greatest dangers to our free government is ignorance. Every one knows this to be the case, and that the danger can be overcome only by constant effort and vigilance. We spend millions annually in educating our children that they may be fit to be citizens and rulers of the Republic. We are ready to educate also the children who come to us from other countries; but it is not right to ask us to take annually a large body of persons who are totally illiterate and who are for the most part beyond the age at which education can be imparted. We have the right to exclude illiterate persons from our immigration, and this test, combined with the others of a more general character, would in all probability shut out a large part of the undesirable portion of the present immigration. It would reduce in a discriminating manner the total number of immigrants, and would thereby greatly benefit the labor market and help to maintain the rate of American wages. At the same time it would sift the immigrants who come to this country, and would shut out in a very large measure those elements which tend to lower the quality of American citizenship, and which now in many cases gather in dangerous masses in the slums of our great cities.

The measure proposed would benefit every honest immigrant who really desired to come to the United States and become an American citizen, and would stop none. It would exclude many, if not all, of those persons whose presence no one desires, and whose exclusion is demanded by our duty to our own citizens and to American institutions. Above all, it would be a protection and a help to our workingmen, who are more directly interested in this great question than any one else can possibly be.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

THE DOWRIES OF WOMEN IN FRANCE.

BY MADAME ADAM.

A DOWRY! The one important word which fills the imaginations of young French girls from earliest childhood! Before the little girl has any idea of what a dowry is she begins to benefit by it, because the nurse of a child whose parents are moderately rich takes better care of her little charge than the nurse of a child of tradespeople or of those who "have not yet made their fortunes." The servants very soon teach the child that she is to have a dowry; that it will be easy for her to find an attractive husband. And among the children of relatives and friends of the family, her nurse does not fail to assert that "*She* is more important than you are," or "*She* is very rich," or "Your mothers and fathers will never let you marry a man without a cent, as they will let her."

At meals, in the drawing-room, the little girls often hear this grave subject discussed. A relative or a friend will some day say, either in fun or seriously: "This little one has nothing to complain of; with her dowry she will have no difficulty about getting married." Or, if the dowry is small: "Your daughter is pretty, and with her little dowry she is sure of not having to *coiffer Ste. Catherine*." *Coiffer Ste. Catherine*—that is, not to be married—is the one great fear that induces many who could find no one good enough for them formerly to marry what La Fontaine calls the *malotru* of proud girls.

A rich father in the middle class in France frequently tells his daughter: "You know, my child, your mother and I have managed well. Your future is assured. You do not need to throw yourself at the head of the first comer. Don't fall foolishly in love with a poor man. A girl in your position can at least look for an equal match." The French middle classes have always

kept up the customs instituted by Louis Philippe, who was their especial king. They think much more of getting rich than of inspiring an admiration for ability.

If the young girl has no dowry, she often hears her father and mother regretting it. "Since we cannot give our child a dowry, she must be well educated." And her mother will tell her in a serious tone at least once: "You hold your fate in your hands; you must marry yourself; you must be pleasing. Eligible husbands will not come to you, and the good souls who marry the women they love will not think of you until they have exhausted the stock of their acquaintances who have dowries. You must find some one who will take you for your pretty face."

There are, therefore, two classes among marriageable girls, who are often closely related, who live in the same general circumstances of life, but who are totally different in character and attractions—those with and those without a dowry. Even in the tone which one uses in pronouncing these two phrases there is the secret of many a foolish vanity or unmerited bitterness.

The girl without a dowry takes great pains with young men; she runs after them; she tries to be entertaining; not having any dowry for a background, she attempts to attract them. She always possesses some talents, whatever they may be. Either she makes her own clothes and knows how to dress at almost no expense with more taste than others, or she becomes something of an artist in music or painting, or else she knows a foreign language, which among the middle classes is the height of complete education. Even if she does not possess any of these accomplishments, she makes it a point to know how to talk, in order to appear witty. She chats with very young men, mixes in their conversation, astonishes them, dazzles them; but if she succeeds in putting her pin into the body of a masculine butterfly, he is either extremely young, or a widower, or very old; the men in the middle class being the only ones who commit the folly of marrying a girl without a dowry. For if, by any chance, a young man who could hope to marry a rich girl marries one who is charming but poor, then all the mothers,—whether in Paris or in the country,—all the sisters, all the cousins, all the friends of the girls who have dowries and are also attractive, groan in chorus! They grieve over it. They ask: "What are we coming to?" And straightway they find that the present is an extraordinary

age, and that the "end of the century" is overturning all the ideas known and respected up to the present time.

Girls who have dowries are sought after. People have themselves presented to them, and flatter the parents. They pay the young girls a thousand delicate attentions. And though their beauty and their charms are inferior to those of girls without dowries, they are surrounded and complimented; and the more modest their bearing is, the more one augurs that they will not bring exacting claims with their dowries into their household. For the dowry has this disadvantage for the husband, that the girl who has infatuated him with five, ten, twenty, or thirty thousand pounds' income, believes that she can spend it all in her own household expenses. At the present time in France, because of the growing tendency of married women to spend the incomes of their dowries themselves, many young men hesitate to marry.

Then comes the drawing-up of the marriage contract, which is of so much importance to the relatives, and which is to be the crowning point of an edifice that has been laboriously built. When the personal property of the bride and bridegroom has been talked over for a long time, and when the "business" of what the older people of the two families call the "serious side of life" has given place to discussions which often last weeks, then the notary reads his sketch of the marriage contract to the assembled relatives, and often even then there are higher bids in the market. The young girl and the young man are both informed by their relatives of all the discussions that take place, and very often, thanks to their youth, they are offended by them. But if they venture an indignant remark, some one answers: "Lovers are all alike. Love dies and money remains. You will thank us later."

The day for the signing of the contract comes at last. The victorious or dogged expressions on the different faces this day are a prophecy of the disturbances which the young couple have before them.

The traditional mother-in-law in France — ridiculed in theatres and made odious in the drama—is seen, alas! only too often in real life. Not that she is the *maitresse femme* —that is, the one who takes charge of everything; not that she makes her husband do what she wishes; nor even that she is often insupportable,—these are of small account; but when,

after having brought about a good marriage for her son or daughter by her schemes, she becomes jealous of their happiness, then there is no fury that can equal her.

The question of money in the dowry is the tender spot in all French marriages. A poor girl who goes into a rich family of the middle class of society has to climb a veritable Calvary before she can be united to the man she loves. All the circumstances connected with the wedding presents, with the furniture which her *fiancé* buys, all the matters connected with her trousseau and with the contract which establishes her share of the property in the future, are so many humiliating obstacles which distress her to the heart, and inflict upon her pride wounds that will never cease to bleed. To what length do these well-known defects and intrigues extend! And how many young girls go sorrowfully to marriage with the feeling—the certainty—that they are being married for their dowries.

There is no class in French society, from the peasant to the nobleman, where the same spirit of covetousness and the same scenes do not reappear proportionately, altered only by the different systems for the settlements of the bride's personal property—that is, her dowry. Equal marriages or equal conditions of marriage among the peasants, or the middle class, or the aristocracy, are called *mariages de convenance;* and they are generally the happiest, not because they bring the blessed joys of choice and love with them, but because, owing to the fact that the prejudices of French families in the matter of dowry are not in that case shocked or forced to make concessions or sacrifices, the life of the young people flows on less disturbed by reproaches, less tormented, and therefore happier.

Young French girls in general envy American girls; those without a dowry, because a dowry is not a necessity in the new world, and the absence of one is not a sign of inferiority; those who have large dowries, on the other hand, from the fact that they are jealous of American girls because they see that in America, where they would not need a dowry, they would be married and loved for themselves; and that is the dream of most of them.

The dowry not only plays the most important part in nuptial arrangements and in family matters from the top to the bottom of the social scale in France, but it is a weighty matter in

the relations of the husband and wife, and also with regard to their children in questions of inheritance, of will, etc.

The reader will pardon me for giving a serious basis to this study concerning the rights of married women over their dowries or in respect to them, by a short explanation such as a consulting lawyer might give.

If, then, in the marriage contract the husband and wife have adopted the *régime de la communauté*,* the husband has the sole administration of all the property of both, including the dowry which the parents have given their daughter and which she has brought to the marriage. When the husband manages the affairs of this system badly, before the dowry has been touched, or even menaced, the wife can bring to an end this situation, which is so disturbing and dangerous to herself and her children. But she must appeal to the courts of justice, and have the *séparation de biens* † declared.

She then finds herself in the position that she would be in if at the time of the drawing-up of the marriage contract they had adopted the *régime de la séparation de biens*, which I will explain in a moment. When an important event brings about the dissolution of the community,—as for example, the death of the husband, or divorce, or separation without divorce,—the wife can break it off and simply keep what is called her *reprisals*—that is, her dowry and what she has happened to inherit during the existence of the community. But in this case she must abandon all her rights under the marriage contract, even that of the control of the administration of the system itself.

In this case she is not usually responsible for the bad management on the part of her husband, nor for his debts, unless she has personally engaged herself, or has signed her name to those papers which many husbands compel their wives to sign either by threats or by using force, as in the case of the Duc de Guise and Henry III. If she has been able to escape this fatal signature, she will, like the other creditors, take her share of the assets left by her husband. Here the law accords one great favor to the wife—*i. e.*, a mortgage on her husband's real estate, the

* A term in French law, meaning "a system of legislative dispositions by which husband and wife enjoy their common property between them."

† A system by which each party to the marriage has the administration of his or her own property to a certain extent.

better to assure her of the recovery of her dowry; and this mortgage, dating from the day of her marriage, has a value of a very high order, because it takes precedence over the claims of her husband's creditors since the marriage.

The word "real estate" goes back to the law of 1804. At that time personal securities scarcely existed, and counted for little. So that to-day all that is not real estate is lost in the community, which without some other arrangement would be contrary to the spirit of the law. For the law at the time it was made protected the larger part of the wife's property, while to-day it does not, since what is not real estate cannot be recovered under the terms of the legal community, That is, the growth of the importance of personal property has rendered the old statute insufficient to-day.

But the law foresees these difficulties; and now when a contract is being made, it is always stipulated that the community shall be confined to the property owned in common by the husband and wife. In this case, when the wife sues because of bad management on the part of her husband, she takes back all her dowry, both real and personal, and all that she has obtained by inheritance, or in the form of legacies, or as gifts since her marriage.

The system generally adopted, especially in northern France, is the *régime de la communauté*, modified by a contract with reference to personal property. But these restrictions do not change the husband's right to administer the property until he has shown bad management.

If those about to marry adopt the *régime de la séparation de biens*, the wife preserves the entire administration of her own property, real and personal, and the free enjoyment of her income. Then the husband and wife both contribute to the household expenses, following the agreement secured in the contract at the time of marriage. If these agreements have not been made, the wife contributes to the expenses of the family to the amount of one-third of her income.

This is the substance of Articles 1,536 and 1,537 of the civil code.

I make a digression here. In the case of the separation of property and of separation without divorce, not now by contract, but by judicial process, the wife is obliged to pay off the encum-

brances on the marriage settlements proportionately to her resources and those of her husband, and entirely, if he has nothing left. In the case of separation without divorce alone, there is only the question of the education of the children, since there is no longer any household to keep up.

The law adds that the wife cannot pledge her income in the separation of property, either by contract or by judicial process, nor can she mortgage it. This is a most singular contradiction, because the law has permitted her, on the one hand, a certain reservation and distrust with regard to her husband, while, on the other, even when she is separated from him who has managed the property badly, or to whom she has not had the confidence to give the management of it, she cannot be free in the matter of this management herself without his consent.

The law allows the wife to dispose of her real estate. Formerly, as we have just seen, the interpretation of the law was that personal securities were not of great importance, and they were absorbed by the community pure and simple. Now there is another interpretation given to the matter, since personal securities are not now treated in this case as personal property, but have the importance of real estate. Here is a contradiction in interpretations, because the letter of the law refuses this second meaning unless some reservation has been made with regard to the property common to husband and wife.

How astonishing it is that the courts so often give contrary judgments and vary more or less in their interpretations of the matters they pass judgment upon ! In principle a woman separated but not divorced is only mistress of the administration of her dowry, but not of the dowry itself. She can make leases for seven years, can use her income, can pledge her income for a year ahead at the most, and can make arrangements for repairs on her real estate ; and that is all.

Certain courts have given the decision that she can make securities standing in her name payable to bearer, but in spite of these decisions banking houses and trust companies make it a difficult matter for her to transfer her securities, and they maintain that they cannot make this transferrence without the authorization of the husband (though judged unworthy), or without the authorization of a court of justice.

There is here, then, a badly-defined field which nourishes

these contests without profit to any one, except to those in the *basoche*—to use a colloquial term which includes the lawyers, the witnesses, and those who live off the courts of justice in Paris.

The adversaries of the law of divorce wished, in a statute proposed by them, to strengthen and extend the rights of women separated but not divorced from their husbands in matters which concern the reclaiming of their dowries, legacies, and gifts. But nothing came of it.

To-day a woman is rendered absolutely independent by divorce. Her fortune and that of her husband have nothing to do with each other. She is perfectly secure, and her dowry belongs to her beyond dispute. It is a curious circumstance that in case of a rupture in married life, of divorce especially, the dowry of a French woman becomes a boon that cannot be enjoyed, because her family will seldom permit a divorce. For divorce, though allowable in law, has not yet been generally accepted in France, and a woman would find herself in reality without resources.

I forgot to mention that a woman separated but not divorced cannot litigate without her husband's consent; and this has been subject to so many abuses that the difficulties to which it has given rise have done much to make the Divorce Law generally acceptable to the public. The system of the separation of property is often adopted by tradespeople to put the fortunes of their children beyond the possible changes of these doubtful privileges.

Finally, there is one other form, the *régime dotal*,* which comes from Roman law, and is almost universally adopted in southern France, where the Roman occupation lasted for centuries. The girl's dowry and all her property coming after marriage are *inalienable* while she remains in the married state, even if both husband and wife desire to change to some other system. There are, nevertheless, some exceptions to this, which are fixed by law, such as settlements on the children, provision for the family if they fall into want, and for large repairs on real estate included in the dowry. Clauses are sometimes added to this system by common consent in the contract, and stipulations are made that it shall be possible to alienate the property included in the dowry, but only on condition that the amount be determined by some method agreed upon.

* A French legal phrase, meaning "a system of legislative dispositions which govern the relation of husband and wife when the property of the wife continues in her."

There, again, the husband has the sole administration of the property included in the dowry. There can always be stipulations that the wife may annually take a part of her income for her support and personal wants, but she must give receipts in her own name.

If all the wife's property that has accrued to her since marriage has not been mentioned in the contract as a part of her dowry, she has the administration of that portion just as in the case of the separation of property.

The dotal system is very unfavorable to the husband. It is universal in the south, where from an early date it has been the usual system, but in the north it is rarely found, and is frequently the cause of a rupture while the marriage arrangements are going on. Besides, it suggests an absolute defiance of the son-in-law on the part of the bride's parents, and presumed weakness on the bride's part with respect to her husband. It often happens, when a young girl is very much in love with a poor man, that her parents force him to take a position in the contract that is deeply humiliating. And you can imagine the agreeable relations that are likely to exist between him and his wife's parents—relations which are very often the cause of an unhappy future for the young pair.

Let me go back.

The *régime de la communauté* leaves the husband sole master.

The *régime de la séparation de biens*, from the point of view of the wife's emancipation, offers more advantages than the other two systems, but it loses all force if the wife allows her husband to secure her power of attorney.

The *régime dotal*, on the contrary, protects the wife against herself—which is a curious thing.

There is only one province in the north of France where the dotal system is in favor; that is Normandy. The women of Normandy have a peculiar character. They have a more important place in the household of the peasants and middle classes; and whereas in the south the dotal system gives the wife a little freedom, in the north it gives her entire freedom in her own affairs.

It has been necessary, I think, to explain what influence the dowry exerts in French marriages, and to review the legislation in regard to it. Reading about the different systems is rather dry work, but it is the only way to show clearly what place and what importance the dowry has, and what opportuni-

ties for dispute and for judgment it offers in marriages in France, whether they be among the rich or the poor. "Love comes when it can, and that is the young couple's affair." And almost every one adds that, "if it does not come before, it will come afterwards." The important thing is that the financial matters shall be clearly settled, and that they shall make a solid basis for married life, where, unfortunately, they are fast coming to be the most important thing. More and more in France young people marry, not from attraction for one another, not for love, but for the dowry; and this, too, at a time when the parents are less and less able to give large dowries, because money is depreciating day by day. So that here in France we can only fear a greater falling-off in marriages and population than that which prevails now, and which is certainly caused in a great measure among people of small means by the question of dowry.

Let some one tell me the remedy. I do not see it.

JULIETTE ADAM.

A WITNESS FOR WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

BY DR. WILLIAM J. ROLFE.

THE Hon. Ignatius Donnelly's article in the December number of THE REVIEW adds nothing new to the Bacon-Shakespeare discussion. In replying to it, I shall begin with what I believe to be a "new departure" in the discussion. It would not be strange, however, if the proposed line of argument had been anticipated in some of the many articles on the "pro-Shakespearian" side which I have not read.

The fundamental assumption of Donnelly and the Baconians in general is that the Folio of 1623 was *edited by Bacon*, being a collection of his plays carefully revised, corrected, and put into the shape in which he desired to hand them down to posterity.

The Shakespearians, on the other hand, assume that the Folio is just what it purports to be—a collection of Shakespeare's plays made seven years after his death by two of his fellow-actors, who had no skill or experience in editing, and whose share in bringing out the book appears to have been limited to putting into the hands of the publishers the best copies of the plays they could get; these being partly manuscripts used in the theatre, and partly the earlier quarto editions of single plays, which had also been used by the actors in learning their parts.

The Folio is accessible, either in the original or in photographic or other *fac-similes*, to every reader of this REVIEW who may be interested in verifying my description of it. The cheapest of these reproductions of the volume can be bought at any bookseller's for two dollars and a half.

Now, I venture to assert that internal evidence shows, beyond the possibility of doubt or question, that the plays in the Folio could not have been carefully revised and seen through the press by their author or by any person who had had experience in editing, printing, or publishing. That Francis Bacon could have edited them or supervised their publication is inconceivable—except to a fool or a Baconian.

The Folio is a volume of about nine hundred pages (906, to be exact, including the page facing the title and occupied by Ben Jonson's verses in praise of the portrait of Shakespeare on the title), containing thirty-six of the thirty-seven plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare ("Pericles" being omitted), arranged, as in the majority of modern editions, under the heads of "Comedies," "Histories," and "Tragedies." These three divisions are paged separately, but have no special headings, except in the table of contents, in which, it may be noted, the play of "Troilus and Cressida" is omitted.

The typographical execution, according to Collier (as quoted in "The Great Cryptogram," p. 550), "does credit to the age," being "on the whole, remarkably accurate." He adds: "So desirous were the editors and printers of correctness that they introduced changes for the better even while the sheets were in progress through the press." These corrections, however, are few and far between, and they are mostly of such palpable errors of the type as might catch the eye of the printer while working off the sheets.* It should be understood, moreover, that Collier, like other Shakespeare editors, assumes that the Folio had no editing worthy the name, and that the "copy" furnished to the printers was mutilated manuscripts and wretchedly-printed quarto editions used in the theatre. The typographical faults and defects of the volume were due to the "copy" rather than to the printer. Grant White (see his *first* edition of Shakespeare, vol. i., p. cclvii.) says: "The defects and blemishes of the first Folio must

*For instance, in the last scene of "King Lear" (see the Hon. A. A. Adee's scholarly introduction to the Bankside edition of the play, p. lxii.) the Phœnix Folio in the library of Columbia College has the stage direction, "*He dis.*" Dr. H. H. Furness's copy has "*He dies.*" Staunton's photographic *fac-simile* reads "*He dis.*" I suspect that here "*He dies*" is the earliest impression, and that the others are due to displacement of the type while the "form" was on the press. A clearer instance of *correction* is in the page-number 214 in the "Comedies," which appears as 212 in some copies. The numbers of pages 51 and 278 of the "Tragedies" are said also to vary in different copies.

be attributed merely to the lack of proper editorial supervision; for its general appearance shows that it was designed to be a first-rate book for its day." The "defects and blemishes" he states thus:

"Beside minor errors, the correction of which is obvious, words are in some cases so transformed as to be past recognition, even with the aid of the context; lines are transposed; sentences are sometimes broken by a full point followed by a capital letter, and at other times have their members displaced and mingled in incomprehensible confusion; verse is printed as prose, and prose as verse; speeches belonging to one character are given to another; and, in brief, all possible varieties of typographical derangement may be found in this volume, in the careful printing of which the after world had so deep an interest."

Craik, in his "English of Shakespeare" (Rolfe's edition, p. 15), says:

"As a typographical production it is better executed than the common run of the English popular printing of that date. It is rather superior, for instance, in point of appearance, and very decidedly in correctness, to the Second Folio, produced nine years later. Nevertheless, it is obviously, to the most cursory inspection, very far from what would now be called even a tolerably-printed book. There is probably not a page in it which is not disfigured by many minute inaccuracies and irregularities, such as never appear in modern printing. The punctuation is throughout rude and negligent, even where it is not palpably blundering. The most elementary proprieties of the metrical arrangement are violated in innumerable passages. In some places the verse is printed as plain prose; elsewhere prose is ignorantly and ludicrously exhibited in the guise of verse. Indisputable and undisputed errors are of frequent occurrence, so gross that it is impossible they could have been passed over, at any rate in such numbers, if the proof-sheets had undergone any systematic revision by a qualified person, however rapid. They were probably read in the printing-office, with more or less attention, when there was time, and often, when there was any hurry or pressure, sent to press with little or no examination. Everything betokens that editor or editing of the volume, in any proper or distinctive sense, there could have been none. The only editor was manifestly the head workman in the printing-office."*

Craik goes on to state some of the evidences which a "closer

* The irregular *paging* of the Folio, which Donnelly believes to be an important feature in Bacon's cipher work, is merely another illustration of the lack of proper proof-reading. If it is a little worse than we find in the average book of the time, this is partly due to the separate paging of the three divisions; partly, as we have reason to believe, to beginning work on one play in some cases before the preceding play was all in type; and partly to doubts on the part of the editor or the head workman whether certain plays belonged in one division or another. "Troilus and Cressida," of which only the first two pages are numbered, was at first regarded as a *tragedy* and pretty certainly meant to be put after "Romeo and Juliet" (see my edition of the play, p. 11), but it was afterwards transferred to its present position between the "Histories" and the "Tragedies." The page-numbers were taken out, except the first two (and in the headline of these pages the play is still called a "Tragedie"), and there the work of correction was dropped.

inspection" reveals that the volume not only had no proper editing, but was put in type from imperfect "copy" obtained from the theatre. There are errors which cannot "be sufficiently accounted for as the natural mistakes of the compositor," and which "can only be explained on the supposition that he had been left to depend upon a manuscript which was imperfect, or which could not be read." It is a significant fact that "deformities of this kind are apt to be found accumulated at one place; there are, as it were, nests or eruptions of them; they run into constellations; showing that the manuscript had there got torn or soiled, or that the printer had been obliged to supply what was wanting in the best way he could, by his own invention or conjectural ingenuity." *

But the case of the Folio is in some respects even worse than Craik makes it out. He says, for example, that "in one instance at least we have actually the names of the actors by whom the play was performed prefixed to their portions of the dialogue, instead of those of the *dramatis personæ*"; and that this "shows very clearly the text of the play in which it occurs ('Much Ado about Nothing') to have been taken from the playhouse copy, or what is called the prompter's book." In this play, a stage direction in act II., scene 3, reads thus in the Folio: "*Enter Prince, Leonato, Claudio, and Iacke Wilson.*" Jack Wilson was evidently the singer who took the part of *Balthasar*. Again, in act IV., scene 2, we find "*Kemp*" nine times and "*Kem.*" three times prefixed to *Dogberry's* speeches, and "*Cowley*" twice and "*Couley*" once to the speeches of *Verges*. William Kemp and Richard Cowley are known to have been actors of the time in London.

There are other instances of the kind apparently not known to Craik. In "3 Henry VI," act I., scene 2, we find "*Enter Gabriel,*" instead of "*Enter Messenger,*" and "*Gabriel*" is the prefix to the speech that follows. Again, in act III., scene 1, of the same play, we read "*Enter Sinklo and Humfrey, with Crossebowes in their hands,*" where the modern editions have "*Enter two Keepers,*" etc.; and in the dialogue following we have

* In an article on "The Text of Shakespeare," in "*The North British Review* for February, 1854, Craik has shown that the number of readings in the Folio which "must be admitted to be clearly wrong, or in the highest degree suspicious, probably amounts to not less than twenty on a page, or about twenty thousand in the whole volume."

"*Sink.*" five times, "*Sinklo*" twice, and "*Sin.*" once for the *1st Keeper*, and "*Hum.*" eight times for the *2d Keeper*. The same Sinklo appears also in "The Taming of the Shrew," scene 1 of induction, "*Sincklo*" being the prefix to the speech of one of the players ("I think 'twas Soto," etc.). The 1600 Quarto of "2 Henry IV." has also, in act V., scene 4, "*Enter Sincklo and three or foure officers.*" He was evidently an actor of subordinate parts, and nothing else is known of him except that he played in "The Seven Deadly Sins" and in "The Malcontent" in 1604. In the "Midsummer-Night's Dream," act V., scene 1, the Folio has "*Tawyer with a Trumpet before them*" where the actors in the clowns' interlude first enter. Collier, Grant White, Dyce, and others believe *Tawyer* to be the name of the actor who filled the part of "presenter" and introduced the characters of the play.

There is another class of irregularities in the Folio which I do not remember to have seen classified, though the separate facts are referred to by many editors. "The Tempest," the first play in the volume, is divided throughout into acts and scenes. We have "*Actus primus, Scena prima,*" "*Scena Secunda,*" "*Actus Secundus. Scœna Prima,*" and so on to the end. The next three plays, "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and "Measure for Measure," are similarly divided. Then come five plays divided only into *acts*, though the first heading in two of them is "*Actus primus, Scena prima*"—"The Comedy of Errors," "Much Ado," "Love's Labour's Lost," "A Midsummer-Night's Dream," and "The Merchant of Venice." "As You Like It," which follows, has acts and scenes. In "The Taming of the Shrew" the induction is not marked, the play beginning with "*Actus primus. Scœna Prima.*" The next heading is "*Actus Tertia*" [*sic*] in the proper place; and further on we find "*Actus Quartus. Scena Prima,*" and "*Actus Quintus.*" "All's Well" is divided only into acts; "The Winter's Tale" into acts and scenes. The "Histories" are all divided in full, except "Henry V." (acts), "1 Henry VI." (decidedly "mixed"), "2 Henry VI." and "3 Henry VI." (not divided at all). In "1 Henry VI.," acts I. and II. are not divided into scenes; act III. is rightly divided; "*Actus Quartus. Scena prima.*" covers the first *four* scenes of act IV.; "*Scena secunda*" corresponds to scene 1 of act V.; "*Scœna Tertia*" includes scenes 2, 3, and 4;

and only the fifth scene is put under the heading "*Actus Quintus.*"

Of the "Tragedies," "Coriolanus," "Titus Andronicus," and "Julius Cæsar" are divided only into acts; "Macbeth," "Lear," "Othello," and "Cymbeline," into acts and scenes; "Troilus and Cressida," "Romeo and Juliet," "Timon of Athens," and "Antony and Cleopatra," into neither. In "Hamlet," three scenes of act I. and two of act II. are marked, the remainder of the play having no division whatever.

The only plays in the Folio which have lists of *dramatis personæ* (in every instance at the *end*) are "The Tempest," "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," "Measure for Measure," "The Winter's Tale," "2 Henry IV.," "Timon of Athens," and "Othello." In "2 Henry IV." and "Timon" a full page, with ornamental headpiece and tailpiece, is given to this list of "The Actors Names." The omission in the twenty-nine other plays cannot be due to want of space, as an examination of the book will show. In several instances an entire page is left blank at the end of a play.

The wretched editing—or want of editing—in the Folio is also shown in the retention of matter for which the author had substituted a revised version. We can easily see how this might result from the use of old stage manuscripts for "copy" in the printing-office. The revised passages were inserted in the manuscript, but the original form was allowed to remain. It may have been retained for the benefit of an actor who had already learned it, the later and longer version being the one which a new actor would learn. The two may have been distinguished by arbitrary marks in the margin, intelligible to the actors, but liable to be overlooked or misinterpreted by the compositor.

A notable example of such duplication of matter occurs in "Love's Labour's Lost," act IV., scene 3. In some modern editions the earlier version is omitted; in others (as in mine) it is enclosed in brackets. I will quote here only one of the bracketed passages, with the revised counterpart:

> "For when would you, my lord,—or you,—or you,—
> Have found the ground of study's excellence
> Without the beauty of a woman's face?
> From women's eyes this doctrine I derive:
> They are the ground, the books, the academes,
> From whence doth spring the true Promethean fire."

Further on in the same speech we read :

> "For when would you, my liege,—or you,—or you,—
> In leaden contemplation have found out
> Such fiery numbers as the prompting eyes
> Of beauty's tutors have enriched you with?
> . . . . . .
> From women's eyes this doctrine I derive :
> They sparkle still the right Promethean fire;
> They are the books, the arts, the academes,
> That show, contain, and nourish all the world,
> Else none at all in aught proves excellent."

In this instance the blunder of the compositor was committed in "setting up" the Quarto of 1598, which, as the repetition of sundry typographical errors proves, was used as "copy" for the Folio. The title-page of the Quarto—evidently a pirated edition —describes the play as "newly corrected and augmented," and there are many indications of revision besides the one I have cited.

Again, in the last scene of "Timon of Athens," the epitaph of the misanthrope reads thus (except in spelling) in the Folio :

> "Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft;
> Seek not my name. A plague consume you wicked caitiffs left!
> Here lie I, Timon, who, alive, all living men did hate;
> Pass by and curse thy fill, but pass and stay not here thy gait."

We have here the *two* epitaphs given in North's "Plutarch" as follows :

> "Now it chanced so, that the sea getting in, it compassed his tomb round about, that no man could come to it; and upon the same was written this epitaph :
>
> "'Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft :
> Seek not my name : a plague consume you wicked wretches left.'
>
> It is reported that Timon himself when he lived made this epitaph; for that which is commonly rehearsed was not his, but made by the poet Callimachus :
>
> "'Here lie I, Timon, who alive all living men did hate :
> Pass by and curse thy fill; but pass, and stay not here thy gait.'"

Shakespeare (or Bacon) cannot have meant to use both epitaphs. He seems to have written both in the manuscript while hesitating between them, and afterwards to have neglected to strike one out.

The printing of words and phrases from foreign languages in the Folio indicates wretched editing or proof-reading, or both.

Latin is given with tolerable accuracy, though we meet with *cruces* like that in "Love's Labour's Lost," act I., scene 1, where *Holofernes* is represented as saying: "*Bome boon for boon prescian*, a little scratcht, 'twil serue." This is in reply to *Nathaniel's* "*Laus deo, bene intelligo*," which Theobald conjectures to be misprinted for "*Laus deo, bone, intelligo*"; with the response: "*Bone!—bone* for *bene!* Priscian a little scratched; 'twill serve"; that is, *Holofernes* takes *Nathaniel's bone* (which *he* means to be the vocative of the adjective) as a slip for *bene*, the adverb—which is natural enough, *bene intelligo* being a common phrase. Some editors, however, retain the *bene intelligo* in the preceding speech, and put the reply of *Holofernes* into *French*, thus: "*Bon, bon, fort bon*, Priscian!" etc. But the pedant does not elsewhere use French, and Latin would be more natural here.

French, Spanish, and Italian are almost invariably misprinted in the Folio, sometimes ridiculously so. In the "Merry Wives," for instance (act I., scene 4), "*un boitier vert*" appears as "*un-boyteene vert*"; and "*Ma foi, il fait fort chaud: je m'en vais à la cour—la grande affaire*" (Rowe's emendation), as "*mai foy, il fait fort chando, Je man voi a le Court la grand affaires*"; and "*un garçon*" (act V., scene 5) as "*oon garsoon.*" In "Henry V.," act IV., scene 5, "*O Seigneur! le jour est perdu, tout est perdu!*" is perverted into "*O sigueur le iour et perdia, toute et perdie.*" The Italian *capocchia* of "Troilus and Cressida," act IV., scene 2, becomes *chipochia*; "*mercatante,*" in the "Shrew," act IV., scene 2, "*marcantant*"; and in "Love's Labour's Lost," act IV., scene 2, "*Venetia, Venetia, chi non ti vede non ti pretia*" (as it appears in Howell's "Letters" and in some modern editions, though others give it somewhat differently) is rendered "*vemchie, vencha, que non te vnde, que non te perreche,*" which exactly follows the Quarto of 1598, showing that neither the Folio printer nor the editor or proof-reader made any attempt to correct the fearful distortion of the Venetian proverb in the earlier edition used as "copy." Whether the "*Fortuna delarguar*" of the same play (act V., scene 2) is corrupt Spanish for *fortuna de la guerra*, or *del agua*, or *de la guarda*, the editors cannot decide; but it is probably the first, though it does not exactly suit the context.

It would take more than the entire space at my command to illustrate, even in this brief way, all the faults and defects of the

Folio, regarded solely from the printer's or proof-reader's point of view; but are not the facts already given enough, and more than enough, to settle the question whether the book is Bacon's?

Donnelly dwells much on "the extraordinary and phenomenal industry" of the man as shown in the elaboration of "the twenty volumes of his acknowledged writings." He tells us twice (pp. 286, 467) that Bacon "rewrote his essays *thirty times*," and "twelve times transcribed the 'Novum Organum' with his own hand." He might have added that the works which Bacon himself saw through the press are carefully printed. The reader can refer for illustration of this to Mr. W. Aldis Wright's accurate reprint of the 1625 edition of the "Essays," published by Macmillan. Few books printed nowadays are freer from errors of the type.

But, as Donnelly tells us, Bacon believed that his plays "would yield more lustre and reputation to his name" than his essays or his philosophical works, and he therefore took "the utmost pains" to publish these plays before his death. Can the Folio of 1623 be the fruit of the utmost pains of this phenomenally laborious scholar in a final edition of his greatest works? Would the man who rewrote the essays thirty times be compelled to go to the theatre for manuscripts of the plays to be used as "copy" by the printer? Would he read the proofs without detecting the repeated use of actors' names instead of those of the *dramatis personæ?* Could he overlook all the other imperfections and incongruities in the Folio which I have pointed out? In a carefully-revised edition could he fail to see and correct repetitions like those in "Love's Labour's Lost" and "Timon"?

If we assume the existence of a "cipher" in the Folio, such as Donnelly assures us that he finds, the absurdity of supposing the volume to be Bacon's becomes infinitely more preposterous. The insertion of this cipher, we are told, required the nicest care in the adjustment of every word in the original manuscript, and the minutest scrutiny of the proof-sheets as each page was printed. Every word had to be counted again and again; every instance of italics, brackets, and hyphens had to be noted in this repeated computation. Donnelly assumes that this was a task of almost inconceivable difficulty; and anybody at all acquainted with book-making can see that the cryptogramist must have re-

quired proof after proof in order to perfect this work within the work. Is it credible or supposable that Bacon could have thus painfully elaborated the narrative concealed in the text, and yet have left the text itself in the wretched condition in which we find it? Certain typographical errors are alleged to be due to the exigencies of the cipher narrative; but Donnelly will not pretend that more than an insignificant fraction of them can be explained in this way.

I have said that the merely typographical or mechanical imperfections of the Folio suffice to prove that the book is none of Bacon's. I have not referred, and shall now refer only in the briefest manner, to a wholly different class of facts that lead inevitably to the same conclusion. If the Folio were as well printed as any of Bacon's acknowledged works,—the "Essays" of 1625, for example,—there would still be internal evidence, abundant and decisive, that the volume cannot be the author's final revision of his dramatic productions. Certain of the plays are manifestly nothing more than a slight remodelling of earlier work by other hands. Others are apparently pieces left unfinished, and completed by another playwright—in some instances by one so inferior that the author cannot be supposed to have been a party to the transaction. If it be said that all the matter is from one and the same hand, this is not absolutely inconceivable if the collecting and publishing of the works have been done by an incompetent or unscrupulous editor after the author's death; but how can we explain it if the author himself is editor? Why, to refer to a single play, should "Timon of Athens" be left in the state in which the Folio gives it—pure gold with a large admixture of the basest alloy, stuff utterly unworthy the 'prentice days of the dramatist? Scarcely a critic of the present century has been willing to regard the play as the work of a single hand. Portions of it are written in the merest burlesque of verse—as if the author had no ear, unless an asinine one—and the thought and sentiment are in keeping with the versification; while other portions bear the marks of the poet's maturest period. According to the Baconians, this was one of the latest plays, if not the latest play, their philosopher wrote; and *Timon* is meant to represent himself, deserted by his parasite friends after his fall. Could Bacon have written it as we have it, or, if any inferior writer had a share in it, would Bacon have printed it all as his

own? These and similar questions have never been put to the Baconians, so far as I am aware, and I respectfully submit them to Mr. Donnelly's consideration.

On the other hand, let me ask the candid and unprejudiced reader whether these facts, and all the others concerning the Folio which I have mentioned, are not readily explicable on the theory that the volume contains the dramatic works of the dead Shakespeare, collected and edited by two of his fellow-actors, who were neither scholars nor critics, but did their share of the work to the best of their small ability.

If Bacon did not edit the Folio, he could not have inserted a cipher in it; but it may be well to examine the so-called cipher which Donnelly imagines he has discovered in the volume, and which he has described and illustrated in "The Great Cryptogram." His article in the last number of THE REVIEW is merely an additional chapter of this book, giving a fragment of a new "cipher story," which he has worked out by the methods employed in developing similar stories partially reported in the book. He has continued his cryptogramic study of the plays, he tells us, and the result is

"the astonishing discovery that every page of the play of 'First Part of Henry Fourth' on which a scene begins—and presumably every other similar page throughout the whole of the First Folio—produces a continuous cipher story, elaborated by a root-number which is obtained by multiplying the number of the page by the number of italic words on the first column of the page. In other words, that the cipher narrative given in 'The Great Cryptogram,' growing out of page 76 (of '2d Henry IV.'), multiplied by the number of bracketed words on column 74 (on which the scene begins), is but one of a series of cipher stories, woven through the text of these extraordinary works."

This proposition may, as Donnelly adds, "appear incredible on its face"; but we shall see, when we find out how the "cipher stories" are got, that the series might easily be extended indefinitely.

The "cipher" is no cipher at all, but an arbitrarily and almost infinitely variable method of counting the words of the text, by which any narrative whatever can be read into any printed matter whatever containing the *words* needed, however scattered, or any other words that can be combined or perverted into a punning resemblance to those needed. Let us look into Donnelly's own account of its discovery and application.

He suspected its existence more than a dozen years ago, and began to hunt for it in the winter of 1878–79, but it was five or six years before he got the clew. He began, as he tells us (p. 516 of his book) by looking for some such brief statement as "I, Francis Bacon, of St. Albans, son of Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, wrote these plays which go by the name of William Shakespeare." Then he looked in the plays for such words as "*Francis, Bacon, Nicholas, Bacon,* and such combinations as *Shake* and *speare,* or *Shakes* and *pear,* as would make the name *Shakespeare.*" He found them, of course, and then began to trace out numerical relations among them; but it was not until he got hold of the Folio of 1623 that he discovered "the root-numbers out of which the story grows"—namely, 505, 506, 513, 516, and 523—and the "forty or fifty starting-points" from which to count in finding the significant words. In his book (p. 583) he said that the root-numbers were "the product of multiplying certain figures in the first column of page 74 by certain other figures," which "multipliers" were said to be 10, 7, 11, and 18. It was objected that only one of the root-numbers could be the "product" of any of these multipliers; and Donnelly then gave, in a newspaper article, a wholly different account of the process by which the root-numbers were obtained. The "multipliers" were now said to be 12, 10, and 11, and one of the multiplicands the page-number 76. The product of 11 and 76 is 836, and from *this* he gets his five root-numbers by first subtracting 29, one of certain numbers he calls "modifiers," and then subtracting from the remainder, 807, the numbers 294, 291, 301, and 284, which represent the number of words in the first column of page 74, counted in various ways—with or without bracketed and hyphenated words, etc.

However the root-numbers may be obtained, it is evident that, with the many starting-points, the freedom in the use of "modifiers," the counting up or down, and the like, any word in the Folio text can be forced into its place in the narrative supposed to be concealed there. It would take too much space to show how arbitrary are the methods by which the successive words are figured out; but the peculiar "hop-skip" movement may be illustrated by the way in which Sir Thomas Lucy's name is deciphered on page 777. The *Sir* is the 217th word in the first

column of page 77 of the text, or 77, 1, concisely expressed. *Thomas* is ingeniously made up of *to*, the 49th word in 76, 1, and *amiss*, the 189th in 76, 2. *Lucy* is a combination of *loose*, the 77th word in 74, 2, and *see*, the 384th in 75, 1. No two of the words are obtained by similar counting; and Donnelly's own explanations and comments make it clear that the variations are not according to any fixed rule. The numbers of the words are all got, he says, from 305 by subtracting "modifiers." For the 217 of *Sir*, 31, 50, and 7 (the number of bracketed words in the column) are subtracted; but no reason is given, or can be given, for selecting 77, 1, as the column in which the 217th word is taken. For the 49 of *to*, 31, 50, 30, and 145 are successively subtracted, and the 76, 1, column is arbitrarily chosen as the one from which to take the 49th word. For the 189 required to get *amiss* in 76, 2, the 305 is successively diminished by 31, 30, 5 (bracketed words), and 50. For the 77 of *loose*, we subtract 31, 50, and 50 from 305, then subtract the remainder, 174, from 248 (the whole number of words in 74, 2), leaving 74, to which 1 and 2 (hyphenated words in the column) are *added*. For *see*, it is necessary to subtract 31, 50, and 30 from 305, leaving 194; then to double this 194, and subtract 4 (hyphenated words) from the product. This done, 75, 1, is selected as the column in which the 384th word is taken. Five radically different arithmetical processes, each evidently independent of the others, are thus used to get the numbers for the syllables of *Sir Thomas Lucy* in the distorted form of the name, and the counting is done in five different columns of four different pages. Nothing can be clearer than that the cryptogramist first assumed or suspected that the name of Sir Thomas was somewhere concealed in this portion of the text; that he then hunted up his *Sir* and *to-amiss* and *loose-see*, and manipulated his figuring to fit their positions in the columns where they occur.

The cipher narrative abounds in superfluities, not only of words and phrases, but of paragraphs and, indeed, entire chapters. Donnelly tells us (p. 239), that it "probably gives us the whole history of the reign of Elizabeth." It also gives us a most minute biography of Shakespeare from his youth up (and of his wife as well), with all the particulars of his connection with the plays, including the Queen's attempt to apprehend him on account of political matter in them which offended her, and

Bacon's fear that Shakespeare would reveal their true authorship, his sending Harry Percy to urge Shakespeare to run away, etc., etc. The words of the text are used over and over again in relating all this, and the infinite labor involved in the undertaking is not ignored. Donnelly says (p. 574) that the play of "2 Henry IV." is "a most carefully-constructed piece of mosaic work, most cunningly dovetailed together, with marvellous precision and microscopic accuracy; there is not one cipher, but many ciphers in it; it is a miracle of industry and ingenuity." Again he says (p. 865): "In short, every act, scene, fragment of scene, column, word, bracket, and hyphen, in all the pages of these two plays [the two parts of 'Henry IV.'], and, as I believe, of all the plays, has been the subject of the most patient, painstaking prevision and arithmetical calculation and adjustment, to a degree that is almost inconceivable."

It is not almost but altogether inconceivable. Mr. W. H. Wyman, an expert in the typographic art, has shown (in the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* for June 4, 1886) that Bacon's preparation of his manuscript, as imagined by Donnelly (pp. 560–562 and elsewhere), is "a simple impossibility"; and that the putting it in type, so as to make the printed page correspond in its cryptographic details to the written page, is another impossibility. "If not a mechanical impossibility, it is so practically, if not absolutely, and no one who attempted it would have the courage or the patience to carry it beyond the first page on which he tried the experiment."

Donnelly, however, would have us believe that Bacon not only attempted this insertion of a multiplicity of intertangled "cipher stories" in the Folio, but wantonly augmented and complicated the task by including in these stories many irrelevant and insignificant details, and wasting words recklessly in these as in all other parts of the "concealed matter." This is illustrated even in the "Francis Bacon, Sir Nicholas Bacon's Son." Was it necessary to state that he was the son of Sir Nicholas? Would Donnelly have thought of making Bacon state it if he had not chanced to light on that *Nicholas* while hunting for the cipher? But this is trivial in comparison with the poor stuff spun out elsewhere in the narrative; as, for instance, in Harry Percy's account of his visit to Shakespeare at Stratford. Shakespeare told his wife to get some supper for

Bacon's messenger; and "then follows," says Donnelly (p. 874), "with great detail, a description of the supper, served by the handsome Susannah; and every article of food is given, much of it coarse and in poor condition; and Percy is vehement in his description and denunciation of the very poor quality of the wine, which was far inferior to the kind that was served at his spendthrift master's table." And that spendthrift master, no less prodigal of misdirected labor, wasted many weary hours in working these petty details into the Folio text for the entertainment of posterity! Elsewhere (p. 807)) our philosopher digresses into a lengthy account of the introduction of the "French disease" into England—suggested by Shakespeare's having the disease; "and," says Donnelly, "the fact that Bacon could stop in the midst of his cipher narrative to give these details as to a most shameful but most destructive disorder, is characteristic of the man who, in his prose history of Henry VII., paused to describe the great plague which decimated London in that reign." It is also characteristic that "he goes on to tell the mode of treatment for the shameful disease in question"!

The waste of words—these carefully-counted and ingeniously-adjusted words—is yet more remarkable where they do not even serve to give us these petty or useless details, but are the merest verbiage. On page 738, for instance, we read: "He drew his pistol, and shot him, and, *as ill luck would have it*, the ball hit him on the forehead *between the eyes*"; and the superfluous italicized words are scattered through pages 71, 74, and 75 of the Folio. It would have saved Bacon much figuring and fussing over these pages if he had simply written, "drew his pistol and shot him in the forehead." That tautological cryptographer, in describing Shakespeare's encounter with Sir Thomas Lucy's gamekeepers,—a needless episode in the narrative,—can afford to write a sentence like this (p. 742): "He hath beaten one of the keepers *o'er the head, sides, and back* with *the blunt edge of* his stick till it breaks, or he fell *down to the earth under the heavy weight of his blows*"! It takes an octavo page full of figures to show how Donnelly dug the useless words out of four pages of the Folio; and Bacon had to perform all that calculation and much labor besides in hiding them there. He could actually write like this (p. 753): "After quenching the fire, *the flames of which even yet burned*"!

I fear, however, that we must give Donnelly, and not Bacon,

the credit of originating this extraordinary narrative. He has read it into the Folio before ciphering it out again. It is written in *the English of the nineteenth century,* not the sixteenth. This has been shown again and again, though I believe that I may claim to have been the first to discover an unquestionable *Americanism* in the thing. Shakespeare, to revenge himself on Sir Thomas Lucy, as we are told, drains his fish-pond (p. 697) "and *girdles* his orchard." It is unnecessary to inform the reader that this use of *girdle* originated in this country long after Bacon was in his grave, and that it would be unintelligible to most Englishmen to-day.

The only reply that Donnelly has been able to make to this and similar criticisms is to say that "the *words* are all in the Folio." Verily they are; and in "Troilus and Cressida" (act II., scene 3) there is reference to "an engine not portable"; and in "2 Henry IV." (act IV., scene 1) "rocky mountains" are mentioned. This, however, will hardly justify Donnelly in making Bacon allude, in some future chapter of the cipher narrative, to a "portable engine" in the familiar modern acceptation of the term, or to the "Rocky Mountains" of our American continent.

Donnelly's ignorance of Elizabethan English is amazing. In his much counting of the Folio words he has failed to learn their meaning and use. He tells us that Bacon was sometimes hard-pressed by the exigencies of the cipher, and actually wrote nonsense on a pinch in order to get the right word, cryptographically speaking, in the right place. On page 536, "I *con* him no thanks for it," and "Yes, thanks, I must you *con*," are quoted in illustration of this. The expression, he says, "is sheer nonsense." It was, nevertheless, common in Shakespeare's time, and Steevens and other commentators cite many examples of it from contemporaneous writers. In "2 Henry IV." (act II., scene 1) *Falstaff* says, referring to *Dame Quickly,* "Throw the quean into the *channel*"; and Donnelly—who, by the by, says that the *Quickly* "threatened to throw the corpulent *Sir John* into the channel"!—thinks that *channel* is here a word without proper meaning, introduced by Bacon because he has occasion to refer to the English Channel! For *channel=kennel,* or gutter, with sundry old and well-known compounds and derivatives from it, Donnelly may be referred to any good English dictionary. On page 872 he quotes one of the thirty or more passages in which

Shakespeare uses *owe* in the sense of *own*. He has found a mare's-nest; "the text is twisted to get in the word." Bacon needed it for the cipher, and got it "by mispelling a word in the text." Here, too, the dictionary may be commended to our cryptogramist, who will learn from it that the original meaning of *owe* was "have, possess." He will find the word with this sense in the English Bible (edition of 1611), Leviticus, xiv., 35, and Acts, xxi., 11; but Donnelly may yet prove that Bacon wrote King James's version, and put a cipher in it, just as he wrote Shakespeare's plays, and Marlowe's, and Montaigne's essays (that is, Florio's pretended translation, which Bacon got the Perigourdin gentleman to translate into French and claim as his own), and Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy."

I may remark here that Donnelly's chapter on "Other Masks of Francis Bacon" (pp. 939–974) is indirectly fatal to the cipher theory, though he does not see it. We are told here that Bacon wrote not only all the dramatic and other works just mentioned, but all the so-called "doubtful plays" (at one time and another ascribed to Shakespeare), fifteen in number,—"Arden of Feversham," "Locrine," etc.,—and probably also the plays supposed to be written by Marston, Massinger, Middleton, Greene, Shirley, and Webster. Both Donnelly and Mrs. Pott recognize "Baconianisms of thought and expression" in all these plays. That the Montaigne "Essays" and the "Anatomy of Melancholy" are Bacon's is proved by many cryptic allusions to them in the Folio, by similar allusions to *Shakespeare* and *Verulam* and *St. Albans* in the books themselves, and by the "parallelisms" of style, to which a dozen or more pages are devoted in this chapter of "The Great Cryptogram."

In other words, we have just the same grounds for believing that Bacon wrote all these books ascribed to Marlowe, Montaigne, Burton, and the rest, that we have for believing that he wrote Shakespeare's plays and poems! Here I can heartily agree with Donnelly. If Bacon wrote any one of these things, he unquestionably wrote them all—and any other Elizabethan literature that Donnelly or anybody else will take the trouble to analyze and "decipher" after the same fashion.

It is proper to say, in conclusion, that I cannot agree with those who doubt Donnelly's sincerity. I believe him to be thoroughly honest, though amazingly deluded.

W. J. Rolfe.

HOW SHALL WE MAN OUR SHIPS?

BY REAR ADMIRAL S. B. LUCE, UNITED STATES NAVY.

THE question of manning the navy forced itself upon the attention of the British government some thirty years ago. A brief reference to the creditable manner in which it was disposed of then and there may aid us in answering the same question to-day in reference to our own navy.

The subject took a practical form when, in 1859, Her Majesty the Queen, in compliance with an "humble address" presented by Parliament, appointed as commissioners her "trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Charles Philip, Earl of Hardwicke," together with certain members of Parliament, admirals, and ship-owners, "to inquire into the best means of manning the navy." In 1852 the First Lord of the Admiralty had appointed a board for the same purpose. But as the recommendations of the board were fully sustained by the royal commission, the two reports may be considered for the present as one and the same.

Prior to 1853 the practice in England, during peace, was to enter volunteers for particular ships, nominally for five years; practically during the ship's commission, averaging from three to four years. Under this system it was found that, owing to a growing dislike on the part of the seamen for the royal navy, ships were sometimes from four to six months in getting their crews after being put in commission; and during the Crimean War, when neither the temper—or say, rather, the enlightenment—of the English people nor the exigencies of the case rendered impressment advisable, it was the exception to find an English man-of-war with a full complement of seamen.

The commission declared that the system of volunteer enlistment was attended with great inconvenience to the public service, and even to the seamen themselves. Men who had been trained with great trouble and expense, and had been brought to a state

of the highest efficiency, were suddenly discharged at the expiration of a cruise, and, being unable to reënlist, often sought employment under a foreign flag; and thus, when required for the navy, were not to be obtained. This led not only to great delay in conducting the ordinary duties of the service, but was the source of serious embarrassment when political considerations rendered necessary the speedy equipment of a fleet.

The first point considered by the commission in mitigation of the serious and growing evil was the extension of what was called the *continuous-service system*, by which seamen were induced, for certain advantages, to engage themselves to serve continuously for a period of ten years. That system had already been in operation from five to six years, had been attended with very beneficial results, and had secured to the country a body of well-trained and efficient seamen. But it was chiefly to the naval-apprentice boys, the enlistment of whom had been going on for a few preceding years, that the commission looked for the gradual organization of a permanent navy. "Men," it was said, "who had been received into the navy as boys became from early habits and associations more attached and adhered more closely to the service than those entered at a more advanced age; and they eventually constituted, from their superior education and training, the most valuable part of the crews of Her Majesty's ships."

Attention was next called to the extreme importance of encouraging seamen to qualify as seamen-gunners. The commission recommended that the number under instruction on board the gunnery-ship "Excellent" and her tenders should be increased, as "they could not overrate the advantages which the naval service had derived from the systematic instruction and training in gunnery and the use of arms as established on board that ship." To induce seamen to enter the gunnery-ships "Excellent" and "Cambridge," and to qualify themselves for "the highly important situations of seamen-gunners," an increase of pay was recommended; and, with the view of retaining them when once qualified, it was proposed that a period of five-years' service as seamen-gunner should count as six years towards a long-service pension; and, further, that of the 4,000 men to be retained in the home ports, 1,000 should always be seamen-gunners. These measures were deemed sufficient to keep up the peace establishment.

Certain recommendations followed, which, if properly carried out, would tend to make the service more popular.

The commission then proceeds to consider the mode of manning the fleet in an emergency, and the recommendations merit our serious consideration. The report concludes as follows :

"Your Majesty possesses in the merchant service elements of naval power such as no other government in the world enjoys. It is true that hitherto no sufficient organization has existed for securing the immediate command of these resources. During a long peace, reliance has been placed either on the improbability that danger would arise, or on the efficacy of impressment to furnish the means by which danger could be confronted and overcome. Changes in public sentiment and in the circumstances of the case have shaken that reliance. We rejoice to believe that by improvements in the administration of the navy, and in the regulation of the merchant service, other resources have in the mean time been placed within the reach of the government, and that it is now in their power to substitute for untrained, compulsory service, a system of defence, voluntary, effective, and calculated to draw closer to your Majesty, at the moment of danger, the loyal enthusiasm of those on whom your Majesty will rely. We therefore submit measures calculated to improve the position and elevate the character of the British seamen of both services."

The recommendations of the commission were adopted and put in force, and the number of school-ships for the navy and for the merchant service was increased ; so that now the English navy is manned exclusively by continuous-service men who have, as boys, passed through the training-ships. We refer, of course, to the blue-jacket class only. Boys are entered to serve for ten years from the age of eighteen. The benefits are such that many seamen, on reaching the age of twenty-eight, elect to reënter for an additional term of ten years. At thirty-eight they receive an increase of pension, and the majority enter the coast guard, which constitutes part of the naval reserve. England has now in commission about eighteen training- and drill ships, 39,133 seamen, and 4,514 boys, 1,950 of the latter being under training. Her merchant tonnage amounts to 7,351,888, and her merchant seamen number 223,673 ; a very respectable body in point of numbers to draw on in an emergency.

The question of manning the navy was very summarily disposed of in France many years ago. Under the law, every citizen between the ages of eighteen and sixty must serve for a certain specified time either in the army or the navy. The French navy is manned by the system known as the *inscription maritime*. The

coasts of France are divided into five *arrondissements*, each one being presided over by a flag officer (admiral), commonly known as the *préfet maritime*. The subdivisions of the *arrondissements* are presided over by officers whose duty it is to keep carefully-revised lists of all the sailors in the district, as well as every man who follows the sea for a living, or even earns his daily bread by working in harbors, docks, upon canals, or in boats—every one, in short, who follows the craft of waterman. They are all obliged to serve in the navy. It was stated a few years ago that, as a result of this system, all the seamen of the French fleet taken from the maritime inscription had passed successively on board the ships of the national fleet; and that all had received a complete education both in seamanship and gunnery. In the course of nine years the entire body of the merchant seamen must pass through the navy. The French seamen available for war number from 150,000 to 180,000. The French maritime organization is admirable, but too systematic for this country.

How we shall man our ships is a question that has never, to our knowledge, been seriously asked in this country. We still continue to depend on short-term enlistments of the nomads of the sea—the system so severely reprobated by the royal commission of 1859 and abandoned by the English government thirty years ago. It is a no-system. Nothing worse could possibly be devised to secure the end in view.

We have, it is true, borrowed from the English certain terms, —words having a vague meaning,—but we have contented ourselves with mere shadows without the substance. Thus we have a *continuous-service certificate*, but the holder thereof does not bind himself for a long term of service, and we have a *seaman-gunner* who is not a gunner. The English seaman-gunners, so highly prized in that service, are blue-jackets trained on board gunnery-ships in the *use* of heavy guns and arms of precision. They are seamen who become expert gunners; hence the name. We educate them on shore, in machine-shops, as machinists, gunsmiths, and electricians, so that at the expiration of their short term of enlistment they can, and do, go into civil life, where they readily secure places giving them more pay per week than they can earn in the navy in a month. We cannot, at this moment, recall a more forcible illustration of over-education, or, rather, misdirected education.

Of our naval-apprentice system it is enough to say that it has been permitted to exist. The naval training system as now organized was established in 1875. After fifteen years of vicissitude we find that under our peculiar methods it has failed to render adequate returns, and our national ships have to-day much the same polyglot crews as formerly. The crew of the "Trenton," for example, represented, during her last cruise, *twenty-seven different nationalities;* 33 per cent. only were native-born Americans; and out of a total of 450 souls there were not more than fifteen who had passed through the training service.

The training service has not, however, been wholly barren of good results. It has disclosed the fact that there are plenty of boys in this country who gladly enter the navy, and who, under judicious management, are willing to stay in it; and there is overwhelming testimony to the superior quality of the young seamen who have reëntered the navy after serving out an honorable apprenticeship. These two facts encourage us to believe that, under the recently-improved method of naval administration, the course of naval training is about to take a fresh departure. Boys, now indentured till twenty-one only, will probably, under an amended law, be enlisted for longer terms; "continuous service" will henceforth mean continuous service as it was originally understood, and the "Lancaster," which will probably be commissioned the coming spring as a gunnery-ship, will give us real seamen-gunners. A justly-graduated scale of pay is, of course, a *sine quâ non.*

Having reached that most important point—a clearly-defined idea of what we really want—and having devised means of supplying that want, it will then be in order to double the capacity of the training service. Congress should allow the navy 1,500 boys.

So much for the revival of the original plan, inaugurated in this country in 1837, of manning our ships of war during peace with young American seamen trained up for the special purpose. The experiment of 1837 failed, as did that of 1864. But there is every reason for believing that the ultimate success of the present undertaking is now assured, and that henceforth our ships of war will be manned by Americans only.

The subject of manning national ships comprises two separate and distinct parts—the supplying of trained seamen for a peace

establishment, and the provision for a reserve, consisting of a large body of seafaring people, on which to levy in time of war. We have seen what has been done in this latter respect by the two great naval powers of the world.

Engaged in our foreign trade, coastwise traffic, and fisheries, it is estimated that there are about 285,000 seamen ; but there is no way by which the government can reach them in an emergency, save by voluntary enlistment and bounty. In England the general superintendence of all matters relating to merchant shipping and merchant seamen comes under the Board of Trade, a bureau of which, the Registrar-General of Seamen, has to do with all matters indicated by its title. The president of the Board of Trade is a cabinet officer. Such an executive department is essential to the complete rehabilitation of our mercantile marine and the enumeration of our seamen. Through the Board of Trade the British government keeps "in touch" with the merchant seamen. We need a Board of Trade, or its equivalent.

As a prosperous merchant service is the foundation of naval power, the revival of our shipping interests means the more thorough rehabilitation of the navy. Hence the great importance to the navy of Senate bill No. 1,628, reported by Senator Frye and passed by the Senate during the first session of the Fifty-first Congress. The preamble of that bill lays down the sound principle that a mercantile marine of our own, "built, manned, and used by our own people, is a national requirement, essential to a fair participation in the trade of the world, indispensable to a wise industrial economy of state, and vital to the independence and defence of the Union." Let Congress, during the present session, pass that bill, and add to the executive government a Department of Commerce, and the value of our maritime defences will be increased a hundred-fold and the second part of our question be fully answered.

S. B. Luce.

VITAL STATISTICS OF THE JEWS.

BY JOHN S. BILLINGS, M. D., SURGEON, UNITED STATES ARMY.

IN THE following paper the terms "Jewish race" and "Jews" are used to designate the people ordinarily so called, considered as the descendants of those who returned to Palestine after the Babylonian captivity, but without reference to their religious beliefs or practices. The terms "Hebrews" and "Israelites," which are commonly used as synonymes for Jews, are not here employed, because they have a different historical signification.

There are now a little over 7,000,000 persons in the world who may properly be called "Jews," and of these about 500,000 are living in this country. More than one-third of these last have arrived as immigrants from foreign lands within the last ten years, over 120,000 having arrived at the port of New York alone during the five years 1885–89.

This rapid increase, considered in connection with certain peculiarities in the habits, occupations, and vitality of this people, gives rise to some interesting questions with regard to their probable future in this country, and the influence which they may have upon our commercial, political, and social development.

From time to time during the last fifty years there have been published certain data relating to the vital statistics of the Jews in various parts of Austria, Bohemia, France, the German Empire, and Italy, all tending to show that the marriage-, birth-, and death-rates of this race are lower than those of the people among whom they live, and that they have fewer still-born children, greater average longevity, and less liability to certain forms of disease than other races. Do these characteristics exist among Jews in the United States? Or have they been in any way modified among those who have been for a number of years subjected to the new conditions of life in this country?

With the approval of the Superintendent of the Eleventh Census, a special inquiry has been made into the vital statistics of a number of Jews who have been in this country for several years, in order to determine, if possible, their birth-, death-, and marriage-rates for purposes of comparison with those of other races.

For this purpose a form of schedule was prepared, on which for each family could be recorded the name, sex, age, occupation, etc., of each member of the family living on the 31st day of December, 1889; also the name, sex, age, etc., of each member of that family who had been born, or had married, or had died during the five years ending December 31, 1889; and these schedules were sent to the heads of about 15,000 Hebrew families, according to lists furnished for that purpose by the presidents and rabbis of congregations. These lists included only the names of heads of families who had been in this country for five years or more. No attempt was made to obtain a complete census of the Jews; the effort being only to obtain the vital statistics of a sufficient number of persons of this race who had been so long in this country that any special influences here might be supposed to have at least commenced to act upon them, and to make use of the data thus obtained for purposes of comparison with the vital statistics of other races which might be obtained through the ordinary machinery of the census, and also with the vital statistics of the Jewish race in Europe as shown by foreign reports.

The data collected relate to 10,618 Jewish families, including 60,630 persons, living in the United States on December 31, 1889. Of these families, 4,411, including 25,186 persons, resided in the Eastern States and on the Atlantic coast; 4,071 families, including 23,226 persons, in the lake region and Mississippi valley; 1,433 families, including 8,218 persons, in the Southern States; and 703 families, including 4,000 persons in the Western States and on the Pacific slope. The data for each of these groups have been compiled separately in order to determine any differences due to climate, and also as a check upon the total figures; but the results have proved to be very uniform throughout, and therefore the totals only will, as a rule, be referred to in the following remarks. Eight thousand two hundred and sixty-three of these families had been fifteen years or more in this country.

It will be seen that these were all surviving families, as none of those which during the preceding five years had been broken up by the deaths of parents were included; and they were also above the average of the general Jewish population as to social position, health, and vitality. Their mortality statistics may therefore, be more fairly compared with those of life-insurance companies than with those of the general population.

The social condition of these families is indicated by the fact that 3,996 of them, including 21,797 persons, or a little over one-third, kept no servants, while the remainder, 6,622 families, including 38,833 persons, kept one or more servants, and may, accordingly, be presumed to have been in easy circumstances. No very great differences, however, are found in the vital statistics of these two classes. The average number of persons in the families of the poorer class was 5.25, the average annual number of marriages per thousand of mean population was 7.60, the average number of births per thousand of women between fifteen and fifty years of age was 66.92, and the average number of deaths per thousand was 6.94; while in those families keeping one or more servants the average number of persons to a family was 5.59; average annual number of marriages per thousand of mean population, 7.29; average annual number of births per thousand of women between fifteen and fifty years of age, 76.33; and average annual number of deaths per thousand, 7.20.

The data relating to the living population collected by these schedules are no doubt, in most respects, as complete and accurate for the people for whom they were returned as any census data can be. The return for each family was filled out by its head as a voluntary matter, and after ample time for consideration, and there could have been no special motive in any case for making a false report, unless possibly with reference to feeble-minded, insane, or deaf-mute persons. Nor have we any reason to doubt the substantial accuracy and completeness of the records of births and marriages reported as having occurred during the five years under consideration; but as regards the deaths the data are more questionable, as will be shown hereafter.

Of the total number of persons living, 31,694 were males and 28,936 females, giving a proportion of 91.29 females to each 100 males, or 109.53 males to each 100 females; the proportion of males being larger than in the general population at the last United States census, which was 103.57 males to 100 females, or 96.54 females to 100 males, and much larger than in the States on the Atlantic coast north of Cape Charles, in which the proportion of females is greater than that of males. This comparatively large proportion of males among the Jews is probably due to the fact that the death-rate of their infants is less for males as compared with females than it is among the average population.

As regards age-distribution, the proportion of children under five years of age is less than it is in the average white population in the proportion of 9 to 13, while from five to fifteen years of age it is greater in proportion of 29 to 23. The proportion of those between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-five is also somewhat above the average, due to the influence of immigration.

Of the 60,630 persons, 19,890 were born abroad and 40,666 in the United States. Of the latter number, 36,772 had parents one or both of whom were foreign-born. Classifying them by the birthplace of the mothers indicates to some extent the countries from which they were derived. We find that of 12,754 the mothers were born in the United States, 1,235 in England and Wales, 659 in France, 33,549 in Germany, 6,355 in Russia and Poland, 1,465 in Hungary, 1,759 in Bohemia, and the remainder in other foreign countries. The great majority are undoubtedly of the Ashkenazim from northern Europe, and there are very few families among them of the Sephardim, or Spanish Jews.

The general distribution of the Jewish population as regards marital condition is shown by the following table, in which it is compared with the population of Massachusetts as shown by the census of 1885 :

	Jews			Massachusetts		
	Per cent. total population over 20 years.	Males.	Females.	Per cent. total population over 20 years.	Males.	Females.
Single	29.43	34.56	23.47	28 81	29.93	27.825
Married	65.46	61.26	70.34	60.32	64.25	56.835
Widowed	4.93	3.99	6.03	10.61	5.62	15·042
Divorced	0.15	0.14	0.154	0.25	0.1	0.296
Unknown	0 03	0.05	0.006	0.01	0 02	0.002

It will be seen from these figures that among the Hebrews the proportion of married was somewhat greater than among the population of Massachusetts taken as a whole, but that as regards the males alone the proportion of married males among the total population over twenty years of age was greater in Massachusetts than among the Jews. The proportion of divorced persons was somewhat greater among the Jews than in Massachusetts, the difference being chiefly in the females.

Of the total male population above fifteen years of age, 18,031 were reported as having some definite occupation. Of these there were 285 lawyers, 173 physicians and surgeons, 388 teachers and literary men, 3,041 accountants, book-keepers, and clerks, 422 bankers, brokers, and officials of companies, 2,147 wholesale mer-

chants and dealers, 1,797 commercial travellers, 5,977 retail dealers, 183 cigar-makers, 387 jewellers and watchmakers, 534 tailors, and 111 farmers, gardeners, etc.

Of the females, 1,358 above the age of fifteen were reported as having some definite occupation. Of these, 170 were teachers, 214 accountants and book-keepers, 109 milliners, 111 dressmakers, and 177 servants.

The proportion of male to female infants born in these Jewish families during the five years was slightly less than it was for the whole United States in 1880, being 103.16 males to each 100 females in the Jewish families, and 104.7 males to 100 females in the whole United States.

The figures for the births by successive years indicate that the birth-rate is tending to diminish, taking into consideration the fact that there was a somewhat smaller population to give rise to them in 1885, at the commencement of the period, than in 1889, at the close. Of the 6,038 births reported, 1,291 occurred in 1885, 1,219 in 1886, 1,205 in 1887, 1,134 in 1888, and 1,189 in 1889. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island, where the records are most complete, the birth-rates per thousand of population by the actual records in 1880 were 24 and 24.6 respectively. If we compute the ratios of births with reference to the number of women of the child-bearing age between fifteen and forty-nine, we find that the Jewish rate is also lower, having been for the average of the five-year period 72.87 annually; the corresponding rate in 1880 in Massachusetts being 82.9 and in Rhode Island 86. In those Jewish families in which no servant was kept the birth-rate is lower than it is among those in more easy circumstances, being 66.9 as against 76.3 per thousand of women between fifteen and fifty years of age. The birth-rate is higher in those families living in the Southern and Western States than it is among those living in the Eastern States and on the Atlantic coast, being per thousand of child-bearing women in the Southern and Western States, 85.9; in the Mississippi valley and lake region, 74.8; in the Eastern States and on the Atlantic coast, 65.2.

The average number of births reported for each month shows that among the Jews the proportion of births occurring in December and January is greater than it is for the other months. The following table shows the average proportion of births occurring in each month among the Jews and in Rhode Island and Massa-

chusetts, reduced to a uniform scale of 12,000 births per year, the months being reduced to a uniform length :

			Massachusetts.		
	Jews.	Rhode Island. 1887.	1887.	1888.	1869-1888 Average.
January	1,666.60	962.00	944.60	961.00	924.20
February	917.70	964.60	989.68	976.00	968 59
March	861.60	968.20	981.63	973.02	973.40
April	726.88	998.80	954.19	889.60	936.40
May	666.28	928.20	954.24	931.00	923 40
June	1,092.15	994.10	993.04	1,036.07	983.40
July	896.85	955.80	1,037.52	1,080.25	1,008.50
August	922.20	1,026.50	1,081.82	1,065 47	1,085.50
September	971.19	1,057.40	1,052.82	1,077.08	1,070.10
October	943.65	1,028.00	1,011.12	1,001.47	1,048.71
November	967,16	1,013.10	1,019.01	985.04	1,035.10
December	1,367.74	1,103.30	980.33	1,024.00	1,042.70
	12,000.00	12,000.00	12,000.00	12,000.00	12,000.00

The explanation of the large proportion of births among the Jews in December and January and in June, due to a corresponding preponderance of conceptions in April and in September, is that the Jewish holidays of the Passover and of the New Year occur in those periods, the average date of the Passover for the five years having been April 14 and of the New Year September 18. At these periods all members of the family are at home if it is possible for them to be so.

The greatest number of marriages among these Jews occurred in January and in October. The marriage-rate is very low—only 7.4 per 1,000 annually, while in Providence, in 1888, it was 21.9, and in Massachusetts the average from 1855 to 1888 was 18.9. The average age at marriage is greater among the Jews than it is among other people ; thus the proportion of males under twenty-five who married per 1,000 of all marrying was 136 among the Jews, 375 in Massachusetts in 1888, and 387 in Rhode Island in 1887, while the proportion of Jews between thirty and thirty-five marrying was 270, as against 134 in Massachusetts and 129 in Rhode Island.

The proportion of males marrying women older than themselves is less than half what it is among other people. The low marriage-rate and the increased average age at marriage are the main causes of the low birth-rate. The average number of children born to each mother was 4.66, the greatest proportion being 5.63 for Russian and Polish mothers, and the least, 3.56, among mothers born in the United States. The proportion to German mothers was 5.24, to Hungarian 5.27, to Bohemian 5.44. The fertility, therefore, seems to diminish with prolonged resi-

dence in this country. Of the 10,085 mothers, six had borne sixteen children each, ten fifteen children each, thirty fourteen children each, and fifty-one thirteen children each. The great majority of these mothers having many children were born in Germany or Poland.

When we come to examine the reports of deaths for five years furnished by these Jewish families, we find that they give an average annual death-rate of only 7.1 per thousand, which would be about one-half of the annual death-rate among other persons of the same average social class and condition living in this country. If we take the deaths reported for each year we find that they are as follows: in 1889, 542; 1888, 442; 1887, 387; 1886, 359; 1885, 332; thus showing a progressive and rapid diminution as we go back in time from the date of making up the schedule. This indicates either that the death-rate among these people is decidedly increasing, or that for some reason a considerable proportion of the deaths which occurred several years before the schedule was made up have not been recorded. This omission of records due to lapse of time since the occurrence, and consequent forgetfulness, is a well-recognized source of error in the records of deaths. On the other hand, it is hardly conceivable that the head of a Jewish family, in which the anniversary of each death which has occurred in that family is carefully observed, should, in preparing at his leisure the list of deaths in his family during the preceding five years, forget a large proportion of those deaths which had occurred more than a year previous; and it is equally difficult to conceive of any motive which would induce him to omit the record if he did remember the fact.

In any case, however, the deficiency in the number of deaths reported for 1889 would not exceed 10 per cent., at which figure the gross annual death-rate for that year would be about 10 per 1,000. This is a low mortality, and fully corresponds with European experience; but to determine the relative vitality and longevity of different masses of people, we must compare their death-rates at different ages. The most convenient way of doing this is by the use of approximate life-tables, from which can be deduced the average expectation of life at each age. From a life-table thus prepared from the data for 1889 we find the expectation of life of the Jewish male infant to be at birth 57.14 years, and of the female infant at birth 55 29 years.

The following table shows for certain ages the expectation of life among the provident or insuring classes of this country, as obtained from the combined experience of thirty life-insurance companies for a series of years; also the expectation of life at the same ages for the Jews from whom data were obtained, as shown by the above-mentioned approximate life-table:

EXPECTATION OF LIFE.

	AGES.				
	10	25	40	50	60
Thirty American offices, males	49.99	39.49	28.48	21.24	14.56
Jews, average of five years, males	66.00	53.26	40.36	31.10	22.52
Jews, 1889, males	61.11	48.60	36.17	27.40	19.09
Thirty American offices, females	48.05	37.80	28.48	21.33	14.37
Jews, average of five years, females	59.84	46.65	34.31	26.30	18.45
Jews, 1889, females	56.02	42.68	31.98	24.88	17.58

It will be seen from this table that, if the deaths at different ages among the Jews have been correctly reported, the Jewish expectation of life is at each age markedly greater than that of the class of people who insure their lives; the average excess being a little over 20 per cent.

The death-rate among the so-called Russian Jews who have come to this country within the last five or six years, and the greater part of whom are living in New York city, is much greater than it is among the Jewish families referred to in this paper; but it cannot be definitely stated until the records of the Eleventh Census have been compiled. Probably it is over 27 per 1,000 annually.

The low death-rate among the Jews is especially marked among the children, and this corresponds to European experience. Thus in Prussia in 1887 the death-rate of the Jews under fifteen years of age was 5.63 per 1,000, while among the remainder of the people it was 10.46 per 1,000. This is in part due to the fact that illegitimate children, whose mortality is always very high, are of comparatively rare occurrence among the Jews, but the death-rate of those that do occur among them is, if anything, higher than it is of the illegitimate of other races.

The variation in death-rates according to the birthplace of the mother presents some points of interest. The general annual

death-rate for males being 6.5, it was for males whose mothers were born in the United States 8.1; for those whose mothers were born in Germany, 6.1; and for those whose mothers were born in Russia and Poland, 5 per 1,000. Here, again, the age-groupings must be considered. Between the ages of twenty and forty the corresponding death-rates are: United States, 1.7; Germany, 3; Russia and Poland, 1.5. Under five years the rates are: United States, 24.4: Germany, 37.2; Russia and Poland, 27.8. The death-rates are therefore greater for males whose mothers were born in Germany than they are for males whose mothers were born in the United States or in Russia, during infancy and adult life; but after fifty years of age they are lower for the German Jews than for the others.

The proportion of persons among the Jews who were suffering from acute or chronic disease on the 31st of December, 1889, was somewhat greater than that found in the general population of the United States as shown by the census of 1880, or among the inhabitants of Massachusetts as shown by the census of 1885.

The proportion of the so-called defective classes, including the insane, idiotic, blind, deaf-mute, deformed, maimed, and crippled reported is much less among the Jews than it is among the average population of the United States. This is contrary to European experience, which shows that the proportion of these defective classes is invariably greater among the Jews than it is among other races, and gives ground for the suspicion that all the cases have not been reported on the Jewish schedules.

It is very evident from the data collected that these Jews were much less affected with tubercular disease, and especially with tubercular consumption, than the average population. The total number of deaths reported from this cause was only 68, or 36.5 per 1,000 of all deaths in males, and 34 per 1,000 of all deaths in females. For the whole United States the number per 1,000 of all deaths which were reported as due to consumption was in 1880 for males 108.8; females, 146.1; while for the same period for the cities on the Atlantic coast, including New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, etc., it was for males 136.8 and for females 148. In other words, the proportion of deaths among Jews was less than one-third for males, and less than one-fourth for females, of what it was among our average population. If the ratios were calculated with regard to the living population,

the difference in favor of the Jews as regards immunity from this disease would be still greater.

From scrofula, tabes-mesenterica, and acute hydrocephalus, all of which are forms of tubercular disease, the lower death-rate of the Jews is also well marked. On the other hand, the Jews appear to be more affected by diseases of the nervous system, and especially by diseases of the spinal cord, and by diabetes, by diseases of the heart and great vessels, by diseases of the digestive system, by diseases of the urinary organs, and by diseases of the skin than their neighbors, as will be seen by the following table showing the number of deaths from these causes per 1,000 of all deaths among them, as compared with the corresponding figures derived from the census of 1880 :

	Jews, 1890.		Census, 1880.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Diseases of nervous system	121.21	114.43	118.62	108.61
Diseases of the spinal cord	9.40	6.19	3.73	3.32
Diabetes	19.85	19.59	2.74	1.21
Diseases of heart and great vessels	77.32	89.69	39.90	39.51
Diseases of digestive system	60.61	82.47	47 12	44 02
Diseases of urinary organs	33.44	27.84	22.44	10.77
Diseases of the skin	3.14	5.15	2.83	2.42

The death-rates among the Jews in relation to occupations present some curious differences. Taking only those living from fifteen to forty-five years of age, we find the annual death-rate per 1,000 to be : for all males having occupations, 2.76 ; lawyers, 7.63 ; physicians, 4.35 ; clerks and book-keepers, 3.78 ; commercial travellers, 2.67 ; shop-keepers, 2 ; wholesale merchants, 1.54; cigar-makers, 7.14 ; tailors, 3. For the females from fifteen to forty-five years of age having occupations the annual death-rates per 1,000 were : for all occupations, 2.24 ; musicians and teachers of music, 3.70 ; servants, 4 ; stenographers and typewriters, 3 ; dressmakers, 3.92.

The death-rate of Jewish lawyers from consumption is over five times greater than the average death-rate from this cause among these people. Jewish physicians are twice as liable to fatal diseases of the nervous system as are other Jews. The cigar-makers and tobacco-dealers are especially liable to consumption, to diabetes, to diseases of the nervous system, and to diseases of the heart. Physicians and bankers have relatively heavy death-rates from Bright's disease. Many other interesting peculiarities of the relation of certain causes of death to particular occupations appear in these data, but their true significance cannot be estimated until

we have the results of the census for persons of other races engaged in these same occupations with which to compare them.

The death-rate from diabetes among Jews born in the United States is very low (1.5 per 10,000), while among those born in Germany it is 9.2. The death-rate from diseases of the nervous system is 47 per 10,000 among those born in the United States and 34 per 10,000 among those born in Germany.

These results correspond very well with those which have been deduced from European data, and, although the figures are not absolutely correct, they make it extremely probable that there are real differences between these people and the rest of our population as regards liability to certain forms of disease and to deaths from certain causes.

Are these differences due to race characteristics, properly so called, to original and inherited differences in bodily organization, or are they, rather, to be attributed to the customs, habits, and modes of life of the two classes of people ?

This is a very important question, for upon the answer to it depend the replies to a number of questions in practical hygiene and sociology. It is true that in one sense the answer may be that it may be due to both, with a time-difference only—that the race characteristics have been produced by heredity and natural selection transmitting differences in physical structure, which differences were due originally to peculiarity in diet, habits, occupation, etc., and that the same results might be produced sooner or later in any other race by subjecting it to the same influences. But even if we grant this, there is much less probability of being able to induce people to adopt a particular regimen for the sake of the health and long life of their great-great-grandchildren than to induce them to adopt it for their own personal comfort and prosperity, or for that of their immediate offspring.

Let us take as an example the fact that in this country, as in other countries, the Jews are less liable than others to tuberculosis, and especially to pulmonary consumption. The *bacillus tuberculosis* gains admission to the living body by being swallowed in the meat and milk coming from tuberculous animals, and perhaps occasionally in other articles of food or drink, or by being inhaled in air in which its spores are floating. These spores in the air come mainly from the sputa of persons suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs or throat, which sputa has been dried and

ground to fine dust. This bacillus or its spores must be inhaled in the course of a year by a vast number of persons who do not suffer any noticeable effects from its entrance into the air-passages.

Why, then, have some escaped evil results while others have suffered? In the first place, to develop tubercular growth requires not only the presence of the living specific bacillus, but material suitable for its nutrition. The healthy living cells and fluids of the human body do not furnish such material; on the contrary, their tendency is rather to destroy the vitality of the germs, provided but few of the latter are present at one time. But when the inhaled spore finds a resting-place among cells which are either dead or of lowered vitality, as in the exudations from an inflamed throat or air-tube, it may then develop and multiply into numbers sufficient to kill the living cells, or neutralize the poisonous properties of the lymph or serum with which it comes in contact in the progress of its growth. The bacilli must kill the living animal protoplasm before they can use it as food; and whether they will be able to do this, or will be killed themselves in the conflict, depends partly upon the number of the germs present and partly on conditions of the cells and animal fluids of which we as yet know but little.

Now, is there anything about the social life of the Jews which lessens the probability of their swallowing or inhaling this specific bacillus or its spores? As regards their food, there is certainly less probability that the germ will be present in their meat, because of the system of meat-inspection practised in connection with the slaughtering by Jewish butchers of animals intended for food. This system leads to the rejection of meat from animals affected with tuberculosis, especially when this disease has so affected one or both lungs of the animal that these cannot be readily inflated. The effect of this as regards pulmonary consumption among the Jews is, however, so extremely small as not to be worth taking into account. The tuberculosis which is due to food containing the bacillus is much more likely to affect the abdominal viscera, producing what is known as tabes-mesenterica; or the membranes of the brain, producing meningitis or acute hydrocephalus; or the lymphatic glands, or bones, producing much of what is known as scrofula, than it is to affect the lungs. Moreover, thorough cooking will usually destroy the vitality of most of the bacilli in meats.

As regards the risk from milk obtained from tuberculous animals, which is a very real one, especially in the production of acute hydrocephalus and diseases of the bones and joints, Jews are quite as much exposed to it as other people.

As regards the liability of inhaling dust containing the spores of the bacillus, we can only say that it is somewhat smaller for the Jews than for the people among whom they reside, owing to the fact that comparatively few of them are suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis; and hence in their own homes, society meeting-places, and congregations, in which for a considerable part of their daily life they are almost entirely separated from other people, there is less probability of the presence of dried tuberculous sputa than there is in the residences and places of assemblage of the average population. This, however, would not explain why the Hebrews originally became less afflicted with tuberculosis, and is hardly sufficient to fully explain why they now suffer so little from this disease; bearing in mind the fact that they are quite as much exposed as others to the inhalation of tubercular dust in the air of streets, theatres, sleeping-cars, public conveyances, etc. It is very true that this partial immunity from pulmonary tuberculosis, though common in Europe as well as in this country, is not universal, and varies greatly in different groups of the Jewish race.

Whether the leucocytes, or blood-serum, of one particular race of men differ from those of others in their destructive effects upon the vitality of micro-organisms of any particular species has not yet been determined, and, in fact, so far as I am aware, the experiment has not yet been tried. But it would not be at all surprising if such a difference were found to exist, in view of the differences which we know have been found to exist between different varieties of the same species of animal as regards immunity from the pathogenic effects of certain micro-organisms.

So far as excessive liability to diseases of the nervous system, especially diabetes and posterior spinal sclerosis, is concerned, it is no doubt partly due to peculiarities of physical organization and partly to occupations, and in some cases to excesses which make especially exhausting demands upon the nervous centres.

If we compare the relative proportions of tubercular diseases occurring among the poor and destitute classes who receive hospital accommodation, we find that out of 28,750 persons admitted to the Jews' Hospital in New York for all causes, 1,270

were admitted for consumption, giving a ratio of 44.17 per 1,000 of admissions; while in the Roosevelt Hospital, out of 25,583 admissions, 1,738 were for consumption, or 67.93 per 1,000. For diabetes the usual excess is shown among the Hebrews; thus for the Jews' Hospital the proportion of admissions is 2.05 per 1,000, and for the Roosevelt, 0.89.

As regards cancer and malignant tumors, we find that the deaths from these causes among the Hebrews occur in about the same proportion to deaths from other diseases as they do in the average population. But as the ratio of deaths to population is less among the Jews, so the ratio of deaths from malignant diseases to population is also less. Among the living population the proportion found affected with cancer among the Jews was 6.48 per 1,000, while of those reported sick by the United States census of 1880 for the general population, the proportion was 10.01 per 1,000.

Upon the whole, it appears to me that we must conclude that those Jews who have been in the United States for more than five years have a decidedly lower death-rate and greater longevity than the people of the same class by whom they are surrounded, and that this greater longevity, together with certain peculiarities of immunity as regards some diseases and excessive liability to others, is in part due to hereditary peculiarities of structure, or, in other words, to race characteristics, and in part to their somewhat isolated and peculiar modes of life.

We cannot yet see the full bearing of many of the results obtained by the tabulation of the data relating to these Jewish families, because the data collected by the Eleventh Census relating to persons of Irish, German, French, Italian, or Scandinavian descent residing in the United States have not yet been compiled into corresponding tables, and are not available for comparison. It is, however, evident that these Jews have a much lower death-rate and decidedly greater longevity than the rest of our people, and that their marriage- and birth-rates are below the average. It also seems probable that they possess a partial immunity from and a special liability to certain forms of disease; that with prolonged residence in the United States their death-rate is increasing; and that their natural increase is somewhat greater in the South than it is in the North.

The data are not sufficient in number or in probable accuracy

to warrant more than the statement that it is rather more than an even chance that these last conclusions are correct, but they certainly give rise to questions which merit extended and careful investigation. The great majority of the peculiarities in these vital statistics appear to be connected with the occupations, social relations, and mode of life of the people rather than with special race characteristics, and they will therefore tend to disappear so far as the Jews' mode of life becomes assimilated to that of their neighbors. In Europe the Jews have been kept apart from other races, partly by religious and other ties acting from within, and partly by compressive persecution acting from without.

In this country both of these causes of segregation, and of consequent hereditary transmission of physiological peculiarities, are becoming weaker; the latter much more so than the former.

In Europe mixed marriages between Jews and persons of other races are comparatively infertile, but we have no evidence as to whether this continues to be the case in the United States. Thus far their great proportional increase in this country has been entirely due to immigration, for the excess of births over deaths among them has not been greater than it has been among the average population, although greater than among the people of English descent who have been in the country for more than a century.

In the old world the Jews have certainly shown remarkable staying powers in the struggle for existence; and to the physician, the physiologist, and the sanitarian this is not specially surprising when their comparative temperance, their system of female hygiene, and their occupations are considered. In this country some of these influences are different, especially among the males between fifteen and forty-five years of age, many of whom are probably more addicted to alcoholic and sexual excesses than their ancestors were, if we may judge by the comparative frequency among them of certain forms of disease, which has attracted the attention of physicians in our large cities, and which is also indicated by the statistics referred to in this paper.

They have shown that they can resist adversity, but whether they can also withstand the influences of wealth and freedom, and retain the modes of life which have heretofore given them length of days, remains to be seen.

JOHN S. BILLINGS.

REMINISCENCES OF AMERICAN HOTELS.

BY MAX O'RELL.

THE American hotels are all alike.

Some are worse.

Describe one and you have described them all.

On the ground floor, a large entrance hall strewed with cuspidors for the men, and a side entrance provided with an awning, a sort of triumphal arch, for the ladies. On this floor the sexes are separated as at the public baths.

In the large hall, a wide counter behind which solemn clerks, whose business faces relax not a muscle, are ready with their book to enter your name and assign you a number. A small army of colored porters ready to take you in charge. Not a salute, not a word, not a smile of welcome. The negro takes your bag and makes a sign that your case is settled. You follow him. For the time being you lose your personality and become No. 375, as you would in jail. Don't ask questions. Theirs not to answer. Don't ring the bell to ask for a favor if you set any value on your time. All the rules of the establishment are printed and posted in your bedroom; you have to submit to them. No question to ask. You know everything, and nobody else in the house does. Henceforward you will have to be hungry from 7 to 9 A.M., from 1 to 3 P.M., and from 6 to 8 P.M. The slightest infringement on the routine would stop the wheel; so don't ask, for instance, if you could have a meal at 4 o'clock; you would be taken for a lunatic, or a crank, as they call it in America.

Between meals you will be supplied with ice-water *ad libitum*.

No privacy. No coffee-room, no smoking-room. No place where you can go and quietly sip a cup of coffee or drink a glass of beer with a cigar. You can have a drink at the bar, and then go and sit down in the hall among the crowd.

Life in an American hotel is an alternation of the cellular system during the night and of the gregarious system during the

day; an alternation of the penitential systems carried out at Philadelphia and at Auburn.

It is not in the bedroom either that you must seek anything to cheer you. The bed is generally good, but only for the night. The room is perfectly nude. Not even "Napoleon's Farewell to His Soldiers at Fontainebleau," as in France, or "Strafford Walking to the Scaffold," as in England. Not that these pictures are particularly cheerful; still they break the monotony of the wall-paper. Here the only oases in the brown or gray desert are cautions.

First of all, a notice that, in a cupboard near the window, you will find some twenty yards of coiled rope which, in case of fire, you are to fix to a hook outside the window. The rest is guessed. You fix the rope, and—you let yourself go. From a sixth, seventh, or eighth story the prospect is lively. Another caution informs you of all that you must not do, such as your own washing in your bedroom. Another warns you that if, on retiring, you put your boots outside the door, you do so at your own risk and peril. Another is posted near the door, close to an electric bell. With a little care and much practice you will be able to carry out the instructions printed thereon. The only thing wonderful about the contrivance is that the servants never make mistakes.

Press once for ice-water.
" twice " hall-boy.
" three times for fireman.
" four " " chambermaid.
" five " " hot water.
" six " " ink and writing materials.
" seven " " baggage.
" eight " " messenger.

In some hotels I have seen the list carried to number twelve.

Another notice tells you what the proprietor's responsibilities are, and at what time the meals take place. Now, this last notice is the most important of all. Woe to you if you forget it! For if you should present yourself one minute after the dining-room door is closed, no human consideration would get it open for you. Supplications, arguments, would be of no avail. Not even money.

"What do you mean?" some old-fashioned European will exclaim. "When the *table d'hôte* is over, of course you cannot

expect the *menu* to be served to you; but surely you can order a steak or a chop."

No, you cannot; not even an omelette or a piece of cold meat. If you arrive at one minute past three (in small towns, at one minute past two), you find the dining-room door closed, and you must wait till six o'clock to see its hospitable doors open again.

When you enter the dining-room, you must not believe that you can go and sit where you like. The chief waiter assigns you a seat, and you must take it. With a superb wave of the hand he signs to you to follow him. He does not even turn round to see if you are behind him, following him in all the meanders he describes amidst the sixty, seventy, sometimes eighty, tables that are in the room. He takes it for granted you are an obedient, submissive traveller who knows his duty. Altogether I travelled in the United States for about ten months, and I never came across an American so independent, so daring, as to actually take any other seat than that assigned to him by that tremendous potentate, the chief waiter. Occasionally, just to try him, I would sit down in a chair I took a fancy to. But he would come and fetch me, and tell me that I could not stay there. In Europe the waiter asks you where you would like to sit. In America you ask him where you may sit. He is a paid servant, and therefore a master in America. He is in command, not of the other waiters, but of the guests. Several times, recognizing friends in the dining-room, I asked the man to take me to their tables (I should not have dared go by myself), and the permission was granted with a patronizing sign of the head. I have constantly seen Americans stop on the threshold of the dining-room and wait until the chief waiter had returned from placing a guest to come and fetch them in their turn. I never saw them venture alone and take an empty seat without the sanction of the waiter.

The guests seem struck with awe in that dining-room, and solemnly bolt their food as quickly as they can. You would think silence was enjoined by the statute-book. Your hear less noise in an American hotel dining-room containing five hundred people than you do at a French *table d'hôte* accommodating fifty people, at a German one containing a dozen, or at a table where two Italians are dining *tête à tête*.

The chief waiter at large hotels in the North and the West is

a white man; in the South he is a mulatto or a black; but white or black, he is always a magnificent specimen of his race. There is not a ghost of a savor of the serving-man about him: no whiskers and shaven upper lip reminding you of the waiters of the Old World; but always a fine mustache, the twirling of which helps to give an air of nonchalant superiority to its wearer. The mulatto head waiters in the South really look like dusky princes. Many of them are so handsome and carry themselves so superbly that you find them very impressive at first, and would fain apologize to them. You feel as if you wanted to thank them for kindly condescending to concern themselves about anything so commonplace as your seat at table.

In the smaller towns the waiters are all—waitresses. The waiting is done by damsels entirely—and also by the guests of the hotel.

If the Southern head waiter looks like a prince, what must we say of the head waitress in the East, the North, and the West? No term short of queenly will describe her stately bearing as she moves about among her bevy of reduced duchesses. She is evidently chosen for her appearance. She is "divinely tall" as well as "most divinely fair," and, as if to add to her importance, she is crowned with a gigantic mass of frizzled hair. All the waitresses have this elaborate coiffure of curls, rolls, and bangs. It is a livery, as caps are in the old world, but instead of being a badge of servitude, it looks, and is, alarmingly emancipated; so much so that, before making close acquaintance with my dishes, I always examined them with great care. A beautiful mass of dishevelled hair looks very well on the head of a woman, but *one* in your soup, even though it had strayed from the tresses of your beloved one, would make the corners of your mouth go down and the tip of your nose go up.

A regally handsome woman always "goes well in the landscape," as the French say, and I have seen specimens of these waitresses so handsome and so commanding-looking that, if they cared to come to Europe and play the queens in London and Paris pantomimes, I feel sure they would command quite exceptional prices, and draw big salaries and crowded houses.

How grand this lady is, as she approaches you, darts a look of supreme contempt at you, flings a spoon and fork and knife down on the table in front of you, and, turning her back upon you, gabbles off the *menu* in one breath!

The thing which, perhaps, strikes me most disagreeably in the American hotel dining-room is the sight of the tremendous waste of food that goes on at every meal. No European, I suppose, can fail to be struck with this; but to a Frenchman it would naturally be most remarkable. In France, where, I venture to say, people live as well as anywhere else, if not better, there is a perfect horror of anything like waste of good food. It is to me, therefore, a repulsive thing to see the wanton manner in which some Americans will waste at one meal enough to feed several hungry fellow-creatures.

In the large hotels, conducted on the American plan, there are rarely fewer than fifty different dishes on the *menu* at dinner-time. Every day and at every meal you may see people order three or four times as much of this food as they could under any circumstances eat, and, picking at and spoiling one dish after another, send the bulk away uneaten. I am bound to say that this practice is not only observed in hotels where the charge is so much a day, but in those conducted on the European plan—that is to say, where you pay for everything you order. There I notice that people proceed in much the same wasteful fashion. It is evidently not a desire to have more than is paid for, but simply a bad and ugly habit. I hold that about five hundred hungry people could be fed out of the waste that is going on at such large hotels as the Palmer House and the Grand Pacific Hotel of Chicago,—and I have no doubt such five hundred hungry people could easily be found in Chicago every day.

I think that many Europeans are prevented from going to America by an idea that the expense of travelling and living there is very great. This is quite a delusion. The price of houses, clothing, and servants is far higher than in Europe, but there the difference stops, I believe. For my part, I find that hotels are as cheap in America as in England, at any rate, and railway travelling in Pullman cars is certainly cheaper than in European first-class carriages, and infinitely more comfortable. Putting aside in America such hotels as Delmonico's in New York, the Thorndyke in Boston, the Richelieu in Chicago, as you would the Grand Hotel in Paris, and the Savoy, the Victoria, the Metropole in London, and taking the good hotels of America, such as the Grand Pacific in Chicago, the West House in Minneapolis, the Windsor in Montreal, the Cadillac in Detroit (I mention those I remember

as the very best), you will find that in these hotels you are comfortably lodged and magnificently fed for from three to five dollars a day. In no good hotel of France, England, Germany, Switzerland, would you get the same amount of comfort—or even luxury, I might say—at the same price, and those who should require a sitting-room would get it for a little less than they would have to pay in a European hotel.

The only very dear hotels I have come across in the United States are those of Virginia. There I have been charged as much as two dollars a day, but never in my life did I pay so dear for what I had; never in my life did I see so many dirty rooms or so many messes that were unfit for human food.

But I will just say this much for the American refinement of feeling to be met with, even in the hotels of Virginia, even in the "lunch"-rooms of little stations: you are supplied, at the end of each meal, with a bowl of water—to rinse your mouth.

MAX O'RELL.

CAN WE COERCE CANADA?

BY ERASTUS WIMAN.

A CONDITION of commercial belligerency exists along the entire northern border of the United States. The extent of this border-line, four thousand miles in length, and the fact that beyond it lies the greater half of the continent, impart to this condition of hostility an importance which makes the question of its abatement second to nothing else now before the American public. Along this unequalled line of demarcation, which runs athwart the continent some degrees to the south of its centre, the vast commerce of the United States breaks like a huge wave, and rolls back upon itself. Beyond it lies a region larger, richer, and more suspectible of development for the good of mankind than any other region on the earth's surface. It is far more attractive as a field for opportunity to the American people, far nearer, and likely to be more contributory to their profit and greatness, than is the continent of Africa, which England and Germany now carve in two for the purposes of trade. Its possibilities of commerce vastly exceed those of the distant southern nationalities to whom Mr. Blaine has beckoned, and whom Congress has called. Between the United States and these Southern countries not only distance intervenes, but difference in language, ignorance, slowness of development, limited by meagreness of wants; the small range of articles to be exchanged affording a market only limited in extent, and striven for by the most vigorous competitors in the world, already intrenched in possession and in financial control of all the channels of trade.

Compared with these conditions, those which prevail on the north reveal a region between which and the United States there is an absolute physical union of greater extent than elsewhere in the world joins two countries together. No barriers exist between them except rivers and lakes, which, instead of being

barriers dividing the people, should be bonds to unite them. In this region are found products more varied, more susceptible of wealth-producing forces, more needed by the United States, more available for development by its own people, and likely to be more contributory to their greatness and progress, than the combined contributions possible to all the rest of the world.

When the average American trader and manufacturer looks north, and from the most active commercial centres realizes that only a night's journey brings him up against a stone-wall, so far as the possibilities of trade are concerned, he views with impatience the fiscal conditions of the continent. He knows full well that the physical conditions are all favorable to an extension of commerce in this direction as far as human life can exist. The fiscal conditions are those in which hostility to trade inheres. It is these which retard the growth of opportunity, confining him to a field in which excessive production and excessive competition even now render his efforts well-nigh profitless. The continent, it has been well said by Goldwin Smith, is "an economic whole"; and as such it has been described by Emerson as "the last best gift of God to mankind." Yet by an utterly unnecessary dual fiscal system, which cuts it into two parts, less than one-half of its vast extent imparts its wealth to the world. It rests with the American people to say how long this shall remain.

The trade of the United States should yield just as good a return from Manitoba as from Minnesota; in Algoma as in Michigan. As much money should be made by Pennsylvania out of Ontario as out of Ohio—indeed, out of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, the province of Ontario being larger and richer than all these three combined. New England should blossom as a rose from cheapened food supplies, with the practical control of the possibilities of the vast mineral resources in the maritime provinces, whose natural wealth exceeds the natural wealth of New York and Pennsylvania combined, but which, for want of a market, is silent, and dormant, and dead. Coal, which on the Atlantic as on the Pacific coast is found only within Canadian territory, is the needed force to make successful the coast-line cities in competition for foreign trade; the product of the five thousand miles of coast-line fisheries, the best in the world, is the gift of God for man's sustenance, and should not be left in idleness, and lost; neither, in view of the treeless prairies of this

country, should the wealth of timber, covering the vast areas of the northern half of the continent, be allowed to disappear by fire and rot, yearly diminishing its value to a greater extent than that which is cut and consumed. Indeed, a survey of the whole continent makes so apparent the utter folly of cutting it into two parts by two fiscal systems that any plan by which it could be commercially united is worthy of the highest ambition of the greatest statesman; and toward this the merchants and manufacturers, the publicist and the politician regardless of party, should instantly and persistently address themselves.

It will be said, and with some truth, that the United States is in no respect to blame for the continued isolation of Canada from the marvellous progress which for the rest of the country has made the century now closing the most glorious in the history of the world. Whatever the causes of the retardation which has prevailed on the northern half of the continent as compared with the southern, the example and the influences prevalent in the United States have all been in favor of the largest growth and the most rapid development. Indeed, it might with truth be said that there has always been a perfect readiness to receive Canada on terms of perfect equality into the union of commonwealths that has made the southern portion of the continent the wonder of the world, while Canada, occupying an equally great area, and with advantages equally potent, has remained almost a sealed book, whose contents were unknown except to a few ardent souls, and even unsuspected by her own people equally with the people of Great Britain and the United States.

But while there has been a perfect readiness for a union on one side of the border, there has been a bitter and almost unexplainable hostility to it on the Canadian side. The material advantages that would follow annexation have always been abundantly apparent, but these have never seemed to be sufficiently valued to turn the scale against sentiment and prejudice. Although now and then, from some remote and non-progressive place, like Quebec in the east or Windsor in the west, a single voice is raised to favor political union, there is absolutely no reliable or marked sign favorable to that movement. These insignificant and altogether meaningless indications are caught up by the newspaper press of the United States, and made the most of as an expression of popular sentiment favorable to a political union; but

there never was a greater mistake. While it may be that there is a growth of sentiment, especially among young men, favorable to annexation, and while deep down in the hearts of many a community there is, perhaps, a fixed belief that this is the true solution of the difficulties of the present, and the true destiny of the country for the future, there has never yet been, and is not likely for many years to be, an exhibition of this belief sufficiently practical in its effect to make it a safe sign by which to judge the real Canadian sentiment.

This conviction cannot be too strongly impressed upon American writers and thinkers. Those who make a study of this question in Canada, and whose sources of information are of the most elaborate and comprehensive character, should be believed in such a case, before the occasional outburst of some sensational writer or the views of some disgruntled politician are accepted as the voice of the people. It should always be borne in mind that the whole body of politics in Canada is permeated through and through with loyalty to the British throne, for which universal sentiment there is hardly cause for surprise. It must be remembered that Great Britain has treated Canada with the utmost liberality; that the Canadians are a practically self-governing community; and that, in addition to loans of British money in amounts second only to the vast credits given the Argentine Republic, which have recently brought such disaster in financial circles in London, no interference has been made, and nothing but kindness and generosity extended. To contemplate the cessation of a sentiment of loyalty to Great Britain, and to transfer the allegiance of a whole people to her great rival, is simply to contemplate a condition of traitorism that no political party could for one instant afford to assume. There is not a single constituency in the whole of Canada to-day that could return to Parliament a member pledged to annexation. It is doubtful if in any one community, however small, an officer so insignificant as a pound-master or constable could be elected on that ticket. How long it will take, therefore, to effect a change by which a majority of the people would favor a political union, those who know the country well estimate by generations, and not by years. Unless, indeed, there should be some denial by Great Britain of rights and privileges to which Canadians deemed themselves entitled, there can be no excuse for secession.

Meanwhile it must always be borne in mind that it is only by the exercise of constitutional means that a political union between the two countries can be achieved. The United States will seek neither by force nor by purchase to deprive Great Britain of 40 per cent. of her empire. Neither can Great Britian permit the sacrifice of a foot of her territory except by the practical consent of four-fifths of her people concerned. The consequences of the secession of this vast region to republicanism might well be contemplated with concern as to the effects on Great Britain itself, —upon institutions venerable by use for centuries,—while upon India, Australia, and other dependencies they might well be of a character most far-reaching and important.

Therefore, in view of such conditions of sentiment in Canada, with the certainty that there will be no justification for a change of fealty, and, further, that such action might prove more fatal to the influence of Great Britain in the world than almost any other event that could happen, it will be seen that the possibility of annexation to the United States is, to say the least, very remote. No sensible man, with a knowledge of all the conditions that prevail, would set about to accomplish a political union by direct means, and certainly no political party, in the hope of obtaining control of the constitutional means necessary to give it effect, would avow this as their object with any expectation of success within a generation. There is no stigma more severe than that of disloyalty to one's government, and no sentiment more difficult to overcome than attachment to the institutions of one's country. The people of the United States, more than any other, are able to estimate the force of the sentiment of loyalty, the inestimable value of its cultivation, and the danger, the loss, and the disgrace of a secession from its influences. Hence to contemplate in Canada a movement towards throwing off an allegiance of which most men are prouder than anything else under the sun—an allegiance most valued, most sacred, and up to this time most beneficial — is to consider a possibility that to those who understand the question best cannot arise. Certainly no coercion by a denial of material advantage, no policy of retaliation or isolation, as a penalty for indulging in such a sentiment, can ever be expected to effect a change and so far revolutionize public sentiment as to make it a force in favor of disloyalty.

What, therefore, under the circumstances is the best plan by which to abate the commercial belligerency that prevails along the northern border of the United States? If the people in this country cannot conquer, cannot purchase, and cannot lure to a political alliance the people of Canada, can a commercial bargain be made with them by which free access can be had to their sources of enormous wealth, and to the profits of a trade that their development will create? The answer is that nothing is easier of accomplishment than this commercial bargain. Political union is just now impossible, but a commercial union is quite within the early range of probabilities. The principle of reciprocity with nations on this continent, the favor toward which has pervaded this people like the light of the morning, is all that it is necessary to apply, and, so far as trade and commerce are concerned, is all that a political alliance could bring about.

In seeking to open up the commerce between the United States and southern nationalities, there has been no thought of a political connection. There are few who ever dream that Mexico or Cuba will be assimilated into this union of commonwealths. Therefore, when desirous of extending trade to the north, why should a political union be a condition precedent, when political union is unnecessary, clearly impossible, and for the present seems to many most undesirable? On this latter point there would be no justification for the United States to precipitate the affairs of half a continent into departments already overtaxed, and heap additional burdens upon legislative machinery already failing to perform one-half the demands upon it. Clearly, therefore, if without material change in Canada, and without the slightest alteration in the political conditions in the United States, a commercial relation between the two countries can obliterate the belligerency now existing, the attractiveness of the plan should be sufficient to win the support of the merchant and manufacturer, of the miners and shippers, of the railway men, and of all who want to broaden their opportunities, even should the politicians await the bidding of all these to put the plan into force.

The question may be asked, What justification is there for the belief that the people of Canada are ready to break down the barriers of trade? What ground is there for the assertion, for instance, that, while they are willing to remove these barriers, so

far as the United States is concerned, they will keep them up against all foreign nations, Great Britain included? How can the statement be justified that Canada is so intensely loyal that she will not for an instant contemplate a political alliance with the United States, as against her connection with Great Britain, yet will turn around and make a trade alliance with the rest of the continent that shuts out the manufactures of Great Britain and admits those of the United States duty free? It must be allowed that there is a seeming inconsistency in this position, and it must be admitted that there is little in the past or present attitude of the government of Canada to justify the expectation that this condition of reciprocity can be brought about between the two English-speaking nations that hold this continent in common. But it must always be borne in mind that in all self-governing communities, such as Canada preëminently is, there are two parties; and generally, if the people are intelligent and self-reliant, the parties are not only pretty evenly divided, but with time and circumstances greatly change their views.

It is most important to understand that in Canada these two parties, known as the Tory and Liberal parties, hold directly opposite views regarding the relations with the United States; that the Tory party believe in a policy of isolation, and to them must be attributed the belligerency already referred to. The Liberals, on the other hand, have adopted, as the chief plank in their platform, the policy which will break down entirely the trade barriers that now exist between the two countries, and, by unrestricted reciprocity, lay the basis for the settlement of every question that now disturbs the two peoples, and make possible a freedom in trade as complete as that which now exists between the States of the Union or the provinces of the Dominion. This is now the real difference between the two parties. The Tory party of Canada has ruled that country for the past fifteen years, and under the premiership of Sir John Macdonald, whom some look upon as a great statesman, but whom others regard as only a shrewd politician, the condition of commercial hostility towards the United States has been reached. From a Tory point of view, the conditions which now prevail between the two countries are no doubt justified; and the expectation that, altogether independent of the United States, a great nation can be erected in Canada to pro-

mote and add to the glory of the British flag is in the minds of a great many people in Canada, and is also a common thought in Great Britain.

Whatever may have been the motive, or whatever may be the outcome, the policy of the Tory party has certainly been in the direction of isolation. To this must be attributed the harsh and antiquated interpretation of the fishery treaty—the refusal of hospitality to a few fishing-smacks in Canadian ports, while enjoying an unbounded hospitality for British and Canadian ships in every port of the United States. To this policy must be credited the denial of bonding privileges for a few quintals of fish, while enjoying unlimited bonding privileges from the United States, without which Canadian railroads would rapidly reach bankruptcy. The same idea prevails in the discrimination against United States vessels in the canals, the creation of which was only justified by the patronage of these craft. But above all these minor indications of hostility is the national policy specifically adopted by Canada, resulting in a tariff shutting out American products and manufactures to a degree that was only equalled by the drastic conditions of the McKinley Bill, subsequently enforced against Canadian products, which merely followed the example already set by the Canadian government itself. This catalogue of Tory achievements, supplemented by the guerilla railroad warfare which, owing to the enforcement of the United States inter-State regulations, threatens to ruin American railway investments, and which the Canadian government is accused of encouraging, makes the indictment complete.

Such being the record of the Tory party so far as its relations to the United States are concerned, it now remains to be seen whether such a policy of hostility will receive the approbation of the majority of the Canadian people. This will be tested at the general Parlimentary election, which occurs every five years throughout the Dominion, and which is now due within eighteen months, though it may, by the action of the government, be precipitated at an earlier period. Meanwhile the great Liberal party of Canada, in order to make the issue perfectly plain, have adopted a policy precisely opposite to that of the Tory party, especially so far as it relates to the United States. They propose to place squarely before the people the sole question whether these relations shall be of the most in-

timate character, or whether the policy hitherto pursued shall be persisted in. For the first time in the history of the Dominion the issue is fairly presented in Canada as to what policy shall hereafter prevail in regard to her neighbor to the south. If the Tory party prevail, the future policy of the country will be that indicated by the past administration of affairs. If the Liberal party prevail, a new government will be formed, and a policy inaugurated as different as possible from that existing at the present moment.

It is most important, at this juncture, that the results of a Liberal victory should be perfectly understood. In the first place, the Liberal party are unequivocally committed to the principle of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, providing there is an expectation that such a proposition will be acceded to. Reciprocity implies a perfect and unrestricted exchange of every natural product and every manufactured article; the effect of which would be that commerce shall be as unrestricted along the whole four thousand miles of border-line as it is now between the States of the Union or the provinces of the Dominion. The consequences of this obliteration of the commercial barrier will be that the area of the trade of the United States could be doubled; while, inasmuch as an enormous development would follow in Canada from the open market which would thus be afforded in this country, the volume of trade would increase in the same manner, with the same rapidity, and with the same profit as it increased with the opening of the Western States. It will rest largely with the Americans themselves to share in the profits of this development, as they already are largely in the individual possession of lands, timber limits, and mineral locations in Canada. These they could further increase, for by the liberality of the laws they can possess themselves, by purchase, of any property that promises a large return under the changed circumstances. Free raw material from all parts of the Dominion, greatly needed to cheapen manufactures for export, produced at a profit largely by Americans themselves, and by the necessary development affording them a market for American manufactures, is a result the value of which surely no one can question, as growing out of a reciprocal arrangement between the two countries, at no cost of political disturbance to either.

But aside from the immediate and material advantages that

would follow from a change of policy in Canada, there would be results far more significant. For instance, Canada, by the success of the Liberal party, will demand the right to be recognized in making treaties which concern her interests. This is rather a startling claim for a colony, but it will be enforced if the people so decide. Again, unrestricted reciprocity with the United States implies that American goods are not only to be admitted free of duty, but for the purposes of revenue, and to prevent Canada from being the back-door for smugglers into the United States, the duty on foreign goods will be maintained at the present rates, which are practically equal to those that prevail in the United States, and which can readily be made to conform to them. Thus there is proposed a discrimination in favor of American manufactures, which are to be admitted free, while British goods are practically prohibited from entering in competition by the exaction of a duty.

Is it possible to conceive of a movement more significant in British North America than this attempt at fiscal freedom from British control? If, as the first step towards independence, the Canadian people were asked to vote upon the proposition to procure for them political freedom, no one act could be proposed which would be more significant in that direction than the one which the Liberal party now practically ask the Canadian people to acquiesce in. But it is not to favor independence or any other distinctive political movement that the question is put. It is simply to carry to its legitimate result the example already set by the Tory party when they inaugurated their national policy, the effect of which was to discriminate against English goods in favor of Canadian manufactures. It is only pushing this liberty to its legitimate result to propose that, in exchange for the near-by market of the United States for the manufactures and products of Canada, the Dominion shall offer an equally free admission to the products and manufactures of the United States. That the people of Canada will consent to this arrangement there can be little doubt, especially since the agricultural section of the McKinley Bill has afforded an object-lesson of such stupendous import as to perfectly convince them that the commercial hostility heretofore indulged in can have but one result—that of complete isolation, loss, and disaster to the most important interests of the Dominion.

But numerous other advantages would result to the United

States from the election, by the people of Canada, of a government entirely friendly to this country. The fishery question, which, like Banquo's ghost, obtrudes itself unbidden at periods most inopportune, could forever be settled by Americans having the freest access to every port and every privilege, thus coming into practical possession, for the purposes of trade, of fishing facilities and fishing wealth, both on the Atlantic and Pacific, and in the gulfs and bays, lakes and rivers, unequalled in value in all the world. The transportation problem, too, which now taxes the ingenuity of statesmen to adjust with perfect fairness to all localities, can be completely settled. This can be done by the determination of the Liberal government to enact clauses for the regulation of railways within the Dominion precisely similar to those which the Inter-State-Commerce Law enforces in the United States. It is true that the competition of Canadian roads, by their short routes and splendid facilities, would continue to afford a means of communication between the New England States, on the one hand, and the Northwestern States, on the other. But this competition can be regulated in conformity with the system which prevails south of the lakes; more than which no one can demand. The coasting laws along the vast inland seas, the wrecking regulations, the extradition powers, the patent laws, the insurance-deposit rules, and numerous other international difficulties could all be adjusted in a spirit of amity by a Liberal government entirely friendly to the United States. This, under existing conditions, seems impossible.

In view, therefore, of the far-reaching importance which attaches to the impending general Parliamentary election in Canada, some action on the part of the United States would seem desirable in order that moral support should be afforded to the party whose whole aim is that of friendliness to this country. Up to this point the strongest argument which the Tory party is able to urge is that there is no disposition on the part of the United States towards better relations, and that the outcome of all the agitation in favor of the obliteration of the barrier between the two countries is the enactment of the McKinley Bill and the exaction of higher duties than ever before. But it is a mistake to interpret this as the sentiment of the commercial or manufacturing community of the United States; on the contrary, the action of Congress incorporating in its last tariff an invitation to south-

ern nationalities to reciprocal relations is an indication in a precisely opposite direction. A resolution on the same lines towards reciprocity with Canada, similar to that which has been already adopted in favor of the southern nationalities, would completely remove the imputation that the United States will fail to respond to the election of a government entirely favorable to them.

It seems impossible to deny such action, for no party or body of statesmen can justify the inconsistency of the free admission of sugar and coffee and hides, and other southern products, in exchange for the manufactures of the United States, while denying an equally free admission to coal and timber and fish and copper, and other products of the north, for a like exchange of the products of the skilled labor of this country. Therefore it seems eminently appropriate that Congress should early in the present session, in anticipation of the general election in Canada, pass the resolution which the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, after much deliberation, has recommended through its chairman, Mr. Hitt, and which has been substantially incorporated in the proposal of Mr. Sherman in the Senate. This resolution simply provides that, whenever the government of the United States is certified that the government of Canada will admit, free of duty, all the products and manufactures of the United States, the President shall appoint three commissioners to meet an equal number of commissioners appointed by the Dominion of Canada, to prepare a plan for the freest exchange of products and manufactures, which plan is to be submitted for the approval of Congress before further action shall be taken.

If as the result of the passage of this resolution the Liberal party can go to the people and offer them the possibility of unrestricted intercourse with this country, and a government results whose whole attitude is that of friendliness and favor to this country, what greater act of legislation could be achieved than that which would contribute to the settlement of the numerous questions that now disturb the relations along the northern border, the result of which would be the complete obliteration, so far as trade and commerce are concerned, of the long barrier because of which, up to this time, so much belligerency exists?

ERASTUS WIMAN.

THE LATE FINANCIAL CRISIS.

BY HENRY CLEWS.

THE phenomena of a volcanic eruption or of a great earthquake are eagerly investigated by the men of science for what light they may cast upon the workings of the laws of nature. Not less reasonable may it be for the student of economics to avail himself of periodic financial upheavals for acquiring a broader judgment upon the laws of finance. For, as certainly as inorganic nature is governed by unchanging laws, are the exchanges of the products and services of mankind controlled by fixed natural ordinances, which ignore and finally supersede all the conventional arrangements by which society attempts to regulate its commercial intercourse.

It cannot be said that crises antecedent to the recent one have taught all that can be learned from such events. The late derangements have a special significance from the fact that, whilst the instrumentalities of finance remain virtually the same as they were under former panics, yet the conditions to which they are now applicable differ widely from those of previous periods; and that circumstance suggests a probability that existing arrangements may be found imperfectly adapted to current requirements, which is one of the main conclusions I hope to establish.

First of all, then, what are the phenomena with which we have to deal? (1) A sudden, extreme, and almost simultaneous fall in the prices of securities in both New York and London. (2) The antecedent symptoms of the break were apparent in some weeks of steady realizing upon corporate issues at both those centres, attended with the return from London to New York of a large amount (estimated at 10 to 12 millions) of railroad stocks and bonds. (3) This selling was stimulated by stringency in money in both cities, the Bank of England advancing its minimum rate of discount from 5 to 6 per cent., while the reserves of the New York

Associated Banks fell 3½ millions below the legal minimum. (4) At this stage came rumors that a large London banking-house was in trouble, the extraordinary negotiation of a loan of 80 millions of francs by the Bank of France to the Bank of England, renewed large shipments of American securities from London to New York, and a condition of the local loan market which induced the New York Clearing-House to authorize the issue of Clearing-House certificates to its members—an expedient never resorted to except under grave emergencies. (5) A few days later came the explanation of the London rumor and of the extraordinary precautions so suddenly taken by the Bank of England and by the New York Clearing-House in an announcement that the great house of Baring Brothers was unable to provide for over thirty millions sterling of commitments, and that the house had been protected by the intervention of the Bank of England, conjointly with a syndicate comprising several of the leading banking-houses of London and of the provincial cities. (6) To better enable the Bank of England to meet all possible derangements arising from the troubles of the Barings, the British government authorized the bank to make, if found necessary, a special issue of notes, without the legally-required security of specie, the amount and conditions of which authorization have not yet been made public. (7) Following these extraordinary measures of protection at the two financial centres, there was a marked recovery of confidence in London, and a few days later the Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 6 to 5 per cent., with the ample reserve of 45.27 per cent.; whilst in New York there was a transient advance in the prices of stocks, followed, however, by a reaction and an increase of monetary stringency, which caused much commercial prostration and produced a serious crop of failures among mercantile, manufacturing, and banking establishments; these effects being especially severe in New York and Philadelphia.

Inquiry into the occasion of these extraordinary conditions will show that they are attributable to two entirely distinct sets of causes; one set being connected with the development of certain departments of enterprise and the negotiation of fiscal undertakings, and the other having to do with the financial instrumentalities through which such operations are effected. I propose to discuss these causes separately.

The wave-law appears to play a part in human activities as important as the place assigned to it in the physical sciences. Material enterprise constantly oscillates between the extremes of quiescence and excitement, of conservatism and speculation, of contraction and expansion. The revolution of commercial and industrial methods consequent upon the introduction of steam and electricity has, however, so far as respects trade and manufactures, greatly diminished the violence of these oscillations and lengthened the period elapsing between their extremes. Steam has shortened the period of production and the time of transferring products from market to market, while the telegraph has virtually made the world one vast mart, with instant communication between all its parts. This has maintained, for the last fifteen years an unprecedented steadiness and uniformity in prices; which, by diminishing the risks of business, have proportionately reduced its exposure to great commercial derangements. Hence the late crisis found the trade of the country in a generally healthy condition, and what injury has indirectly befallen commerce is due almost entirely to the disruption of credit from purely monetary and financial causes.

The chief source of the recent troubles has arisen in connection with enterprises which admit of a liberal application of speculative methods; and among such enterprises the creation of railroads stands foremost. The panics of 1873 and 1884 were chiefly due to an excessive diversion of capital into the building of railroads, and also to the fact that the new companies were organized upon a grossly speculative and inflated basis. Within the last ten years we have had two distinct periods of over-construction of railroad. In 1879 the United States had 84,393 miles of road; in 1884 the mileage had risen to 125,152—an increase during the five years of 40,759 miles, or 48.3 per cent. This expansion was about four times the rate of increase of population during that period; which, without further evidence, may be taken as warranting the conclusion that this five-years' construction was out of all proportion to the growth of commerce and to the required increase of transportation facilities during that time. Had this immense over-construction been associated with sound methods of capitalization, the investors might have afforded to wait a few years, when the trade of the country would have grown up to the measure of the

enlarged carrying capacity, and reasonable returns would be forthcoming. But the general radically-defective State laws relating to the organization of railroad corporations not only permitted the capital stock to be issued virtually without consideration, but also made it possible to issue mortgage bonds without getting an equivalent value in construction. It thus came to pass that, whilst the forty thousand miles of new road were capitalized and bonded for a total of about $2,720,000,000, the true amount of actual capital invested against these issues was probably considerably less than half that sum. These were the conditions that brought about the crash of 1884; which not only necessitated a sweeping reconstruction of the new balloon enterprises, but involved the stock of the older companies in a shrinkage of market value from 80 points, the average best prices in 1883, to 40, the average lowest prices in 1884.

It would seem that such a notorious result of speculative enterprise should have sufficed, if not to prevent a repetition of like extravagance, yet at least to postpone it until the disgrace had been forgotten. And yet, following the collapse of 1884, only one year of contraction of construction elapsed. In 1886 the furore reappeared, and in that year 5,877 miles of road were built; in 1887, 14,393 miles; in 1888, 6,277 miles; and in 1889, 6,268 miles—a total of 32,815 miles within four years. This increase is at the rate of 25.7 per cent. upon the mileage existing in 1885, which is about two and a half times the rate of the concurrent growth of population. It will hardly be pretended that this increase of construction was justified by a corresponding growth of trade within the period; for that would be to maintain that the national production had progressed at nearly three times the rate of the national population—manifestly an improbable, if not an impossible, proposition. It is true that the tonnage of the roads showed even a higher proportional gain, during these four years, than the mileage; but it is to be remembered that all the transportation connected with the building of the 32,815 miles of road is included in the returns of tonnage.

It is something in favor of the over-construction of the last four years that it has not run to the same degree of excess as was reached in the period from 1880 to 1884, inclusive; but that plea is more than counterbalanced by the fact that the second period of excess came so immediately on the heels of the previous one

as to leave no interval for the repair of the crash of 1884 and for the distribution of the mass of securities issued previously to that culmination. Virtually, indeed, the two periods of excessive railroading run into each other and constitute one prolonged era of overcreation of speculative enterprises. In this very important sense the crisis of 1890 is the culmination and the winding-up of ten years of vicious financing, involving the issue of $4,609,000,000 of securities and the doubling of the railroad investments of the United States.

Among other causes contributing to the recent upheaval must be cited the injurious bearing of the Inter-State-Commerce Act upon the railroads. It may be safely stated, as the common opinion of railroad managers, that the result of that law has been to embarrass the effective working of the roads, to hinder economies in management, to diminish earnings, and to increase working expenses. Still more unjust and still more obstructive have been the restraints of the Granger laws and the intrusions of State commissioners. In the States most addicted to these interferences of State authority, several of the oldest and best-established companies have been brought dangerously close to the verge of bankruptcy, while the market value of their shares has been reduced by nearly one-half. Whatever any interest may have to urge in defense of this crippling of the chief instrumentality of commerce, the fact is not to be questioned that the impairment has been an important factor in producing the fundamental financial derangements from which the country has been and is still suffering.

The extraordinary creation of new buildings may be regarded as another branch of the speculative inflation. In nearly all parts of the country there seems to have been, in respect to both dwellings and business structures, a large anticipation of the future wants of population. The following statement of the number and value of new buildings officially registered in New York city during the first eleven months of 1890, compared with certain preceding years, may suffice for illustration on this point:

Year.	Number.	Value.
11 months of 1890	3,363	$71,100,000
12 months of 1889	4,207	69,500,000
12 months of 1885	3,368	45,400,000
12 months of 1881	2,668	43,400,000
12 months of 1880	2,252	29,100,000

Among the minor influences contributing to the results under review should be noted the locking-up of several millions of silver bullion, in anticipation of the operation of the new Silver Act, which diverted an equal amount of loanable funds from ordinary market use and aggravated the stringency of loans at the incipiency of the crisis. The enactment of the McKinley tariff also contributed its quota to the general demoralization, by causing importers to make large prepayments of duties; which involved the double misfortune of transferring several millions of cash from the banks to the treasury and increasing the demands of the importers for bank accommodation. Thus, concurrently with the culmination of a radical chronic disease, came accidents which seriously disabled Wall Street for resisting the mischief.

Thus far, I have enumerated, as the causes of the financial crisis, only factors connected with domestic affairs. In truth, however, a large measure of its aggravation must be charged to the account of the deranged condition of finance in London. Not only has Great Britain participated very largely in recent American railroad speculations, but she has, for the last three years, indulged in a mania of speculative financing surpassing all precedent. "Finance" companies, "trust" companies, and "investment" companies—possessing just enough of capital and of the deceptive sanction of high names to attract unwary investors—have created a host of enterprises calculated to benefit promoters rather than participators, with the result of an immense issue of new "securities,"—by a generous euphemism so-called. The total amount subscribed for these new corporations and for public loans from the beginning of 1888 to the end of October, 1890, appears from the London papers to have been about £485,000,000. The principal items of this total are enumerated in the following approximate statement:

Outstanding South American loans	£145,000,000
Argentine Republic cedulas	100,000,000
South American railroads	58,000,000
South African mines	10,000,000
Nitrate mines	3,500,000
Trust companies	60,000,000
	£376,500,000

It will thus be seen that, of the total subscriptions of capital within the three years, £376,500,000 was for purposes external to Great Britain; besides which there are unspecified large subscriptions for other foreign and for colonial undertakings,

aggregating probably not less than £50,000,000. It would therefore appear that, of the total £485,000,000 of new creations, approximately £366,000,000 has been for external purposes, while less than £120,000,000 has been subscribed for the promotion of strictly home enterprises. This immense creation of new undertakings is asserted by English statistical authorities to have been very largely in excess of the concurrent increase of British wealth. When, therefore, it is considered that three-fourths of the subscriptions were for foreign purposes, it is at once apparent how violent must have been the strain upon British finance to provide for these vast commitments, and how much must still remain to be endured before this oppressive oversupply of new issues can be finally distributed. The extent to which not only large promoting companies, but even banking-houses of high repute, have been involved in floating these new issues is illustrated by the fact that the Barings were found to have, at the time when their embarrassments were exposed, over £30,000,000 of outstanding commitments, chiefly connected with their operations in South American loans, most of which advances rested upon the most slender chances of repayment. The simple mention of these facts suffices to demonstrate that the whole system of British finance must have been sapped and drained to an extent far exceeding all experience in modern eras of speculation.

From the foregoing survey it is plain that the underlying causes of the crisis have consisted almost entirely in an overcreation of new and largely doubtful enterprises. These excesses set in almost simultaneously in the United States and Great Britain, and they culminated together. Our share in the inflation may be approximately stated as covering about $2,000,000,000; that of Great Britain about $2,400,000,000; with the intrinsic merits of the investments perhaps preponderating in favor of the United States, as most of our new railroads have the promise of ultimately becoming remunerative, as commerce develops.

The violently irregular movements reflected in the foregoing facts are a sad comment upon the lack of judgment among investors, and equally so upon the willingness of a class who control large amounts of capital and enjoy the confidence of the public, to misdirect the national earnings into unsound and wasteful ventures. But the more regretable such experiences may be, the more necessary does it become to devise every possible

means for limiting the disaster they entail. Certain consequences of these inflations are inevitable. The "water" must be squeezed out of the issues, and their value reduced to the standard of their true earning capacity. That means wholesale liquidation and large declines in the market value of the scrip; which, again, involves the disturbance of loans based upon the dubious collaterals, and frequently the failure of banks, bankers, or promoters who have committed themselves to the ventures; and these derangements almost invariably involve sympathetic injury to commercial interests which have no direct connection with such misdirections of enterprise. So much is inevitable. The disease is radical, and therefore can be cured only by a severe process.

But it is a question that deserves serious examination whether existing financial arrangements are of the form best calculated to tide over these convulsions with the least possible disturbance. The experiences of the last few weeks have afforded too much evidence that they are far from possessing such perfection. So far as respects England, the perils—so narrowly escaped by such extraordinary expedients as the Bank of England getting help from the Bank of France and procuring authorization to issue notes in disregard of law—have opened the eyes of the banking community, of statesmen, and of the press to the necessity for immediately broadening the powers of the national bank and alleviating the onerous restraints imposed upon it under Sir Robert Peel's Bank Act. What can be done to increase the elasticity of our financial instrumentalities? has become the most urgent question of the hour in this country. It would be fortunate if the judgment of the public on this question were commensurate with their anxieties. The truth must be confessed, however, that popular conceptions of the nature of the problem are so vague and wild that any remedy provided through legislation is likely to be of doubtful efficacy. Probably two-thirds of our people are persuaded that the whole evil lies in an insufficiency of currency, and hence Congress is distracted about the ways and means of indefinitely inflating the circulating medium.

If currency could have either prevented or cured the present unfortunate situation, there would have been nothing to complain about at this moment. For, according to the annual report of Secretary Windom, there was an

increase in the circulation in actual use, during the three months next preceeding the crisis, amounting to over 68 millions; which extraordinary inflation produced no perceptible effect whatever upon the universally stringent condition of the money market. For years past, the circulation has been increasing out of all proportion to the growth of population, the amount in actual use on October 1, 1886, having been $1,264,900,000, and on the 1st of October last $1,498,000,000, showing a gain of $234,000,000, or 19 per cent., within four years, which is double the ratio of growth of population. These facts prove that it was through no deficiency of circulation that the panic occurred or that it was not more easily held in check. It may well be asked what would have been the condition of affairs in London under the late upheaval, had that market been as directly dependent as this theory assumes on the volume of circulation, seeing that at the beginning of November the paper circulation of Great Britain was $10,000,000 less and the specie in the Bank of England $42,000,000 less than were those respective items ten years before. What support does the demand for a large continuous increase of the currency receive from the fact that England constantly is largely augmenting the volume of her business, with a stationary and at times retrogressive volume of circulation?

And the same question may apply with similar force to the circulation of the Bank of France (the only issuer of paper money in France), whose volume of outstanding notes last November was about the same as in that month of 1883. The notion that money is essential to all the transactions of business is productive of endless misconception about the workings of finance. Money is merely a tool for the *small* payments of society; while all the large transactions of trade and finance are settled by checks, notes, bills of exchange, or the transfer of book accounts; and it is exclusively these latter instruments that are concerned in the development and settlement of financial crises. In the use of these instruments of the *large transfers*, therefore, must be sought a revision which will secure better control over such convulsions as the one which has recently shaken the foundations of confidence on both sides of the Atlantic and among one hundred millions of commercial population.

Nevertheless, by a purely artificial expedient, money is made to play a very important part in disturbances of credit oper-

ations. The national banks of New York, at which the larger half of the whole banking operations of the country are transacted, are required by law and under threat of suspension to hold an amount of lawful money equal to not less than 25 per cent. of their net deposits. When the reserves trench upon this legal limit, the law compels the banks to stop lending, and the money that might be used for satisfying the wants of borrowers is kept idle at the bidding of authority. In this sense, at times and indeed too frequently, the matter of a few millions of money is invested with an almost omnipotent power over the negotiation of thousands of millions of credits; and the whole machinery of finance is crippled because a handful of banks are deprived of the right to a proper use of their money. Public opinion blindly ascribes these congestions to "a scarcity of money," while in truth, the trouble comes entirely from an arbitrary and needless restraint upon the lending function of the banks. The operation of this reserve law has contributed more than all other causes to the panics and the periodic congestions that have made the oscillations of the New York market a byword and a marvel the world over.

It is not to be inferred from this that I in any measure underestimate the necessity of maintaining ample cash reserves: the only question is whether they shall be regulated by a cast iron law or by each bank for itself; whether they shall be used when the emergency arises for which they are provided, or be kept idle in times of urgency, to the injury alike of the banks and the public. Herein, as I conceive, lies one serious source of the needless aggravation of crises, which ought to be remedied.

In various other directions, the national banks are placed under legal restrictions which impair their ability to take care of themselves and their customers in periods of disturbance. The banks are allowed to issue circulating notes only upon deposit of bonds the market value of which exceeds by 15 to 30 per cent. the amount of notes issued; whereas the notes could be made absolutely secure by simply making them a first lien upon all assets of the bank, as well as upon the duplicate capital for which the stockholders are responsible in the event of the bank's failure; in which event, the bonds now deposited against circulation could be converted into mobile and always readily available capital. The form of guarantee here suggested has a broader precedent in foreign banking systems than any other.

The banks are systematically embarrassed also by the clause forbidding their lending a sum exceeding one-tenth the amount of their capital to any one borrower. Conservative as this restraint may seem in theory, yet, in such large operations as have to be undertaken by the New York banks, it is found to be very decidedly otherwise in practice. It frequently prevents a bank from accepting a large sound loan, and compels it to divide up its advances among several smaller and weaker borrowers. In times of disturbed credit it often prevents a good customer from getting all the accommodation at his bank that he needs, and for the remainder throws him upon the tender mercies of others to whom his standing is unknown. Such a restriction is specially hostile to the interests of a city at which centre the larger transactions of the nation. More and more every year capital is concentrating into larger masses; and its owners require correspondingly increasing accommodation from the banks. Yet, owing to this 10 per cent. limitation, the lending ability of the national banks becomes increasingly inadequate to the borrowing requirements of large interests. The readiness of the Associated Banks to issue Clearing-House certificates in periods of danger is very largely explained by the fact that, as each bank is by law largely disqualified for dealing with important applications for advances, they find it necessary to consolidate their lending power, as a means of resisting the progress of demoralization and relieving the urgent wants of borrowers. In these and in other respects the rigidity of the national-banking system has become responsible for a serious inadequacy of our banking arrangements to satisfy our financial necessities.

The foregoing are only some of the many possible alleviations of the irregularities in the working of our financial system which are seriously retarding the progress of the nation. They are, however, all to which the necessary limits of my space permit reference.

HENRY CLEWS.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A TOOTHLESS AND HAIRLESS RACE.

"TEETH strong, even, and white as those of a savage," is the novelist's hackneyed description of one of his hero's chief physical charms. The fossil jaws of prehistoric man show molars and incisors worn half-way to the sockets indeed, but generally unbroken in number and free from caries. Civilized man has a larger and more deeply convoluted brain, a less oblique facial angle, a more rounded tibia, a less protruding heel, and a finer nose than the typical savage, modern or prehistoric; but in the matter of teeth he is immeasurably his inferior. What a pity that the refining processes which have sculptured his lips into such exquisite curves should have made such havoc within them! that the divine beauty of his smile should be so often more than neutralized by the sepulchral ruin it reveals!

And in the matter of hair, too, one sex at least has been a great sufferer from civilization. Compare the male European or American head of to-day, fertile enough within, but so often a scalpy desert without, with the thickly-thatched cranium of the Asiatic or the African.

The oft-repeated conclusion of the biologists is inevitable: the processes that have produced such results will continue until civilized man becomes an absolutely toothless and hairless race.

What then? Will there be a deterioration of health and beauty? Will our descendants, more or less remote, become a race of prematurely-old men and women? The life-history of the individual is repeated in that of the species. Is that the destined Old Age of the human species when every individual will bear throughout his life these conspicuous marks of decrepitude? Or will the destined change be only one more step towards a higher organization, a more finely-developed and vital manhood? It will not be the first great physical change through which our race has passed since it was clothed with hair from top to toe, had great fangs in its jaws, moved its pointed ears at will, and was decorated with a tail. It is not difficult to imagine the time when our remote ancestors first noticed that the coats of shining silky hair which covered their bodies were beginning to grow thin. Perhaps it was at the same time that their graceful and convenient tails were growing shorter and less flexible. With what concern they must have observed the increasing baldness of their shoulders and sides, and how they must have missed the support as well as beauty of their lost or abbreviated caudal appendages!

As their successors supply the deficiencies of nature with scalp-wigs and artificial teeth, so no doubt they made hairy coverings "perfectly simulating nature" to conceal the ugly bald spots on their bodies, and perhaps eked out their shortened tails with artificial supplements. Who knows but that this may have hastened the adoption of the artificial clothing, hairy skins of beasts, etc., which in the course of the ages since has completed the depila-

tory process and produced the lady's smooth satiny skin, of which she is so proud?

If we can imagine those remote progenitors of ours intelligent enough to write magazine articles, how learnedly we may fancy them discoursing on the disastrous effects of deviating from the habits of primitive nature!

"Our greatly-improved and still improving means of defence against our terrestrial enemies," one of their *savants* might have written if he had possessed the erudition of to-day, "is producing its natural result. The increasing tendency of our race to abandon their natural habitat among the trees for a more indolent and luxurious life upon the ground is greatly to be deplored. We are rapidly losing the physical agility and mental alertness which characterized our fathers, and which arboreous habits alone can develop and maintain. If the tendency continues to increase, our race must necessarily deteriorate, until it will finally descend to the level of the clumsy and stupid *plantigrade*. There is even danger of at least two radical physical changes. Our diminished activity and increased luxury are rendering us more and more susceptible to climatic changes, from which we seek to protect ourselves by artificial covering. This is, no doubt, the chief cause of the body-baldness from which so large a proportion of our people suffer, especially in advanced life. Again, the walker upon the ground has little or no occasion for that graceful appendage which the swinger from tree to tree finds one of his chief necessities—his prehensile tail. Disuse, therefore, added to the abrading effect of his habit of sitting so much of his time, will eventually deprive him of this beautiful and, in the design of nature, most necessary appendage. Imagine a race of men with no tails, and with skins as bare all over as the palms of our four hands! Such a race, unless the tendencies are radically changed, we are inevitably destined to become."

Well, the tendencies were not radically changed, and such a race we have in great measure become. It will require only a few hundreds of generations more to render the transformation complete, when the last hairy scalp, chin, breast, and leg shall have disappeared, and the human form divine shall present from crown to sole a surface as smooth and rosy-white as an infant's cheek of to-day. The other change will have taken place, too—that which our prehistoric ancestors had no reason to foresee; the last molar, tricuspid, bicuspid, and incisor will have disappeared, and the smiling lips will reveal only two semicircles of rosy gum.

As we have already asked, will the result be a deterioration of health and beauty? With us there is, to say the least, a strong and decided prejudice in favor of luxuriant tresses and pearly teeth. But it is only a prejudice, and by no means universal. We see no lack of beauty in the infant's naked, rosy scalp, or in its sweet little toothless mouth. We even see a kind of majestic beauty in the ivory dome that covers the sage's busy brain. A white, shining billiard-ball is by no means unpleasing to the eye, and no one can fancy its beauty improved by covering half of it with a coat of hair, however soft and silky, lustrous, brown, or golden.

Birds had teeth once: how should we welcome the prospect of a return, a retrogression, to their former semi-reptilian condition? Would you think your canary or your brilliant-hued cockatoo improved in its appearance if the smooth, even edges of its bill were garnished with saws of pearly teeth, like a little feathered and winged alligator?

The possession of a full complement of teeth has always been regarded as an indispensable condition of perfect health. To our prehistoric ancestors,

who had no other grain-mills than their molars, it must have been so, and the modern soldier in active service would find his hard-tack and leathery salt beef rather unsatisfactory fare without the dental integrity which the examining surgeon so properly insists upon. But the constantly improving science of cookery supplies the remedy for the civilian, and as to the soldier, he is, like his teeth, a relic of undeveloped civilization. The "dogs of war" must go, teeth and all. Experience has demonstrated that the luxurious diet of civilization, which gives so little for the teeth to do, is, on the whole, more conducive to vitality and longevity than the hard fare of savagery. Long before toothless gums shall have become the rule, all occasion for teeth will have passed, either for beauty or use. The rudimentary excrescences which will ever and anon continue to appear will be looked upon as deformities, and will be promptly removed. Those rare individuals from the uttermost parts of the earth who shall be able to show a complete set of fully-developed teeth will be exhibited as "freaks," as the hairy wild man of Australia is exhibited to-day—relics of a former bestial stage of humanity.

Meanwhile the transition state of our race from the beauty of luxuriant hair and perfect teeth to the beauty of satin-smooth scalps and geometrically-perfect mandibles of delicate pink, is one of comparative ugliness, analogous to the moulting period of the feathered tribes.

EDWARD P. JACKSON.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE AMERICAN NEGRO.

THE development of Africa excites in the Christian world to-day a more common and widespread interest than any other subject. It is shared in a greater or less degree by nearly all nations, classes, and religious bodies. The recent partition of great portions of the continent between the European powers, as well as the formation of commercial companies for founding new empires in its depths, is the result, not the cause, of this interest. This of itself would prove that it is no merely sentimental feeling which shrinks from action; but beyond and higher than this is the fact that great numbers of men, as far apart as English and American university graduates and French peasants, stand ready to make any needed sacrifice, even of life itself, to help it on. It was only a few days, for instance, after Cardinal Lavigerie suggested raising a semi-religious *gendarmerie* for the purpose of a forcible repression of the slave-trade that more than a thousand men volunteered to go to almost certain death in this service. When one missionary falls at his post, ten are eager to fill his place. Though it is true that most of the explorers, traders, prospectors, and adventurers who are pressing from all directions into the interior are actuated only by personal motives, yet the Christian world at large has no other wish than to see a magnificent continent opened to civilization, its wealth made available, and the "open sore" of the world healed.

There is one notable and significant exception to this common interest of all Christian peoples in the redemption of Africa. The educated and well-to-do American negro alone seems to be apathetic and indifferent; or, if he has any interest in Africa, it is purely sentimental. Though I have had occasion to become unusually familiar with what has been done in that continent during the last fifty years or more, I cannot call to mind a single instance of an American negro who has gone to Africa from the noble motives which have led tens of hundreds of white men to make their graves in its forests and swamps. This indifference is, to me at least, inexplicable. In the North

for several generations the negro has had nearly every advantage which our institutions could give him, and has availed himself of them. He has taken high rank in our colleges. He has filled important public offices and has been in State legislatures and in Congress. Every profession and business has received him into its ranks, and he has acquired wealth. Moreover, he has done, is still doing, successful missionary and educational work among the less favored Southern negroes. In this African field alone, where we should expect him to be keenly jealous of the foremost place, he strangely steps aside and leaves the white man to bear the whole burden.

Why should we expect him to be foremost? Simply because he is bound by closer race ties to the African than the white man is, and there is not another civilized or semi-civilized people whom the knowledge of the sufferings of kindred peoples does not call to instant and nobly-indignant action. The peace of Europe is constantly threatened because every Russian, Greek, Servian, and Bulgarian—we might almost add every Frenchman—is eager to leap to arms to rescue his brethren from a foreign yoke. The American negro alone looks on apparently indifferent to the oppression of fellow-negroes to which the tyranny of the European Turk is mildness in comparison. More than this, we should look to him to be foremost because experience shows that the black man can do the work better than the white. In the last half-century the Christian missionaries have gathered converts here and there, a few thousands in all, doing in many cases a problematical good; "mission-boy" being often a term of reproach for one who is lazy, helpless, and false. During the same time black men, part traders, part missionaries, have converted vast populations in north-central Africa to Mohammedanism. They have founded among them kingdoms of a high degree of civilization, and the negro under their influence has distinctly advanced in strength of mind and morals. These missionaries, it should be noted, were quite as much strangers among their African converts as the American negro would have been. So the black traders from the east coast, foreigners still, have gone into every part of the interior, exploring territories in which no white man has yet been able to set foot, everywhere becoming leaders of the people—when they have not exterminated them. Has the enlightened American negro less force of character or strength of will, less power to influence or to command, than the black, half-breed Arab? Could no American Tippu Tib conquer for civilization and Christianity a territory as great as that man rules, as much an alien to his subjects as his Belgian secretary?

Ignorance cannot be the cause of this indifference, for we are referring only to the educated and intelligent American negro. Nor can it be because missionary societies have rejected his proffered services. A man who was in earnest to do this work would not be stopped a day by such a trifling obstacle. African pioneer and mission history is full of instances of men who have labored alone in Africa. The Royal Geographical Society has recently honored with one of its coveted prizes an independent missionary who almost without means, and absolutely alone, has explored a great and hitherto almost unknown territory.

It cannot spring from a feeling that he is not fitted to be useful in such a field. I venture to say that there is no one so humble in ability and acquirements who, if he has the right spirit, could not be a power in Africa. There is, or was recently, living alone on the shores of Lake Tanganyika a French soldier who, on his discharge from the army, offered himself for work in Africa. Though nothing but a drill-sergeant, he proved more useful

than many a highly-trained missionary. He formed the natives of a considerable district into a home-guard, which successfully defended it from all the raids of the slave-hunters. One principal cause of the great influence of Mackay of Uganda, whose recent death has thrilled the Christian world with a feeling akin to dismay, after the spirit which animated him, was the fact that he was a practical machinist It is, in truth, not too much to say that what Africa needs most now is not university men and highly-educated teachers, but mechanics and artisans, farmers and gardeners, actuated by the same spirit.

Nor can this indifference spring from timidity. The negro's record in the Civil War amply proves that he is not daunted by perils, nor does he shrink from privations in a noble cause. His apathy is the harder to understand from the fact that nothing to-day is surer to win the attention and admiration of the world than self-sacrificing work in Africa. That this recognition is not reserved for the white man is shown by the honors heaped upon Bishop Crowther, a Yoruba slave, for his services in the Niger valley, and the affectionate regard of all who have followed Stanley's adventurous life for his faithful Zanzibari, Uledi. A career is surely open to the ambitious American negro in Africa, success in which would lift his whole race while aiding in the redemption of a continent. Why does he not enter it?

JAMES M. HUBBARD.

THE USELESSNESS OF FLYING-MACHINES.

AIR-SHIPS have had an exhaustive trial, and their limitations are now recognized by all intelligent investigators. Any vessel which depends for its upward motion upon its displacement of air must, of necessity, be so large as to preclude the possibility of propelling it against even a moderate breeze. Helpless and inert as an iceberg in the Gulf Stream, it must float wherever the aërial currents choose to carry it. Few, even of the most visionary enthusiasts, now really believe that the day will ever come when buoyant air-ships will navigate the heavens in any governable direction.

With flying-machines, however, the case is radically different. In the first place, the flying-machine follows the analogy of nature as no air-ship ever could. Ships float on the water in very much the same fashion that fish and many aquatic birds float in or upon it; but the balloon finds no prototype in its sphere. No bird or insect exists that can for an instant support itself motionless in the air. The specific gravity of water and that of most animals are so nearly the same that an equipoise is easily established in various ways. But the specific gravity of air is so very much less than that of most of the other forms of matter that an equipoise is very hard to establish. As has been observed, no living animal can support itself in the air without supplementing the specific gravity of the air by an expenditure of muscular energy, and in most cases this expenditure is very large.

It is, then, only by means of some strong, light structure, *plus* a large amount of energy, that we may hope to imitate nature and traverse the heavens with both speed and certainty of course. But when the inevitable conditions are once accepted, the outlook for success is by no means discouraging. The obstacles in the way of a successful flying-machine are such that any decade of our age of aggressive science may surmount them. There is nothing at all absurd in the notion that men may learn to fly. Not by means of their own muscles, of course,—nobody now expects that,—but by means of mechanical ingenuity, linked with the tremendous power of steam or with

the magic of that wonder-working force which we call electricity. At the present time there is a general feeling, not only among wild enthusiasts, but among men of sober judgment, both in the scientific and in the business world, that a practical flying-machine is among the near possibilities of the future. Learned and conservative societies have lent to this belief a very considerable degree of favor, while the faith of the commercial world is attested by the recent formation in a western city of a company with an enormous capital which is to be devoted entirely to the building of flying machines.

But when one examines carefully into the possible utility of flying-machines, he is forced to the conviction that no great benefits to mankind are reasonably to be expected from even the most triumphant success in this line of invention. It is really curious that so many people assume without reflection that a successful flying-machine would mean either increased speed or increased carrying power over our present methods of transportation. An American journal of weight and ability recently gave editorial utterance to this remarkable statement: "The successful trial of an air-ship would in twenty-four hours' time cut down by half the value of all the railroads and steamships in the world, because it would afford an opportunity of cheapening to an incredible extent the cost of transporting persons and merchandise." This is sheer nonsense; and it is worthy of confutation only because it is a kind of nonsense to which people who talk on this subject seem to fall victims in a very unthinking way.

The one sole advantage of aërial transit lies in the directness of route which it would find possible. A flying car could (theoretically) go from New York to San Francisco, or from London to Constantinople, in a line much more nearly straight than is now possible for a railroad or a steamship. But what other advantage could possibly attend aërial transit? Many persons speak of "travelling through the air" as if air would be an entirely novel medium to travel through. They seem not to realize that steamships and railroad trains at the present day travel through the air, with the great additional advantage of getting a solid base beneath the air to rest upon. Would a cargo of goods or a carload of passengers lose its weight if it were elevated above the earth's surface? If not, then this weight must rest on something. And if it rests upon the air, the friction will be far greater than if it rested upon the steel rails and well-lubricated wheels of a first-class railroad. The more yielding the substance upon which a moving weight slides, the greater the friction. As a ship, resting on the yielding sea, finds a much greater resistance to its motion than does the same weight resting upon steel rails, so would a vessel resting upon the air find a much greater friction to overcome than if it rested upon the sea. An express train now travels through the air, and through no other medium. By resting upon the earth it secures a grip for its driving-wheels and a hard, smooth surface to slide upon. What advantage could result from increasing the friction, and putting forth a tremendous power to support the weight of the train, at the same time removing the driving-wheels to a region where they could get no grip save upon the thin and fleeing air?

And if it is absurd to hope for an increase of speed, it is even more palpably impossible to secure an increase of transporting power by means of flying-machines. A moment's sane reflection ought to convince any man that the power consumed in lifting a dead-weight a hundred feet into the air must enormously exceed the power necessary to move the same weight an equal

distance along the earth's surface. Even so crude a vehicle as a stone-drag enables a horse to pull for miles a load of rocks which he could not lift a thousand feet. Two horses will trot and pull a hundred passengers along the smooth metals of a tramway. Of how many horses would the strength be required to support the same car full of passengers in mid-air an hour, to say nothing of moving it along rapidly at that elevation? A force of ten pounds, advantageously applied, will move a ton in a horizontal direction. To sustain the ton in the air and simultaneously move it at the same speed in a horizontal direction obviously would require a force of ten pounds *plus two thousand pounds!* Here, again, one is constrained to ask: What advantage is it to put forth the enormous power necessary to sustain the freight in mid-air, when the weight might just as well rest peacefully upon the earth, the transporting power required being in both cases substantially the same? The whole absurdity originates in the unthinking notion that a bird on the wing weighs less than he does when sitting on a perch.

No triumph of ingenuity, no availability of new substances, such as aluminium, no application of electricity or other power, will ever enable man and freight to travel supported on the air more speedily or cheaply than, with the same advantages of material and power, they can be transported through the air while resting on the earth. So long as the force of gravity remains unaltered, transit through mid-air must, of necessity, be handicapped by disadvantages which no conceivable mechanism could overcome—disadvantages which forever preclude serious competition with transit on the earth's surface.

Flying-machines are among the near possibilities—an enthusiast might almost say probabilities. Man may yet harness himself into a light, tough frame-work of aluminium, and, compelling the electric current completely to his will, mount the ether like a lark or cleave the clouds like an eagle. But the world has as little practical use for flying-machines as it has for the north pole. Scientists would be deeply interested in them; the rich might conceivably use them as luxurious playthings; adventurous cranks would play mad pranks with them, not "before high heaven," but in high heaven; and the managers of agricultural fairs and Fourth-of-July entertainments would hail them with joy as the legitimate heir to that old favorite, the balloon ascension. But the spectacle of a perfected flying-machine to-morrow curving its graceful spirals above the New York Stock Exchange need not shake by a ripple the watery instability of the most dropsical railroad stock in that hydropathic centre. The mass of mankind will live and move forever upon the earth's surface. The power that binds solid substances to that surface will never be defied or evaded to any beyond the most limited extent.

ARTHUR MARK CUMMINGS.

HOW TO TEACH CITIZENSHIP.

"OH, I NEVER read editorials," was the reply made by an intelligent-looking young paying-teller in one of Boston's national banks, when asked if he had read a certain newspaper editorial dealing with a prominent economic question. Even more distressing was the confession of a young citizen, born and bred in New York city, in reply to a question as to how he should vote at the recent municipal election, that he did not know who the candidates were. When told that Mr. Grant was the Tammany candidate, he expressed the hope that he would be defeated, as he "never did like the Grant family"!

The writer's experience has not been unique. Certain it is that indifference to the duties of citizenship on the part of our young men—products of our school systems, public and private—not only as regards an intelligent consideration of questions of vital importance, but even in the matter of casting a ballot at all, is altogether too common.

During the Rebellion the appeal to arms for the preservation of the Union aroused the interest of our citizens and stirred the fires of patriotism. No such stimulus exists to-day, and the waving of the bloody shirt does not excite the passions of the generation of voters to whom the war is only an historical record. All the more need, then, to encourage citizenship by education. The filling of the offices of the government is still an inevitable fact, and there are still great national questions which demand the intelligent consideration of our voters. Furthermore, our population has grown, very largely by immigration, to such an extent that we now number, at a low estimate, sixty-two millions, distributed in many distinct communities, differing from each other in habits and customs, and even in language. In New Mexico the citizen casts a ballot written in Spanish; in many factory cities of New England clerks who can speak Canadian French are employed in the shops; in Wisconsin the exclusive use of the English language in the public schools is brought in question. Thus the immense task is imposed upon us not only of preparing for citizenship the children of American homes, but of inculcating the principles of our government into the minds of those children whose parents were born and brought up under other systems.

It is in the public schools of the land that the dangers of indifference and ignorance must be met. Much has already been done in the line of improvement. Civil government is being more widely taught, though it is not universally found in the courses of study even of our high-schools. The movement to place American flags upon school-houses has surely been an excellent one. But how does it happen that we witness so much indifference to citizenship among graduates of our public schools who are of voting age? How does it happen that intelligent men, in an intensely illogical spirit, advise young citizens to "let politics alone" on the ground that they are corrupt?—as if the filthy condition of the Augean stables were the best reason why Hercules should not attempt to clean them. If our public schools are developing a set of citizens who, forgetting that they owe something to the blessings and protection of a free government, and failing to realize that corruption grows on indifference, stay away from the polls because it rains, or submit to the indignity of being sent for with a carriage; if, as a result of public-school education, our young men are enabled to read the newspaper account of the baseball game without feeling inclined to read the editorial column, then the schools have fallen short of what ought to be expected of them.

Even if a law were passed making the study of civil government compulsory in all high-schools and in the highest grade of the grammar-schools, the remedy might not be effectual. The mere placing of a text-book in the school does not suffice. In the report of Superintendent Seaver of the Boston schools, for 1888, we find complaint made that the study of civil government had been neglected. The teaching of citizenship depends more upon the teacher than upon the subject taught. It is one thing to teach the Constitution of the United States so that it shall be *understood:* it is quite another to teach it so that it shall be *appreciated.* It is even more important to instil into the minds of young pupils a thorough appreciation of the ethics

of our government than to teach them an adeptness in answering technical questions with regard to its form.

In the teaching of citizenship, as well as in the teaching of morals, the teacher must be more than an unemotional machine in which a question is put and a fact extracted. To teach morals successfully, the teacher must feel the impulse to make the pupils better, and not serve as a disinterested distributer of ethical truths. So in teaching citizenship the teacher must be an enthusiastic patriot, one in love with the institutions of the country, who can *preach* patriotism as well as *teach* it. No point should be more thoroughly and repeatedly brought to the attention of those who are fitting themselves in normal schools and colleges to be teachers than that they are to have the future citizens of our country in their charge, and that they will be expected to teach ethics as applied to the duties of citizenship as well as to the other affairs of life.

Our scholars ought early to be taught that the wilful failure of a citizen to exercise the right of casting an honest and intelligent ballot is a neglect of duty and an ungrateful disregard of the privilege granted by our ancestors, who fought and bled that this nation might be a government of the people; that it is a sacrifice of manhood for a citizen to allow his vote to be influenced by an offer of money; that if the practice of buying votes were to become general, our country would become a miserable plutocracy, and to be an American citizen would be no better than to be a purchasable slave; that they are living in a country whose inhabitants enjoy the greatest measure of freedom accorded to any people on the earth, a continuance of which freedom rests with them; and that honest citizens must watch much more sharply for the preservation of the integrity of our government than political adventurers watch for the prostitution of its ends and aims. It is in the *ethics* of citizenship that improvement is needed in our public schools. If our children have been trained early to realize the responsibilities of citizenship, they will be attracted, as they become older, to an intelligent consideration of the great questions of the day, and will gladly turn to the discussions in our newspapers and magazines to learn what the best thought is upon these questions.

Much has been said of late about the attitude of the State toward private schools. Her duty as regards the teaching of citizenship is clear. The State is a joint parent with the fathers and mothers of the land, and may with right say to the managers of private schools: "Teach your children what courses of study you like, or what religions you like, but I insist that you fit them to be American citizens. These children enjoy my protection and the blessings of a free government. This government is conducted by its citizens, and these children, my future citizens, must be qualified to act as such. Teach them, therefore, along with your moral and religious training, the duties of American citizenship."

Ex-President Cleveland said at the recent dinner given to Mr. Thurman: "It should never be forgotten that the influence which more than all other things has made our people safe depositaries of governmental power, and which has furnished the surest guarantee of the strength and perpetuity of the Republic, has its source in the American home." True enough; but is not the school the ultimate factor in making the influence of the home patriotic? Our mothers can be the best cultivators of patriotism, and the mothers of the future are in our schools to-day. Shall not these mothers, then, taught in school days the fundamental principles of American inde-

pendence and the nobleness of honest citizenship, feel with Cornelia of ancient Rome that the most precious jewels she can show are her patriotic children?

SAMUEL W. MENDUM.

THE BRUTAL SEX.

WHEN Mrs. Poyser, in the course of one of her memorable arguments with Mr. Craig on "the woman question," wound up by admitting that, though women might be foolish, "God Almighty made 'em to match the men," she supplied a statement of the seemingly unanswerable variety which her sex have not been slow to make use of in discussions regarding the respective merits or failings of the sexes. As *Malvolio*, however, when questioned concerning Pythagoras's assertion that the soul of our grandam might haply inhabit a bird, replied that he thought nobly of the soul and in no way approved of the opinion, so I must declare that I think too nobly of woman to approve altogether of Mrs. Poyser's theory and assent to its proposition that women were made to match the men. If it were true, then the human race were in a most parlous state. If it were true, then the masculine would not be *the brutal sex*.

To be cruel is not necessarily to be brutal, in the ordinary acceptation of those terms, however lexicographers may decide the matter for themselves. A person may be both brutal and cruel, or only cruel, or, again, only brutal. In ordinary speech we distinguish between the two words by applying the term "cruel" to merciless acts which seem to imply a definite amount of deliberate thought preparatory to their execution, and "brutal" to similar acts committed without such thought and on the impulse of the moment. So it is that we speak of "refined cruelty," but not of "refined brutality." I have elsewhere intimated that women are often cruel; I should be sorry to believe that they could be brutal.

Cruelty is a defensive attribute of weakness; brutality the vice of strength. The exhibition of these two traits manifests itself early in our human nature. Let any one observe groups of boys and girls at their separate games, and he will see among the former the brute nature asserting its presence with more or less vehemence, according to circumstances, in a free interchange of kicks and blows, while among the girls he will observe actions that are cruel rather than brutal, and which involve mental rather than physical distress. But it is the brutal rather than the cruel side that comes into boldest relief. And among men and women the same degree of difference exists. The stronger sex is still the brutal one.

With brutality is often blended a vein of reckless generosity, a doubtful virtue, the exercise of which often serves to moderate or even dissipate in the public mind the effect of the brutality. But this is somewhat aside from the main theme. It is not needful to go back to the past to sustain the assertion that the masculine sex, taken in its entirety, is a brutal one. We can find proofs enough of it close at hand in our own time. Nor need we take exaggerated instances of it, such as now and then shock us in Whitechapel atrocities or the acts of Stanley's rear-guard in darkest Africa, or in the practices of semi-barbarous peoples. We have but to look at existing states of things in the most enlightened nations of the globe.

Among the rougher elements that form part of the social structure, we find most inhuman practices to be of common occurrence. Men think little of beating their beasts of burden most savagely, and nearly as often and as

savagely, their unfortunate wives. The impulse to either act is in no way restrained by reason, and is simply the result of an outbreak of brute nature.

If the brutality of modern life touched no greater extremes than these and was confined to the lower strata of society, we might look for its elimination in time, for the progress of intelligence would supplement the workings of law. But brutality is deep-rooted in man's nature; its motives are not the accidents of the moment in their source when its most baleful consequences are concerned, but are among the fundamental passions of man.

Think for a moment what is implied in the single fact that in no part of the world is it deemed safe for a woman to go alone after dark, nor, in many localities, by day even. It is not enough to reply that woman must have a trustworthy masculine escort because she is timid. Why should she be timid? Under similar circumstances a man may fear the personal violence of an enemy or the loss of his money and valuables. A woman has to dread man's "wildness and the chances of the dark." In plain words, she fears that, if unattended, some man will seek to rob her of her honor. And is not this fear of hers an arraignment of civilization itself? How much better does civilized man show above his savage brother in relation to this matter?

It may be urged that it is unfair to hold all men responsible for the lawlessness of a minority; but what is this but to confess that the majority are powerless to restrain the minority, or to say that improvement in this regard is impossible? If in the vicinity of every large town in the United States there lurked a dozen or more fierce wolves that, after nightfall, went into the town and banqueted on such of the citizens as they could secure, we may without much doubt assert that such a state of things, when once found to exist, would come to a speedy termination; for every man would feel that the common safety of all demanded the exertion of his strength in the contest with the wild beasts. But let it be understood that the honor of every woman is endangered when she goes from place to place alone at night, and we accept the fact as no reproach on our common manhood, but merely fancy that all requirements of duty are satisfied if we provide defenceless woman with a responsible male escort.

But woman's timidity is an inheritance, says some one. That is true enough; but is there no active present reason for its continued existence? Let any newspaper with its numberless accounts of brutal assaults upon women make answer to this. That the perpetrators of such crimes often meet with swift retributive justice at the hands of an enraged mob has little influence in the creation of a public opinion strong enough to make crimes of this kind eventually unknown, simply because public opinion, when it thus becomes the instrument of justice, is not worked upon by the nobler aspects of the case.

Crimes against property are always looked upon by the average man as more heinous than any others, and it is useless to deny that the average man regards his wife as his property. She is

> "Something better than his dog, a little dearer than his horse,"

it is true, but his property nevertheless. The indignation which he feels on hearing of some assault upon a woman differs in degree, but scarcely in kind, from the horror with which certain frontier communities regard the crime of horse-stealing. In each case the sin is committed against property. In the frontier town every man feels that his own property is in danger while the horse-thief is still at large; and similarly the average man argues with re-

spect to his own wife while the ravisher goes unwhipt of justice. Hence his speedy resort to the swiftest punishment possible in each case.

But suppose the idea of personal ownership is not involved in any way, as it is, refine it how we may, in all instances of the kind first cited, or in all accusations of adultery brought by the husband against his wife. Suppose we consider simply one prominent attitude in which the majority of men stand towards womankind. And what is that attitude? Briefly and plainly it is that man's physical welfare requires for its maintenance the moral ruin of unnumbered thousands of women.

It is prudery to be shocked at such a putting of the matter, when we know that the practice of the average man is in fullest accord with the statement just made. Our age is easily shocked in certain directions, but our superior virtue is not incontestably proved by the fact that we are less plain-spoken than our ancestors. What should most concern us is to see whether or no such a statement be true or false.

That it is a false or misleading presentment I leave for others to maintain; that it is a true condensation of the theory held by the majority of men I do not hesitate to assert.

The tolerant attitude taken by many men of blameless lives towards sexual sins is often urged against them as a reproach by women. In this women are partly right and partly wrong. They are in the wrong because they are prone to magnify the guilt of sins of this kind so far above that of other violations of the rule of right living as thereby practically to ignore at times the existence of other sins. They thus exhibit a distorted sense of proportion in morals, and so weaken the influence they might otherwise exert upon the practice of men in this direction. But they are in the right to a certain extent in urging their reproach because the easy judgment passed upon sexual sins, even by men who have no notion of committing them, helps in its way to make the commission of those offences more readily possible.

Masculine society tacitly assumes that the overwhelming majority of men will not remain virtuous. It also assumes that a vast number of women must lead unchaste lives in order that the sexual appetites of the before-mentioned men may be gratified. Now see how differently the two sets of individuals involved in these assumptions are regarded by the world at large. The first-named are seeking the gratification of a natural instinct, we say. If the men are young and unmarried, we say "boys will be boys," and if married, we are not very much inclined to severer judgment so long as there is no outraging of conventionalities. But if young women indulge in practices of this kind, we do not good-naturedly excuse them by saying "girls will be girls," or extend to them the same leniency of judgment passed upon their brothers; what is natural in the one sex appears to be most perverse and unnatural in the other. We forgive the one class readily enough, or even deny the need of the exercise of forgiveness: the other class we refuse to respect, if we be men, or if we be women, we refuse to forgive.

To tacitly admit that incontinence is, if not commendable, at least a very venial transgression for the male sex, but something quite opposite for the female sex, carries with it the practical confession that right thinking as well as right acting in relation to so important a matter is for the present unattainable. It is to admit, moreover, that man has made but very little progress from the animal to the spiritual in this respect in all the ages that have gone before up to the present, and it seemingly involves the denial of the possibility of such advance in the future.

The church has not contributed materially to the solution of this moral question. It has held up an ideal of what man should be in this particular, but it has never strenuously denied what the practice of the average man declares; namely, that the attainment of such an ideal of virtue by man is an impossible achievement. It has *preached* chastity for man as well as for woman, but it has usually stopped with preaching.

It matters little what advancement is made in any or all departments of human knowledge, or what increase of refinement marks our progress through the centuries, if men are to remain at the end of it all as essentially brutal in the satisfaction of sexual desire as the savage in his wilderness countless æons ago. So long as the average man, refined or otherwise, persists in acting up to his belief that the physical well-being of his sex inexorably calls for the separation from the ranks of virtuous women of hundreds of thousands of their sisters, and the consequent moral ruin of these ministers to his pleasure; so long as he contentedly suffers this perpetual sacrifice to be offered up in his behalf, so long may ours be truthfully as well as sadly called the brutal sex!

OSCAR FAY ADAMS.

IN FAVOR OF THE JEW.

WE CONDEMN the anti-Semitic legislation of Russia and contrast the condition of the Jews in this free and favored country, but we continue to foster prejudice and retail worn charges which we have never taken the trouble to investigate.

"I cannot understand your associating with Jews," said an ordinarily amiable young woman. "I don't like them and don't want to have anything to do with them." "Have you any personal acquaintance with them?" I asked. "I can't say that I have. There was a Jewish girl at our boarding-school, but that was different; she was bright, and pleasant, and *quite like other people.*" Many other "critics" are not more enlightened.

Some charges are obsolete, but we hear continually that Jews are sordid, mean, rapacious. They arrive in this country poor and speedily become rich, and this is the result of over-reaching and trickery. They do not assist in the development of the country by becoming mechanics or agriculturists. They are revengeful. They are rude, uncultured, ostentatious. They are intolerant and hostile to Christianity. They always have been and always will be an alien race, and America wants citizens and patriots.

Let us hear the other side.

Though a stain of meanness and cunning has been imprinted by centuries of Gentile oppression, many Jews are unspotted by it and show the purest quality of honor. Their success is mainly due to business habits, thrift, and intelligence. They have drawn capital to the country and increased its commercial influence. They are eager to acquire, but ready to give. I know Russian Jews, poor and superstitious, who allowed an aged Christian woman to occupy a room in their house, rent free, while she was too ill to work, and supplied her with necessaries for weeks. The generosity of wealthy Jews is too well-known to require illustration or comment. The brother of Bishop Helmuth, founder of Helmuth College, in London, Canada, was a tolerant and generous Jew. When Isaac Helmuth entered the Christian ministry, he was disinherited by his father, who left about $400,000 to one son. But that favored son said, "The half of this belongs to Isaac"; and to Isaac Helmuth it was sent.

As regards occupation, it is well known that in times of persecution Jews were not allowed to own land or practise mechanic arts, and they have not outgrown the effect of that bar; but the number of Jewish mechanics is increasing, and Jews have attained eminence as engineers and architects.

A revengeful spirit is not a racial characteristic; gratitude is. Says Naphtali Hirtz Wessel: "That love of our neighbor which is founded on gratitude, or the recognition of benefits received, the Jews as a people, possess in an eminent degree; for history, while it proves the faithfulness with which the Jews adhered to those to whom they had vowed their allegiance, affords us no striking instance in which they rewarded good with evil. . . . He who grants his friendship to a Jew has seldom reason to apprehend that the trust will be betrayed." And some of us can indorse those words.

No one who has met "all sorts and conditions of men" can claim that objectionable manners are especially Jewish. The effects of being thrust apart from their fellow-men are visible in certain inherited qualities and peculiarities of manner in those who have continued separate and have been imbued with Jewish prejudice. How unreasonable it is to condemn a race for the misdeeds of some aggressive and insolent individuals! Class should be compared with class. Jews who have had advantages of education and association compare favorably with our cultured classes. Both public and private school teachers have stated that their Jewish pupils are among the brightest and most docile. Recent statistics in Berlin show that the higher the grade of education in any given institution the larger is the proportion of Jewish students. Out of twelve hundred students of law six hundred were Jews. According to some late returns in Russia, more than 15 per cent. of Catholic men are illiterate, while of Protestants no more than 6 per cent. and of the Jews not over 4 per cent. can be classed as illiterates.

Few educated Jews of to-day show hostility toward Christianity. In times of persecution the Jews said and wrote many offensive words, and some years ago few Jews would have mentioned the name of Jesus. Now they admit his moral character and the purity of his motives. The noble Rabbi Bettelheim, of Baltimore, who lately died and was buried at sea on his homeward journey, said that he "never mentioned the name of Jesus Christ without uncovering his head." In a Jewish home I have heard "Calvary" most expressively sung by a Jewess. In a lecture to Jews I have heard a young Jew speak of "the resplendent and advancing cross of Christianity," and in a Jewish synagogue a non-Jew who had been invited to lecture spoke of "that fairest flower of Judaism, Jesus of Nazareth," without offence. Some accept his godly mission, believe in him as "a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel," but think it idolatrous to worship him as son of God. Rabbi Gottheil argues that the Jews as a race do not reject Jesus, but they are unable to comprehend his claims to divinity. On the other hand, some Christians look upon teaching which eulogizes Jesus while it rejects his divinity as more insinuating, and therefore more dangerous, than open hostility. Within a short time two Jewish synagogues have been loaned to Christian congregations for services. *The Jewish Exponent* comments upon this: "To some it may seem indecorous to let a house dedicated to Jewish principles, doctrines, and ideals become, if only temporarily, the place where different ideas are promulgated." It certainly shows a liberal spirit. It is true that in some cases tolerance is another name for indifference, because infidelity, lack of interest in any religion, is widespread. "It is surprising to see how far a man can go and yet call himself a Jew,"

says one. "It is no good to pretend that our religion remains a vital force among us. It has been modified, as we ourselves have been modified, by the influence of Western thought and Western morality." Yet no observing person can sit in a Jewish synagogue on the day of atonement, for instance, and doubt that there remain much genuine earnestness and religious feeling.

The amalgamating influences of the public schools will do away with much prejudice on both sides. I have had the privilege of attending a charming literary society whose members, Jewish and Christian girls who have been friends since school days, meet weekly in a Jewish home. Last winter I attended a course of lectures on Jewish history in a Jewish synagogue. One lecture was delivered by a university student, a non-Jew. He had talent and sympathy; as he reviewed the "tragic poem of the centuries," he was for the time one of the race in whose blood its stanzas were written. I watched the kindling eye and expressive countenance of the classmate who had invited him. When the young orator turned to descend from the platform, his friend sprang to meet him; they looked into each other's eyes; there was a warm hand-clasp; for them at least, classmates and friends, love and sympathy had banished prejudice.

Freer intercourse, with its mutual benefits, brings up the question of intermarriage. "What are we going to do about it?" inquired a Jewish youth, yet in his teens, who had been invited to non-Jewish homes. "Are our young men and yours to visit one anothers' houses labelled 'non-eligible'?" Schindler and other Jews of the very liberal school favor "mixed marriages." But the result might be the disintegration of the race. There is a suggestive passage in Amy Levy's "Reuben Sachs." Leopold Leuniger says: "Disintegration, absorption, is the price we are bound to pay for restored freedom and consideration." Reuben Sachs replies: "If we are to die as a race, we will die harder than you think. That strange, strong instinct that has held us together so long is not a thing easily eradicated; it will come into play when it is least expected. Jew will gravitate to Jew, though each may call himself by another name. If prejudice died, if all the world, metaphorically speaking, thought one thought and spoke one language, there would still remain those inexplicable mysteries, affinity and love."

The future of the Jewish people is as much an insoluble problem as ever, but that the race, after its long, wonderful separation, should be disintegrated and absorbed, seems incredible. Separation does not imply alienation. Let there be free and friendly intercourse, and leave the question of intermarriage for time to settle. It is a remarkable fact that among the cultured Jews the racial features are generally less strongly defined, and the German, French, and American types may readily be distinguished. As to patriotism, the American Hebrew has his share of national pride and allegiance to American institutions. Let me quote again from Naphtali Hirtz Wessel: "We do not hesitate to add that, were a nation, as such, to bestow their good-will and confidence on the Jewish people, the return would not only be frank and cordial, but such is—and has at all times been—the character of the Jew that his heart's blood would be spilt and his last energies devoted to uphold the cause of those whose kindness had given them a claim on his gratitude and faith. Such, at least, is the proof afforded to them by the pages of history; such the testimony borne to their character by those who, in the hour of need, have confided in them."

M. Bourchier Sanford.

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GETTYSBURG THIRTY YEARS AFTER.

BY
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE COUNT OF PARIS,
MAJOR-GENERAL O. O. HOWARD,
MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY W. SLOCUM,
AND
MAJOR-GENERAL ABNER DOUBLEDAY.

THE COUNT OF PARIS:

A REMARKABLE engraving, called "The Midnight Review," is very popular in France and may be known in America. It represents innumerable lines of phantom warriors mustering through the moonlit clouds to march past before the ghost of Napoleon, under whose leadership each of them had met a soldier's death.

This weird scene had made a deep impression on my mind when I was a child, and its remembrance suddenly flashed upon me when I entered, some weeks ago, the great National Cemetery of Gettysburg, over whose peaceful graves presides the bronze statue of the gallant Reynolds. My imagination first retraced to me the real midnight scene which the then small cemetery of Gettysburg witnessed on the historical night of July 1, 1863, when the illustrious General Meade, hastening to grasp with a firm hand the command of the army so recently intrusted to him, set his foot on that key-position where his weary soldiers, sleeping among the citizens' tombs, seemed, under the pure rays of the moon, as so many statues recording the memory of the departed.

How many among those young and healthy men slept that

night for the last time and now rest forever in the long rows of white stones, drawn like regiments on the parade-ground, with their officers in front, which extend all over the hallowed ground, and whose martial order cannot fail to strike every visitor's mind!

It required, indeed, a small effort of imagination to conceive another midnight scene, where, under the call of some mysterious power, in the stillness and dubious light of that hour, the form of every dead soldier would grow out of the small marble slabs to form a powerful array on the ground where they had generously given up their life to save their country in the most critical moment of its history.

However, this is perhaps too pagan a thought for a Christian cemetery, where the memory of the dead is honored by words of peace and hope, and not of vengeance and retaliation. As General Howard so eloquently said on that same evening at the meeting of the citizens of Gettysburg, the watchword must there be "*Charity for all.*" It is only a feverish brain which could in its dream call the spirits of the Confederate soldiers out of their scattered tombs to lead them in the darkness of the midnight hour to the assault of those heights which were soaked with their blood a quarter of a century ago. And taking this view, I must confess that I regretted to see our late enemies' remains excluded from the ground dedicated by a reunited people to the memory of the victims of the war, where every one bows before the emblem of our common redeemer. I felt this regret more keenly when, some days later, I saw in Quebec the common monument erected by the British nation to the memory of the two valiant soldiers, Wolfe and Montcalm—a great example of impartiality before the equality in deaths and glory!

But why evoke the dead while in broad daylight I could behold a more extraordinary sight in an historical point of view than the *midnight review?* To the call of General Butterfield, chief of staff of the Army of the Potomac in that decisive battle, had answered nearly all the surviving chiefs who were the principal actors in this great drama. Instead of the ghostly legions marching in an unearthly silence, I had around me all the living leaders whose names will always be associated with the history of the battle of Gettysburg. It was, indeed, a high compliment which they paid to a true friend of their country, who, after hav-

ing served with them in the same army, had undertaken to write an impartial account of the great struggle. This compliment I once more gratefully acknowledge.

The citizens of Gettysburg were right to appreciate the remarkable character of the visit which took place on the 15th of October, for I believe that there is not one of the innumerable battlefields of old Europe which has been revisited by such a number of the leaders of the victorious army, assembled on the same day to go together on the historical ground and combine their remembrances of a quarter of a century past, to enrich, if I can say so, their common fund of information.

I understand that each of them has promised to give his personal impressions of that visit. Nothing could be more interesting for the student of history and the military critic. In company with such high authorities I cannot presume to add to their statements anything which would be of interest for the one or the other. Moreover, if the impressions of a European officer may be of some value to the readers of this, I shall yield the pen to my friend and companion, Colonel de Parseval, who has already recorded these impressions in a French military paper, where they have been duly appreciated.

However, this I can say : that, having minutely described the field of battle, and mastered, I believe, all the operations which were conducted upon it, without having seen the ground, I was very anxious to know whether the personal inspection of this ground would correspond or not with the ideas I had formed by the study of the maps. That my expectation was fully realized speaks volumes in favor of the accuracy of those maps. I confess that only by a very natural process of the mind I had imagined that every inequality of the ground, except perhaps the bold profiles of the Round Tops and Culp's Hill, was more marked than I found it to be in reality.

It was only when we were crammed on the platform of the belfry of the theological seminary that I clearly understood the strength and importance of the ridge to which this building gives its name. From there also it was easy to recognize the natural weakness of the position in which the Eleventh Corps had to support the brunt of Ewell's attacks. That the whole line occupied on the afternoon of the 1st of July by the two Federal *corps d'armes* was bound to crumble to pieces as soon as it should be

strongly assailed from the north and northeast was so evident that any discussion upon the connection between these two corps seemed to be quite out of order: a happy result, for the narrow platform was no place to debate upon such a burning question.

In the afternoon our drive took us first to Culp's Hill, the rugged ground of which must be seen to understand the nature of the bloody fight which took place on its eastern slope. But to realize fully its importance for the defence of the Federal lines, it is necessary at the same time to look a moment westward so as to see how near it lies to the part of those lines which occupied Cemetery Ridge and extended further south. It is impossible then not to be struck by what must be called Lee's capital error in the disposition of his forces on the second and third days of the battle. It is no disparagement of the great Confederate chieftain's abilities to point out the error, for which some causes may be found, for as the general result of the battle was the defeat of his army, the cause of this defeat must be found somewhere, and I do not hesitate to ascribe it principally to the extension of his left opposite Culp's Hill.

While in an hour or two at the utmost reënforcements could be taken from there to Cemetery Ridge and Round Top, and *vice versâ*, it would have required a whole day's march for a column leaving the shores of Rock Creek, at the foot of Culp's Hill, to reach the positions from which Pickett's division moved to its celebrated charge. This excessive development of Lee's front, which gave his adversary the advantage of the interior lines in a degree rarely seen on any field of battle, deprived him not only of the power of concentration, but also of the means of securing combined action. For even his messengers were greatly delayed in carrying his orders, and when he directed his lieutenants, in order to act in concert, to take the cannonade on one wing as a signal for an attack of the other, this plan lamentably failed. If we ask why he threw in that way his left around Culp's Hill, and why he did not correct this when he discovered, as he no doubt did very soon, that it was a mistake, the answer should be, I think: First, that on the evening of the 1st he did certainly not expect to meet next morning on Cemetery Hill the unconquerable resistance which alone prevented his two wings from being strongly connected together. Neither the condition of the

Federal troops that evening when they lost Gettysburg nor the aspect of Cemetery Hill as seen from the seminary could justify such an expectation. Second, that it was the very greatness of the defeat of his position which prevented him from correcting it. If he had drawn in his left to reënforce his centre, this would have, no doubt, enabled Longstreet, in turn, to extend to the right and to strike south of Round Top a blow which would probably have caused the retreat of the Federal army. But to accomplish that transfer a full day would have been consumed, during which Ewell's forces would have been practically annulled and the whole of the Federal right left free to join either the centre or left in a general attack against Hill or Longstreet. This risk General Lee could not afford to run, and so he was more and more fatally entangled by the consequences of the first move of Ewell down the valley of Rock Creek.

Having retraced our steps, we turned first south-southwest and then due east at the crossroads, in an angle of which lies the celebrated peach orchard. This was the ground soaked by the blood of the gallant soldiers of the Third Corps. After these streams of blood, streams of ink flowed in the controversy upon the merits or defects of the position taken on this ground by our brave friend General Sickles. In this controversy we were not disposed to enter again, and I was more anxious to have the glorious cripple show us the exact spot where he parted from his shattered leg than to sit in judgment upon officers, dead or living, who had all acted with unsurpassed bravery and devotion, and been inspired only by their desire to serve faithfully their common cause. The only observation which a careful study of the general aspect of the ground will suggest here is that this aspect is, if I can say so, of a very deceitful nature. I mean that, at a certain distance, one can easily be mistaken upon the real value of a position which appears to have a certain command over the neighborhood, and which, on closer inspection, turns out to be very weak. This applies to all the ground crossed by the Emmettsburg road, but not, of course, to the bold profile of Little Round Top, on whose rocky summit our next steps brought us.

On the importance of this place, consecrated by the death of Weed, Vincent, and so many of their brave followers, there is no room for discussion. The bronze statue of Warren, standing like a living man on a protruding boulder, reminds a visitor of the happy

initiative which secured to the Federals the possession of Little Round Top. I must confess that I was deeply moved at the sight of this monument raised to the memory of this gallant officer, whose heart was broken forever by the unjust persecution of which he was a victim.

There is no striking natural feature to distinguish the place where Pickett's undaunted soldiers met in the most desperate hand-to-hand conflict (Webb's) Philadelphia brigade, and were hurled back by the fighting crowd which gathered before them at the call of Hancock. The place is perhaps the more impressive on account of its plainness. A crumbling stone-wall, a foot high, dividing two fields, one of which gently slopes towards the southwest, a few stunted trees behind, marks the high-tide line upon which broke the last, the most powerful wave of the Confederate invasion. A few yards beyond, the place is pointed out, and should always be in memory of a gallant soldier, where, like the block of stone hurled by this wave before its final receding, General Armistead fell dying in the thickest of his enemies. I have not space enough to dwell upon our very interesting excursion to the east, where General David McM. Gregg explained to us in such a clear and forcible way the details of the cavalry fight, which, although it took place some miles from the positions of the contending hosts, had a great influence upon the issue of the battle. For Stuart, who had been carried too far away by unforeseen circumstances, and whose absence had been such a source of weakness to the Confederate army, might have retrieved his error by falling upon the Federal line of communication, if he had not been stopped in this dangerous movement by the prompt and decisive action of Gregg's cavalry. The latter general was kind enough to remind me that I have been the first to give full value to the service he rendered to the army in that fight, which had been rather overlooked by other writers on the same subject.

I shall conclude this sketch of our day's work by the visit to the small wooden country house, which stands unaltered since 1863, where Meade had his headquarters, near which Butterfield received a glorious wound, and which derives its historical importance from the council of war in which it was decided to fight out the greatest battle of the war in the positions in which a mere accident had placed the two contending hosts. There is an

old proverb which says that councils of war never fight. The stern resolution to which this council came makes a most remarkable exception to the general rule of military history, to the credit of those who indorsed it. But there is another rule which must never be forgotten: it is that whatever may be the opinion of a council of war, it is nothing but an opinion, and that the whole responsibility of any decision rests entirely and only upon the commander-in-chief. With the responsibility goes naturally the credit when success rewards the course which he has pursued. Therefore I think it must be most emphatically asserted that, whatever may have been General Meade's utterances in the council of war, he must reap the whole benefit of the decision he indorsed and carried into effect. And he will be praised by future generations for having inspired himself from the short sentence uttered by our valiant Marshal McMahon when he entered, sword in hand, the ruin of Fort Malakoff: "*J'y suis, j'y reste*"—"Here I am and shall remain."

From the little room where the chief of staff and four out of the seven generals who commanded the army corps on the 2d of July, the three others being dead, have met again after more than twenty-seven years, our last step will be to the spacious chapel where, on the evening of the 15th of October, the inhabitants of Gettysburg, both ladies and gentlemen, met to give a cordial greeting to our party. Young and old, mothers and children, belonging to every profession, came to see, sitting together on the same platform, most of the generals whose names were familiar to all of them. To some, belonging to our generation, not only their names, but their faces were familiar, and it was not without emotion that this sight carried them back to the days of their youth, when the tremendous storm of war suddenly broke upon their peaceful town. But to most of them the sight was a perfectly novel one. To the new generation the battle of Gettysburg is an historical event, like the battle of Marathon, and most of our auditors must at first have doubted whether the gentlemen quietly sitting before them, who, notwithstanding for some the loss of a limb, for others the color of the hair, seemed full of life and activity, were really some of the chief actors in the great events to which their town owes its celebrity. I hope a full account of the proceedings of that evening will be published. I conclude by expressing my gratitude to General Butterfield for having organized

with such perfect success our visit to Gettysburg, and to all our companions for having so cheerfully answered his call.

PHILIPPE COMTE DE PARIS.

GENERAL HOWARD:

PERHAPS no occasion was more consonant with the wishes of the Comte de Paris and all others concerned than the Washington dinner, given by our army commander, General Schofield. It was at the Metropolitan Club rooms. There was perhaps in the feast itself nothing to distinguish it from other such joyous gatherings. There were no speeches to record; yet many happy ones were made, but none publicly; each to his neighbor condensed a word of experience into the concrete. The Hon. Secretary to my right told me a half-dozen tales, which have never yet gotten into print, that came from the lips of Abraham Lincoln. Without permission I could not repeat them for publication, but two hearers near the Secretary laughed till they cried, as they were made to feel that Mr. Lincoln so often gained the mastery by his richest gift of humorous and pointed story-telling. It was a satisfaction to the Comte to meet the many distinguished comrades gathered around the board, such as Rosecrans, Augur, Wright, Butterfield, Casey, of the army, Admiral Franklin, of the navy, Secretaries Noble and Rusk, of the President's Cabinet, and others. Each alternate plate was for the Comte and for each of his six visiting companions. There were, near the close of the banquet, little groups of twos and threes; and in each group a hearty and happy interchange of thoughts and recollections had place. There was a lingering, after rising from the table, to multiply the words of sympathy and friendship.

I was obliged to return to New York when the party went on to southern fields, and did not rejoin it till the 15th of October, at Gettysburg. On the 14th, going north from Fort McHenry, Lieutenant Treat and I had two stops, one at York and the other at Hanover. York was full of reminiscence. Here we met soldier and citizen. How proud the gray-headed veteran to bring forward the roster of his company as it was when discharged at the close of the war. How his eyes sparkled as he told us how he happened to be at home at that period on Confederate Early's arrival; and how he followed up Early's great division, numerous in "effectives," as it marched off to Gettysburg, where it

arrived and impinged upon General Howard's right flank the first day of July, 1863. This restaurant-keeper (for he is now so employed) was before us again, a vigorous Yankee soldier, and we fared well, be assured, at his table. There was the elderly citizen who barbered us, across the way from the engine-house and tower, where we took in the hills and fields that the Confederates had held for a day or two by their numerous infantry and thundering artillery. He talked glibly of the past events. He was fifteen then. "Our governors paid some $28,000 or $30,000 in cash, and gave their notes for the balance of one hundred thousand; not long since some citizens met Mr. Early in Washington, and he, Early, showed the old notes and laughed." "Are these not good still?" he inquired. Never did barber trim one better while he talked of the past. It was a startling time, that visit of '63, and it made a deep and lasting impression.

We had plenty of time at Hanover to find Kilpatrick's cavalry position before the battle there of June 30. We found the square where the Northern and Southern horsemen first came into collision. They have changed that "square" old fence lot into "a round," and the market-house has been demolished. A fleshy veteran lumber merchant, with white head and bending shoulders, pointed to the hills held by J. E. B. Stuart, the Confederate cavalry leader, and to the other heights opposite, where the brave Custer came in. As we worked our way to the edge of the town, we exercised but little imagination to revive the scene. How surprised must friend Stuart have been when, in his long column, Pleasonton's men, under Kilpatrick and Custer, came smashing into his flank, and the wicked shells screeched their way across his lines! No wonder he fended the Yankees off, and went on via "Hanover Junction" to the coveted cover of Robert Lee's infantry.

At last, after enforced halts, we arrived at Gettysburg and found our party. Six had been corps commanders; and one had led a great cavalry division. Generals Gobin and Orland Smith were now prominent railroad managers. Three cars, a president's coach, then a Pullman, and then General Orland Smith's own moving palace! Another feast was already spread in them from front car to rear. General Smith gave royal welcome and hospitality that night. At sunrise I took a preliminary trip to the Cemetery Heights. Captain Morhain, of the Comte's party, shook his head as I asked him to walk. "Oh no; must I not walk all

day?" And as I moved off I heard the words, "But, General, you do not walk—you run!" It took quick work to go from the railroad to the cemetery and return.

But were n't we disappointed! The evergreens with their broad tops and dark shadows covered all the First Corps' front, and hid the grounds of conflict down by that wall. At the old or citizen's gate—"Where is that good woman, Mrs. Thorn, who gave us a cup of coffee, the sweetest one ever drunk, the night of the first of July after the battle?" "Oh, sir, she is not here. She has moved over there a few miles—over there towards Baltimore." The north side of the Baltimore Pike is called the "North Cemetery," and has a tall iron fence around it; in front of the one near the town, where the "Louisiana Tigers" came up the evening of the second of July, '63, for their fierce fight, is a reservoir which itself already looks old; but it was not there twenty-seven years ago. A high tower now stands on the prominent height behind the place of Steinwehr's division. Later in the day as many of our party as could crowd the top took from that point satisfactory views of the great monumental field of Gettysburg.

Going back to breakfast, a Pennsylvania German, who still lisps his English, though seventy years of age, encountered the writer.

"May I ask, sir, if you might be one of the strangers?"

"Oh, yes, I came last night."

"But, no"—the brightening hope dying down. "You might not be a ——?"

As he hesitated, the writer added: "Frenchman? No, no, I am only an old soldier—an American."

He gave cordial and polite thanks for the name; but he wanted, rather, to see the Comte and the other strangers from France.

We enjoyed our second breakfast that morning. Think of it, comrades, what we saw in the genial sunshiny presence of our guests.

We saw the gray locks thrown back from a high forehead; twenty-seven years ago they had another and a darker hue.

We saw large bright eyes beaming with gentleness; they were as full, but more fiery, then.

We saw a weighty man with but one foot; he was then, July 1, of slight build, quick step, and had two feet.

We saw deep wrinkles, dimming sight, and a feeble step; this one was then a strong young man with a solid tread.

We saw a tall, soldierly figure, erect still, but with such pleasant ways and growing peace of look! He was sturdy once, almost fierce in his battle-charge.

Years have crowned that sensitive man of middle life and not lessened his manhood. He had then a fair complexion and flaxen head.

And here the very happy face, that is round and fresh as the morning, but with an aged beard! He then could work all day and all night, and make a hundred thousand others do the same. There sat among them the Comte de Paris—whom the soldiers pleasantly dubbed "Captain Paris." He is as tall as in '62, but time has left his mark upon him. There are lines of care and thought; there is a higher forehead and fuller form. Years agone we remember the youth, bright and strong, whose twenty-two summers gave evidence of a hearty young life full of hope, full of enthusiasm, very like that of the favorite son by his side, the Duke d' Orleans.

Others will name the profitable work of that 15th of October, 1890, but could we have a better pictorial view of history than the Gettysburg breakfast-table on the railroad train?

Later, after the Gettysburg trip, we were publicly accused, I saw, of changing our views, as compared with the older expressions of opinion, and of affirming what we formerly denied. Perhaps so. At any rate, several old feuds and misunderstandings, both here at New York and at Gettysburg, essentially gave way. The great healer and good hearts usually work goodly changes. There may have been errors; there is no shame in their confession and correction. There may have been a too heated rivalry and consequent injustice. Being brought together by the Comte's cheery and friendly visit, in his conciliating presence, the rivalry may now be over; the injustice seen and acknowledged. Why not?

OLIVER OTIS HOWARD,
Major-General U. S. Army.

GENERAL SLOCUM:

I RECENTLY heard a warm discussion between two gentlemen of an event connected with one of the battles of our Civil War.

Mr. A. said: "My authority is an article recently published in one of our magazines."

Mr. B. replied: "My authority is the statement of an officer who was present and took part in the battle."

A. yielded the point, considering that B.'s authority was better than his own.

As to the value of the authorities quoted I think both gentlemen were in error. It by no means follows that the opinion of one who took part in a battle is superior to that of the historian who was not present.

Many newspaper reporters who came to Gettysburg the day after the battle knew more of the true history of the great struggle than did the great mass of the officers and soldiers who were engaged in it. Not an officer or soldier on Culp's Hill or in the cavalry under General Gregg saw anything of Pickett's charge, or knew anything of the result, except as they learned from others.

The position of a line officer is with his own men, and he rarely sees or knows, during a battle, anything of it outside of his immediate locality.

Nearly all our great battles were fought on fields where one portion of the line was hidden from another. The commanding officer of the right of the line at Gettysburg saw nothing of the operations on the left. His duty was with his own command, which was entirely hidden from the left. When he left Gettysburg, after the close of the battle, he had seen nothing of the first day's operations; had not been on Little Round Top; nor had he seen the Devil's Den; had not visited the field of Gregg's magnificent cavalry fight. On his return to the field after the close of the war, all these scenes were visited, and a far clearer knowledge of the events of the great contest was obtained.

The recent visit in company with the Comte de Paris was the most profitable of all the visits he has ever made at Gettysburg, not excepting the one made in company with General Longstreet and other Confederate officers. The Count visited the field to enable him to verify his history of the battle. He is an exceedingly painstaking and conscientious historian. He was accompanied by a representative of each corps of the Union army. Not a point on the field escaped his observation.

His questions were numerous, and of a character proving that he already had a thorough knowledge of the field and of the

movements and positions of the troops on both sides. The replies of Generals Howard and Doubleday to his questions on the field of the first day of the battle gave me a clear idea of what had occurred, and convinced me that our troops had fought a hard battle and had been handled with skill. I was also convinced that it was a fortunate thing for our army that we were compelled to leave that field. As an officer who was with us expressed it, "On the first day we were pounded into a splendid position."

The position assumed on the morning of the 2d of July, and held by us to the close of the battle, was far stronger than that on the first day.

Our visit to Little Round Top served to increase my admiration of General Warren, and my sense of the great debt due him for his services on the field. His military knowledge enabled him to discover in Little Round Top the key of the field, and soldierly instinct prompted him, without waiting orders, to seize it. Any delay on his part would have been fatal. His field artillery could not be drawn up by horses; so the men were ordered to dismount and drag the pieces to the summit by hand.

Our visit to the extreme right of our line caused me to appreciate more clearly than ever before the value of the services of the command under General Gregg, one of the most modest and unassuming, but one of the bravest and most skilful, of our great cavalry leaders. A large force of cavalry under Stuart, while attempting to turn our right and reach the Baltimore Pike in our rear, where were parked all our reserve artillery and our trains, was met by the command of General Gregg, defeated, and driven back.

We called at the house which has always been an object of interest to all who visit this field. Near the line occupied by the brigade under command of General J. B. Carr, of Troy, N. Y., stands a little one-story house, which at the time of the battle was occupied by a Mrs. Rogers and her daughter. On the morning of July 2 General Carr stopped at the house and found the daughter, a girl about eighteen years of age, alone, busily engaged in baking bread. He informed her that a great battle was inevitable, and advised her to seek a place of safety at once. She said she had a batch of bread baking in the oven, and she would remain until it was baked and then leave. When her bread was baked, it was given to our soldiers, and was devoured so eagerly that she con-

cluded to remain and bake another batch. And so she continued to the end of the battle, baking and giving her bread to all who came. The great artillery duel which shook the earth for miles around did not drive her from her oven. Pickett's men who charged past her house found her quietly baking her bread and distributing it to the hungry. When the battle was over, her house was found to be riddled with shot and shell, and seventeen dead bodies were taken from the house and cellar; the bodies of wounded men who had crawled to the little dwelling for shelter.

Twenty years after the close of the war General Carr's men and others held a grand reunion at Gettysburg; and learning that Josephine Rogers was still living, but had married and taken up her residence in Ohio, they sent for her, paid her passage from her home to Gettysburg and back, and had her go to her old home and tell them the story which they all knew so well. They decorated her with a score of army badges, and sent her back a happy woman. Why should not the poet immortalize Josephine Rogers as he did Barbara Frietchie?

We visited another house which was an object of great interest to me. It was the little one-story hovel in which General Meade held his celebrated council of war on the night of July 2. I have passed the house a score of times since the battle, but did not recognize it till I entered the room in which Meade and his corps commanders met. Then the scene came back to me, and I could point to the place occupied by each officer then present. The room was unchanged, except that at the time of the council a little rickety bed stood in one corner and a cheap pine table in the centre of the room.

I remember each corps commander was first asked as to his losses during the day and the number of fighting men he could put into battle the next morning. These questions answered, then came the commanding general's all-important query: "What shall be the order of the day for to-morrow?"

There is a remarkable similarity between Waterloo and Gettysburg in the numbers engaged and the losses suffered. In Major Fox's valuable book of reference for the military student, "Regimental Losses during the War," I find the following statistics:

At Waterloo the Allies had 72,000 men and 186 guns.

At Gettysburg the Union army had 82,000 men and 300 guns.

At Waterloo the French had 80,000 men and 252 guns.

At Gettysburg the Confederates had 70,000 men and 250 guns.

The total loss of the Allies was 23,185 men.

The total loss of the Union army was 23,003 men.

The total loss of the French was 26,300 men.

The total loss of the Confederates was 27,525 men.

Who can estimate the effects of these two great battles ? Who can tell the consequences that might have followed the defeat of Wellington at Waterloo or the defeat of Meade at Gettysburg ?

H. W. SLOCUM.

GENERAL DOUBLEDAY :

NOT having been at Gettysburg for several years, I had formed the idea that it was covered with monumental abortions, and was agreeably surprised to see so many beautiful and attractive memorial structures. All over the wide fields marble soldiers are represented as kneeling, loading, and firing, and the effect is very striking and picturesque. The Count of Paris said there is no battlefield in Europe so magnificently adorned. Gettysburg is now the Waterloo of our country, and deserves a visit from every tourist ; not only on account of its historical associations, but as one of the art-centres of America.

Upon reaching the ground, I found everything as familiar to me as it was twenty-seven years ago, when the First Corps came upon the scene to relieve Buford, who was holding on with his cavalry to those perilous ridges and looking anxiously to the south for help. Reynolds had been placed in command of the First, Third, and Eleventh Corps, and was eager to meet the enemy. He was not one of your retiring generals, nor was he in favor of making an everlasting war of positions. He saw the hordes of the enemy ravaging his native State, and, proud of the men he commanded, determined to fight the invaders *à outrance* as soon as he could get at them. The Confederate forces at this time were impoverishing a large part of Pennsylvania by their merciless requisitions. It might almost be said of them as of the old Danes when they landed on the coast of England :

> " With hands of steel and tongues of flame
> They raged the country through ;
> And where the Norseman sickle came
> No crop but hunger grew."

There seems hardly room in the short space allotted me to dwell upon many of the episodes of the battle, but perhaps a brief statement of the opening scenes of the contest on the first day may not be inappropriate.

Two roads lead into Gettysburg from the west, and come together on the edge of the town. These are cut by ridges which run north and south, and by a small stream beyond the second ridge, called Willoughby's Run. Our cavalry, through some misapprehension, reported that the enemy were advancing on both roads, and this rendered General Reynolds and myself unnecessarily apprehensive as regards our communication with the south. Buford's cavalry since early morning had been holding on desperately to the ridge nearest the water, contending with two large divisions of Hill's corps; while the First Corps was five miles away to the south on Marsh Creek. As it was all quiet there and the stress of battle lay with Buford, Reynolds hastened forward with the nearest troops at hand—two small brigades of Wadsworth's division—and directed me to bring up the remainder of the corps as soon as possible. Having withdrawn the pickets and put the other two divisions *en route*, I galloped ahead and reached the field just as the contest began between Cutler's brigade on the right against Davis's Confederate brigade. Meredith's brigade was still on its way a quarter of a mile to the rear. In the mean time I had sent an aid to ask for orders, and received this message from General Reynolds in reply: "Tell Doubleday I will hold on to this road, and he must hold on to that one."

This was the last order he ever issued. Archer's Confederate brigade, however, which formed the right of the attacking column, did not advance by the lower road, but attempted to take possession of a piece of woods between the two roads. Reynolds imprudently rode in there, almost unattended, to reconnoitre. As he turned his head to the rear to see how near we were, one of the enemy's sharpshooters must have seen him, and put a bullet through his neck, killing him instantly. As Meredith's men came on, I made a short address to them, telling them that this was the decisive battle of the war and that the result would decide whether the Confederate President or Abraham Lincoln was to rule the country. I urged them to take the wood and hold it at all hazards. Full of the memory of their past achievments, they replied: "If we can't hold it, where will you find the

men who can?" They went forward enthusiastically, entered the grove, and not only overpowered Archer's brigade, but captured him and the greater portion of his men. While this was going on, I had gone almost down to the stream on the left to see if any enemies were approaching along the more southern road. As there were none in sight, I returned, and the prisoners were brought up to me. I said, somewhat inconsiderately, to General Archer, who had been an old comrade of mine in Mexico: "I am glad to see you, Archer!" To which he angrily replied: "I am not a d——d bit glad to see you, sir!"

I now found that, while we had been fortunate on the left, we had met with a check on the right, where Davis's Confederate brigade had flanked that of Cutler and had obliged it to fall back a short distance. I soon remedied this, however, by sending a force under Colonel Dawes, of the Sixth Wisconsin, reënforced by another under Colonel Fowler, of the Fourteenth Brooklyn, to attack Davis in flank. The Confederates rushed into a cut in the railroad for shelter. There they were enfiladed and partially surrounded, and after a desperate hand-to-hand struggle most of them surrendered. This cleared my front temporarily of enemies and left me a period of repose.

If Hill had only known what a meagre force we had, he might have swept us away by a resolute advance, for he could easily have turned both flanks; but the absence of the cavalry had cut off all sources of information from him. Two of his brigades had been roughly handled, and he imagined that the whole Army of the Potomac confronted him. He therefore waited until he could be reënforced by the arrival of Ewell's corps before making any further attempts.

This delay enabled the remainder of the First Corps to reach the field. The Eleventh Corps arrived soon after, and made immediate dispositions to cover the right flank of the First against the advance of Ewell, who had now appeared in sight. They did not succeed, however, in preventing Ewell from taking possession of a prominent elevation, upon which he established batteries which enfiladed my line, rendering a new formation necessary.

A combined attack was now made by Hill's and Ewell's forces against the Union line, but, as regards the First Corps, it was handsomely repulsed, and almost an entire brigade—that of Iverson—was captured by General John C. Robinson's division on the

right. The concentration of Lee's army, however, was going on rapidly. The whole country was filled with troops who were advancing from the north and northwest. My line had now become very weak and thin. I had lost fully one-half of my force, and when the enemy brought on their strong reserves, further resistance became impossible. We accordingly fell back in a leisurely way, aided by Buford's cavalry on the left, turning every hundred yards to face the enemy again, until we reached Cemetery Hill, which was held by Steinwehr's division of the Eleventh Corps. As we passed through the streets, the women came out, pale and frightened, to offer us coffee and refreshments and to implore us not to desert them.

Toward the close of the contest Hancock rode up and told me that he had been sent to assume command of the field. He was our good genius, for he at once brought order out of confusion and made such admirable dispositions that he secured the ridge and held it. As he was junior in rank to General Howard, he had no right, technically speaking, to supersede the latter. Meade had assigned him to that duty, it is true, but under the law only the President himself could place a junior general over a senior. Howard did not recognize him as his superior, and I think Hancock, as he rode over to me, was in some doubt as to whether I, as commander of the First Corps, would acknowledge him as Howard's superior. Had I refused to do so, the battle of Gettysburg, in all probability, would have had a different termination. As Hancock ranked me, however, the question did not concern me personally, and I saw plainly enough that, if I refused to acknowledge his delegated authority, both the First and Eleventh Corps would be surrounded and captured. I had no desire to see the men of my command sent to adorn the prisons of the Confederacy, and I therefore did not insist on any technicality which would be certain to produce that result.

There were several reasons why the enemy did not advance at once and crush us.

First—Both Ewell's and Hill's corps had suffered heavy losses during the day, as General Lee testifies in his official report; in consequence of which they did not feel in a very adventurous mood.

Second—Kilpatrick had started north to meet Stuart's cavalry, which was coming from Carlisle. Ewell saw this movement and,

fearing that it foreboded an attack against his rear, weakened his main line by detaching a considerable force to meet it.

Third—The dispositions made by Hancock were calculated to deceive the enemy and make them think that we had been largely reënforced ; and

Fourth—A party sent by Ewell to ascertain how far our line extended south of Culp's Hill encountered the Seventh Indiana Regiment of Wadsworth's command, who had been directed to reconnoitre in that direction. The Seventh heard the enemy approaching, lay in wait for them, captured some who were in advance, and drove the others off. The latter returned and reported that they found Union troops in position far south of Culp's Hill. This implied, of course, that our line had been strengthened.

The final result was that the Confederate leaders thought it would be prudent to defer further action until daylight came and enabled them to see how much ground we occupied.

So ended the first day of the battle of Gettysburg. I have not attempted to give a detailed account of the operations of the Eleventh Corps, as I suppose General Howard will do so in the article he intends to write for this series.

ABNER DOUBLEDAY.

NOTE.—This series of articles will be continued in the March number of THE REVIEW, in which contributions from Generals Sickles, Butterfield, Newton, and Gregg will appear.—EDITOR N. A. R.

"A DELIBERATIVE BODY."

BY THE HON. THOMAS B. REED, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

In the United States of America every two years there occurs an event which has sometimes been thought to be a lesson to the effete and unprogressive monarchies of the old world, and to be not without a certain spectacular beauty even to the favored participants. At that time throughout four million square miles of territory, lying between the two greatest oceans of the world and between its greatest lakes and its broadest gulf, sixty millions of civilized beings, some of whom are also enlightened, have reached the decision of a great contest of opinion and have selected the materials for the machinery by the aid of which those same sixty millions of people are to so govern themselves as to make that progress in liberty and civilization which will enable them to realize the somewhat unrestrained expectations of their ancestors, and to live up to the high calling which is to be found in Fourth-of-July orations and other discourses hopeful of the progress of the race.

The preparations for this decisive day have extended with more or less intensity over the whole two years. For the three months immediately preceding all the best intellects which are engaged in politics have been devoted to the discussion of those questions of the future which the victorious party must solve, or to those determinations of the past to which it must adhere after the decision has been finally made. All the mighty enginery of the press has also been set in motion. The able editor has exerted himself to the utmost to lay facts and arguments before the people. If there should be added to this all the discussions and disputes in the corner groceries and in the streets and by the firesides, all

the efforts of workers, all the sound principles explained by reformers, and the vast sums of money subscribed and spent on both sides to bring facts home to the voters, and voters out to the polls, all this would but half describe the trouble which the people of the United States take for some purpose or other every two years.

What that purpose is seems in part so clear from text-books which speak of the Constitution, so clear from the tacit understanding of all mankind, that it seems almost like trifling to attempt to describe it. And yet there is so much confusion made in late discussions, so much declamation about the rights of minorities and freedom of speech, that a definition of the most valuable purpose of this mighty struggle seems really needful. So far as I can understand it, this struggle, battle, and decision have for their purpose, as regards the House of Representatives, the election of a representative body, which, so far as its powers go, is to formulate into laws the wishes of the people who are to be governed by these laws and who have expressed their wishes at the polls.

The making of laws is the main function of a legislative body. To that end all other things, however important, are subordinate. When I say the making of laws, I mean to include the deliberate refusal to make them if deemed wiser; for it so happens that the negative determination against a new law is a positive determination to stand by the old existing laws. In order to make laws wisely the body must be a deliberative body; but deliberation, however necessary or valuable, is only the means to an end; and that end is the right decision whether to make a law or not, and what shape to put it into if made. Debating is useful in law-making, but is not in itself an end or aim. A Pullman car is a most admirable adjunct to travel, but staying in a Pullman car which does not go out of the station is not travelling. Endless debate which leads no whither is just as much a prorogation of parliament as if the veriest tyrant did it. The propriety and policy of long debate have undergone many changes, and will doubtless, in a changeful world, undergo many more.

When the House of Commons permitted no reports of its debates, the arguments were addressed solely to members, and were intended to change or fortify their minds. When the debates were spread before the public, they took on other functions in addition, and

among them that of imparting information to the public and that of justifying the actions of the debater before his constituents and before the world. Undoubtedly these new functions were, a hundred years ago, very important; but they are becoming less so every day, both because the newspapers do not publish the debates and because they themselves supply their place. The practice of publishing speeches for distribution outside the legislature still goes on; but they undoubtedly have much less effect than formerly, owing to the great number of able men now engaged on newspapers, whose articles from day to day are more attractive, if not so profound. The legitimate uses of debate seem to be returning more and more to the ancient requirement—that of enlightening the body addressed. The problem to be solved in making a good law is twofold. The principles on which it is founded must be sound, and the details apt to carry out the principles. Here it is obvious that the more men who will conscientiously and seriously devote themselves to the consideration of both these things, the better will be the result. But it by no means follows that because all ought to consider all ought to talk. Deliberation implies thought, and not necessarily words, except as they are food for thought. The current discussion of this subject has fallen into rather a strange error in this regard.

It seems to be assumed that deliberation and debate mean talk only. It seems to be supposed, if a man is talking to the four walls of a room empty of everything but himself, that he is debating. But that is not so. Debate and deliberation imply listeners. If, for instance,—a thing hardly to be contemplated even in a mere supposition,—every time a Senator arose to speak every other Senator left the room, the Senator who arose might be talking words of wisdom, might even be making a great oration, but he would not be debating, and the Senate at that moment would not be a deliberative body. A deliberative body is such a body as the Senate probably really is; a body where one Senator at a time addresses all the other Senators who are there, each in his place, attentively listening and weighing the words to which they listen in order that their votes may be guided thereby. If to this picture were added the other important trait that the orator was keeping to the subject, saying only such things as he knew well enough not to need a manuscript to aid his faltering brain, you would have the ideal deliberative body, about the

destruction of which there has been so much indiscriminate raving of late, but which ceased to exist in its honesty many long years ago.

Debate as a guide to the understanding, debate as a modifier of opinions and an equalizer of wisdom, debate as an intellectual and moral aid to teach the voter how to vote and the legislator how to legislate, is as welcome to every man of sense as the rain on the thirsty soil or the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. But debate which meanders on through the dreary hours with oft-repeated platitudes, full of wise saws without even the flavor of a modern instance, solemn repetitions of stale arguments made with owlish solemnity to empty benches, and all with no purpose except to obstruct legislation and hinder the public business, is about as grateful to the soul as a simoon in the desert or the storm which drizzled over Sodom and Gomorrah.

For what purpose is a House of Representatives elected? Is it to pass the appropriation bills and then go home and say to the people?—"You certainly ordered us by your votes to do certain things; you undoubtedly went through the agony of a fiercely-contested election and decided upon certain questions, and intrusted us with the making of the laws to carry out your decisions, but we have not done anything of the sort. We know that the only use of debate is to enable us to make laws properly, but we found the right of debate so sacred, the raiment of so much more value than the body, that we have let the men you beat at the polls beat us in the halls of legislation. You voted one way, and we regarded the rights of minorities as so sacred that we were forced to register your votes the other way. You voted one way; the result as worked out by us was the other." How in the world can men reconcile such an answer with all the struggle and stress of an election? If minorities have superior rights, what is the use of trying to be a majority? Why should orators convince the judgments and able editors satisfy the minds of voters if nothing is to come of it? Why have an election if it chooses nothing? why a decision at the polls if it decides nothing?

If the doctrine that the minority is to rule be once established, then will come the natural sequence—How small can you make that minority and still rule? That way despotism lies, not Democracy. But the reader will ask, Why did not our forefathers restrict debate? why did they allow such unlimited discussion? The answer

is that even they restricted it by the previous question, and that was all that was necessary in their time. Misuse of debate for obstruction only was so rare that it was much wiser to endure it than to suppress it. In fact, it was so seldom resorted to, had so little of public sympathy, that it played no appreciable part in the drama of national government. The obstruction which to-day delays public business is modern, and it is not only true of the two houses of Congress, but of parliaments all over the world. Everywhere that decent respect for the rights of the majority which caused those who were outnumbered to submit after the intellectual struggle was over seems to be giving way to that brutal exercise of mere physical obstruction which certainly cannot be tolerated if representative government by the majority is to survive.

Time was when in the House of Commons men respected the wishes of the House, forebore to press amendments evidently unacceptable, and to make speeches to unwilling auditors. The House could then suppress a long-winded and habitual orator, and make men who had nothing to say realize that they had better not say it. But now, obstruction by debate and by motion having been adopted as party tactics, the bore is too useful not to be encouraged, and the man who has only words to say is a benefactor of his party, and must be duly sustained. So great has become the force of obstruction there that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain has already, in a very able article in *The Nineteenth Century* for December, called attention to the absolute necessity that control should be taken of the House of Commons by the majority if they intend to govern at all. Whoever consults that article will see that in the very home of parliamentary government obstruction has had the same rank growth which it has had in America. Passing from one abuse to another, the power of the majority in the English House of Commons is measured only by the sufferance of the minority. When the minority do not care to proceed to extremities against anything, it goes through.

Opposition in both countries is, of course, most effectual and vigorous against party measures. Whatever has one party behind it has the other party in front, and the minority are encouraged by their partisans and by the unthinking and dissatisfied on the other side. It so happens that party measures are precisely those measures which enter into the contests of election, into the discussions which precede and the decision which ends them.

We have, therefore, the strange anomaly of the greatest resistance made on those very points which have been already passed upon by the people. What has been decided is precisely what is hardest fought afterwards. It is, of course, to be admitted that, even after actual decision in the rough by the people, intellectual opposition in debate and argument in the representative body is to be courted and not discarded, for it often happens that in carrying a design into execution difficulties are found which were never dreamed of while the design was only planned in the mind. But intellectual opposition is one thing; stupid physical opposition entirely another.

In America like progress had been made as in England in the work of reducing popular government to a farce. Within the last fourteen years there has been such a growth of obstruction that remedies had to be found, and still others must be found in the future. Such remedies, while they will, after the unreasoning passions have subsided, lead to real debates and sound deliberation such as we all desire, will also utterly cut off mere talk, that moth of time and of business, which seeks to kill by indirection what nobody could kill in the open House by an open vote.

Take the first sacred duty which the Constitution devolved upon the House—the duty of determining its membership—and see what the practice has become therein under the new methods of opposition. Surely there can be no duty more sacred than that of determining the membership of the deliberative body. By the express terms of the Constitution nobody can determine that question in any case except the House itself. While in America, as formerly in England, the method of determination is open to much criticism, the right and duty remain fixed under the Constitution. Until 1882 obstruction to prevent that determination was never resorted to; and whatever else was barred and delayed, the decision of the right of a member to his seat was never allowed to be obstructed. Yet in 1890 that was the very first thing on which a quorum was attempted to be refused. Obstruction was most flagrant against the performance of a constitutional duty the very first in importance which can be imposed upon a legislative body—the determination of its own membership. While it is true that the imposition of such a duty upon such a body is probably a mistake, yet while the Constitution remains as it is nothing can justify Mr. Carlisle's assertion that there can be any

"full and complete vindication of the course pursued by the Democracy"—or any one else—when that course contemplated utter refusal to permit the House to be what the Constitution says it shall be, "the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members."

It is to be feared that for once at least Mr. Carlisle permitted himself to speak as a partisan what he would be sorry to say either as a constitutional lawyer or a parliamentarian. As to his charge that the decisions of the Committee on Elections sustained by the House were "outrages," the admirable letter of Mr. Dalzell to the New York *Tribune*, December 29, renders further notice unnecessary. If a deliberative body chosen to enact laws, and empowered to pass upon the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, can be stopped at the outset from the determination of its own component parts by a mere minority, and such action can be "vindicated" in any conceivable way, then constitutional law must have suffered a sad change since Mr. Carlisle abandoned law and entered politics.

Many things in this world, and especially arguments, hinge upon definition. With the proper definition of debate, as speaking made and listened to for the purpose of elucidating the principles of a law proposed or of settling its details, and even debate for the purpose of enlightening the outside world, it has no enemies and hosts of friends. Against such debate nobody can be found to put pen to paper. But when such debate is confounded with that debate which is largely in manuscript, which empties the abodes of deliberation, which has for its object the consumption of time and the frustration of public business, then the community which is called upon to protect that as the sacred right of freedom of debate is being hoodwinked, misled, and fooled.

By proper business regulations acquiesced in and honestly followed, as they would be if the constituencies could be properly aroused, everything which was done in the last session of the House could have been done, and done with ample debate, and the House adjourned before the middle of July. The waste of time in the House is simply inconceivable. The pernicious habit of destroying time by utterly needless calls of the roll for yeas and nays is so bad that even at the risk of repetition it is worth while to call attention to the figures which the last session disclosed. A roll-call costs, one time with another, twenty-five

minutes. Inasmuch as 458 roll-calls were had last session, of which not one hundred were legitimate, not less than 180 hours were wasted. Five hours is a whole legislative day. Thirty days at least were therefore wasted last session in mere roll-calls. This waste could be in a great measure prevented by requiring all motions now used for dilatory purposes to be seconded by a majority before they could be entertained. If, in addition to this, the Tucker-Blackburn amendment of 1880 to the rules were adopted, whereby attendance of members could be compelled, the House might do its work with efficiency and deliberation and care, or at least with as much efficiency, deliberation, and care as the unfortunate hall where we meet and the constitutional requirement as to a quorum will permit.

Comparison is often made between the freedom of debate allowed in early times and the restrictions of the present day. A few considerations and a few facts and figures will put that comparison in a different light. It cannot be too often reiterated that obstruction as known in our days was utterly unknown in the earlier days. It is not meant by this statement to say that there were no cases of lawless action, and that men never struggled against the majority; for there are instances where great opposition was made. But it never became until during the last ten years a systematic, every-day action in certain kinds of cases. Debate was seldom made the means of delay.

It will probably be a surprise to most readers, after all the outcries to which they listened during the year 1890 about the slaughter of innocent debate, and the gagging of members, and the silencing of the minority, to learn that the volume of debate during the first session of this Congress, which was shorter by seventeen days than the first session of the last Congress, exceeded the debate of that session by one thousand three hundred and fifty-two pages of two thousand words each. Even in the House the excess was nearly three hundred pages. The Fiftieth Congress, first session, was able to express itself in ten volumes; the Fifty-first Congress, first session, required eleven.

When we turn back to the second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress, which lasted from the 6th of December to the 16th of July, we shall see how sadly neglectful people then were of the privileges of debate. The Fifty-first Congress, alleged to be so terribly restricted, needed to express its views on men and things

eleven quarto volumes of eleven thousand five hundred and eighty-eight pages and twenty-three million one hundred and seventy-six thousand words. The men who adorned the Thirty-seventh Congress were so unequal to the modern demand for language that they could fill only four volumes with three thousand eight hundred pages and eight million words. To use the language applied to other industries, the output of the House in 1861–62 was four million words, and has risen in 1889–90 to nearly thirteen million, which must be gratifying to the friends of debate. And yet these men in 1861–62 had no mean task to perform. They were obliged to raise armies, to pass a new tariff bill, to provide for government loans, to establish a new and complicated system of internal revenue, to enact a homestead law, and to provide for the great exigencies of the War of the Rebellion. If the House of Representatives of the Thirty-seventh Congress could do all this on four million words, could not the present House do its work, great and important as it was and as it might have been, with an allowance of thirteen million words without any reasonable ground for belief that its utterance had been cramped?

Some of your readers may be ready at this time to say that the people have decided against the action of the present House in facilitating business and removing obstruction, and that therefore the subject need not be discussed. The people have never made any such decision. Such a question cannot be settled that way. The business of 60,000,000 people must be carried on. If obstruction increases, repression must increase. If talk, utterly irrelevant, consumes time and destroys public business, talk must be limited, and then men will have less temptation to irrelevancy, and true debate will flourish.

It may be true that the new House, which will enter upon its duties next December or sooner, may be misled into giving up its powers as a legislative body; but if it is, it cannot escape the consequences. It has been demonstrated that a House of Representatives or any other deliberative body of the United States can, by the exercise of its constitutional powers, keep all the pledges of a campaign and enact, so far as one body goes, all the laws which the people have ordained. Henceforth the reply of a party that it was hindered by a minority and could not act will never again be taken as answer or excuse.

THOMAS B. REED.

THE TALLEYRAND MEMOIRS.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR CHARLES WENTWORTH DILKE, BART.

MUCH interest has been excited by the prospect that we shall shortly have before us the memoirs of Talleyrand; but it may be doubted whether these will contain much matter of value to those who are well acquainted with the politics of the period between 1789 and 1834. A French historian, who has seen and turned over, if he has not thoroughly read, the memoirs, has informed us that in them Talleyrand first relates his actions as a member of the Constituent Assembly, his virtual exile in America, his return to France, and his service under the directory, with which the earlier period of his political activity closed. In the memoirs, however, he writes as one who has changed his point of view since the times themselves in which he was an actor. For example, Talleyrand, though a bishop, took a leading part in the destruction of the fabric of the Roman Catholic Church in France; but in his memoirs he severely blames the course which was pursued, and calls it the chief fault of all the many committed by the assembly of which he was a powerful member. It is, therefore, probable that in his account of his missions to London in 1792 and in 1830 to 1834, in his history of the Congress of Vienna, and in his relation of his tenure of the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs in France under the directory, under the consulate, and under the empire, Talleyrand will be found to present to the reader, in his memoirs, a less accurate view of the state of society and of the motives and nature of his policy than is given us already in the works of M. Pallain, which contain the despatches and letters from and to Talleyrand preserved in the French Foreign Office.

Doubtless, however, as regards the period between July, 1797, and September, 1815, Talleyrand will have much to say in his

memoirs about his contemporaries that will be amusing, though it may not possess much value. He had in life the happiness to be upon the winning side, and he prepared for himself in his last days the death-bed satisfaction of feeling that, as regards anecdotic history, he would have the last word. Talleyrand directed the foreign policy of the consulate and of the empire at the height of the power of France. He was happy enough to be able to give way to other men at the moment of the disasters of Napoleon, and then to to be employed by Louis XVIII. to undo the harm that had been done during the period of his temporary fall. As he dissociated himself from the follies of Napoleon, it is certain that in the memoirs he adopts towards the Napoleon of 1807 to 1815 the sneering tone which may be expected to have accompanied the sneering expression which is marked on the face of Talleyrand in David's great picture of the coronation—the glory of the French modern school.

Talleyrand gave powerful help to France at Vienna in 1814–1815, but he did not restore the Bourbons so much as accept a restoration which he was one of the first to see to be inevitable. In his memoirs, however, he naturally becomes the Monk of the French Restoration. Talleyrand will doubtless tell the world that the English, the Austrians, and the Russians were alike either hostile or indifferent to the claims of Louis XVIII., and that it was his conversion of Alexander of Russia in a single night (after he had had the astuteness to cause the Emperor to be billeted upon himself) which produced the "Bourbon solution."

As regards the Congress of Vienna, it is to be believed that the memoirs add nothing to the despatches and the private letters between Louis XVIII. and his minister which were published by M. Pallain in 1881, in a volume which was translated into English and republished as two big volumes in London. From 1815 to 1823 (it has been stated by M. Valfrey that) Talleyrand wrote nothing, and he only took his memoirs up again after he had found himself attacked in memoirs which were being published by his enemies, and in which the execution of the Duc d'Enghien and other faults of the empire were laid on him, while he had also been accused of having in 1814 employed agents to assassinate the Emperor. It has been said that Talleyrand in his memoirs ridicules the latter charge, but boldly faces the former and to some

extent defends the execution of the Prince. Again from 1823 it seems that Talleyrand wrote nothing until after he had become ambassador of France at London under Louis Philippe in 1830, at a moment which immediately followed the Revolution of July, and his memoirs end with an account of his embassy to London. Talleyrand in the strongest terms protests that he had no part or lot in the creation of the Orleans monarchy, of which he undoubtedly foresaw the probable downfall. However interesting, therefore, the memoirs may be from the anecdotic point of view, it is probable that they will in no degree detract from the permanent value of the publications of M. Pallain, and that we can already form for ourselves from those books an accurate view of the character and of the work of Talleyrand. M. Pallain has already published a large volume on the mission of Talleyrand to London in 1792, and one on the occupancy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Talleyrand under the directory, as well as the volume of letters and despatches during the Congress of Vienna, of which I have just now spoken. M. Pallain promises us a volume on the embassy to London, 1830–1834, after which he will go back to the earlier times and publish a volume on Talleyrand's ministry under the consulate and another on his ministry under the empire.

To my mind the really important periods in the life of Talleyrand are the two when he more than any other man gave to France, not this or that emperor, but her position of respected authority in the councils of Europe; the period which may be called that of the consulate and beginning of the empire, and the period of the Congress of Vienna. In his mission to London in 1792 Talleyrand was forced to pretend to negotiate with people who did not really intend to sign engagements with him, and in his ministry under the directory he was the servant of rather foolish persons who wished him to treat for peace with England, but who thought that he could bring them Gibraltar for them to restore to Spain, the Cape for them to restore to Holland, and the Channel Islands for the French themselves! The most interesting period of all in the life of Talleyrand was that at the beginning of the century when he had Bonaparte for a master, but a master who at that moment allowed himself to be guided by Talleyrand's mind in affairs which at a later time he fancied he understood for himself better than his mentor could teach them to him.

The state of France at the beginning of the century, or, rather, properly speaking, in the last year of the last century, is worth consideration in connection with the career of Talleyrand. The year 1800 opened with the establishment of the personal supremacy of Napoleon, by the will of the people, in the internal affairs of France. His sudden return from Egypt late in 1799 had been followed by the fall of the directory, and January, 1800, saw Napoleon dictator of France under republican forms, by the full wish of a nation tired out by that combined tyranny and stupidity of the directory under which Talleyrand himself, as I have said, had suffered. The new constitution had been proclaimed on Christmas eve. Nearly four millions of Frenchmen had supported it by their votes, and but a thousand or so had voted the other way. Bonaparte was First Consul for ten years, with power to name the Senate and the Council of State. In February he took up his residence at the royal palace; and about this time he began to organize, with that marvellous grasp of detail and with the extraordinary administrative power which he possessed, the modern administration of France, which was destined to endure through all changes in the form of government. Foreign affairs at this time he left aside, and with regard to them merely followed Talleyrand's advice, absorbed as Bonaparte was in home matters. It is too often forgotten by foreigners (but never by Frenchmen, who see his presence in every department of their government to this day) that Napoleon was as great a domestic administrator as he was a soldier, and that his finance, his roads, bridges, canals, docks, his laws, his universities and schools, are at least as worthy of recollection as are his victories. It is a subject for regret that, having the enormous administrative energy which he undoubtedly possessed, he should not have been better advised, as regards domestic matters, in the use he made of it. In education, for example, Napoleon did little for primary instruction, and hardly anything for girls, though he covered the country with high-schools for boys and with technical foundations. His code will not bear too close examination.

Still, when all possible deductions have been made, we at least must wonder at his work, if we cannot praise it. All that was done in France at this moment, and the sum of work done was fabulously great, had to be done by him, for he was not surrounded by men of any great parts; and Fouché and Talleyrand, who

alone were brilliant, were of little use to him in purely domestic matters. Talleyrand at this time managed his foreign affairs and Fouché his police, and with equal success. Carnot, to whom office was for a short time given, was an impossible servant for an autocrat; and Laplace, great as he was in the realms of thought, was a miserable administrator. The universal favor with which the usurpation of supreme power by Napoleon was first received and then confirmed by France was not to the credit of the nation and was disgraceful to its leading men. None of them went into voluntary exile. Hardly one protested. Many, on the contrary, who had quitted France at an earlier date, seized the opportunity to return, and (like Chateaubriand) to lay their homage at the master's feet. The character of Bonaparte, even as at that time revealed to the world, was not of a nature to make devotion to his fortunes by good men easy. He was a great commander, it was true; but he had been not long before a club orator, the bosom-friend of Robespierre, who had, after courting all parties in turn, obtained the command of the army in Italy by marrying the cast-off mistress of a powerful man, and had used the command for the purpose of enriching, by organized rapine, in the first place his masters and in the second place himself. The death of Hoche by poison, at the very moment when he had become the sole rival to be feared, had left, indeed, the field clear for the ambition of Bonaparte, but had caused a heavy suspicion of the guilt of murder to fall upon him. Talleyrand, although to some extent discredited by his action during the revolutionary period, carried more weight in the councils of Europe at this time than did Bonaparte himself, all-powerful though the latter was through the effect of his military glory; and the support of Talleyrand to Bonaparte and through Bonaparte to France as an organized state was at the beginning of the century simply essential.

The joint effect of the victories of Napoleon at Marengo and Hohenlinden, and of Talleyrand's direction of foreign affairs, soon left England isolated, deserted by all her allies except Portugal, and represented by an army which had had in Europe a career of almost unbroken misfortune. Such was the position in which Bonaparte had been placed by the victories and the policy that, had he been in the ordinary sense of the word a sane man, he might have reigned till death, and left a united people, the first

in the world, to be ruled over by his son, backed and aided by the new society. Napoleon by his earlier measures did not master or conquer or put down the Revolution, but rather completed the triumph of its principles. He had been himself trained in the revolutionary school. He belonged to the new rather than to the old society. He was well acquainted (no man better) with the language of the Revolution, which has so marvellous an attraction for the people of France. His mastery of its phrases was still complete, after his reign was over, in his exile at St. Helena, and was transmitted by him to the man who weakly attempted to continue his tradition—to Napoleon III. All those that Napoleon Bonaparte had about him were men who (mostly plebeians, Talleyrand being almost the sole exception) had found their opportunity in the Revolution. So blind had been the Bourbons that one of their late edicts had altered the rule which had prevailed for twenty years as to the officering of the army, and had declared that no officer should rise to the rank of captain who could not show four generations of nobility in the male line. The monarchy would have left Bernadotte a sergeant-major, whereas the Revolution set him on the high road to becoming a king, afterwards the august ally of the legitimate king of France, who, but for the Revolution, would have been the absolute master of the plebeian soldier. Napoleon, First Consul, proclaimed the revolutionary principle of the free career to talent ; of disregard of birth and of opinion ; of equality before the law ; of cheap education, free to boys of brains ; of free law ; and he seemed at first to add only to the revolutionary principles a certain greater regard to public order and a more unbroken success in arms.

What Napoleon might have done is less our concern, however, than what he did do. Unfortunately for himself, it was only after his fall that he began to realize the possibilities that had lain in his positions of 1800 and of 1802. In spite of his occasional talk of setting up the Italian, and of his half-hearted attempt to set up the Polish nationality, Napoleon had never truly believed in the force of the doctrine of nationalities, and had not only divided Germany, but had thought that it was possible for foreign and even for French influence to keep Germany permanently disunited. Napoleon wholly failed to discern that there was nothing except French influence which could unite Germany, and that by his policy of disunion he in fact made her union possible. In the

internal affairs of France, after speaking as the child of the Revolution, and while always intending, at any future time at which it might become necessary, once more to play this part, Napoleon changed his government to one of pure autocracy; and not only surrounded himself with theatrical pomp, added to the etiquette of the old court, but attempted to superadd to this the backing of a now powerless, though brilliant, nobility. I style his government a pure autocracy, for he must be indeed a poor despot who cannot secure the majority in a plébiscite. Still, Napoleon's plébiscites continued to remind Frenchmen of the glorious election of 1789, in which for the first time millions of free citizens had taken part in voting, and a whole nation had been called on for her voice. Napoleon's victories, however, blinded the whole French race, and his absurdities were not only tolerated, but actually approved by opinion. Talleyrand had been at the making of the fame; had been, indeed, at the helm, as far as the direction of foreign affairs was concerned, when Napoleon reached the height of glory and of power, and uniformly protested against all the acts of folly which Napoleon from time to time committed. Talleyrand fell from power under Napoleon through these protests, and Napoleon fell in 1814 through having preferred his own policy (if policy it could be called) to that of Talleyrand.

From 1800 to 1814 the history of Europe was only the history of the military coalition against France, but in 1815 Talleyrand created a wholly new state of things, which requires separate treatment at the hands of his biographer.

If, however, 1800 and 1815 are the years upon which it is necessary to dwell, and years in each of which Talleyrand asserted his power over the destinies of France, although under conditions wholly different and with results in many points dissimilar, 1800 is the more fascinating of the two. 1800 was the year of Napoleon's greatest power. The Continent was at his feet. England, the only one of his enemies still strong, had suffered seriously from the revolt in Ireland in 1796, had suspended specie payments, and was expecting invasion which it seemed doubtful whether she could repel. The Bonapartist party had widened until it included the vast majority of the French nation. The Bonapartists proper were those who had grown out from among the more moderate republicans. Many had been frightened. Others, and all the most honest, fired by the splendid achievements of the repub-

lican general in Italy and in Egypt, backed him against his enemies in Paris. As days passed by and Bonapartist imperialism began to be clearly seen, they looked upon it as a sorry jest and disbelieved in its continuance. In face of the creation of titles, the reconciliation with the church, and the revival of the ceremonial of the palace, they still believed in Napoleon as the army of the Revolution. It must, however, be remembered that France was living in a war fever which allowed of little thought and which half explained the suppression of freedom of speech, and that Napoleon's military promotions, which of all his acts came most home at such a time to the body of the French nation, were essentially democratic. Nearly all his marshals had sprung from among the common people and had risen from the ranks. His Legion of Honor, destined to be shamefully prostituted in future reigns, and his administration of education and of the laws, belonged also to the Revolution. It is noticeable, moreover, that, in spite of the tremendous sacrifices which he demanded of the French, he found them as a people poor and left them on the road to wealth. Many republicans, too, might not unreasonably feel that the person of Napoleon, rather than the mere proclamation of the principles of the Revolution, had killed forever, at least in France, the doctrine of the divine right of kings. Even at his fall he left in the minds of many, who, as against all other rulers, were republicans, and who certainly were keen partisans of the doctrines of the Revolution, the feeling expressed by Stendhal in the words, "Love for Napoleon is the only passion which has remained to me, though it does not prevent me from seeing his defects and weaknesses." These feelings, sharpened by a common hostility to the church, enabled the Bonapartists and the republicans to act cordially together from 1815 to 1830.

It will be interesting to see how far Talleyrand, in his memoirs, is able to throw light upon the creation in 1800 of a new doctrine of passive obedience in France, largely, as I think, through the influence of de Bonald, and on the modernizing by Chateaubriand of the state theology of the previous century, and the attempt of the latter to poetize the revival of the forms of Christian worship. It is to be presumed that Talleyrand expresses his sympathy with the reawakening of the spiritual life in France, although he had taken so large a share personally in its previous destruction; but it is

doubtful whether, while sympathizing with the object, he can show much personal regard for the chief author of the change. Chateaubriand, who had published in London as late as 1797 a work in which he revealed his own opinions, which were sceptical, and who succeeded in suddenly converting himself to Christianity in 1800, when he returned to France, had set up his new doctrine of æsthetic Christianity in his works of 1801 and 1802. His views seemed to come to this,—rather that Christianity is beautiful than that Christianity is true; but with the appearance of his books a new French literary style was born with the century—a style of a pretended and strained "naturalness," under which French letters were destined to suffer during the whole century. Talleyrand himself was a master of French style, but a style more simple and more dignified than the strained and pretentious prose of Chateaubriand.

For Napoleon the revival of Catholicism meant the political support of the clergy and the respectability of his reign. For Chateaubriand it meant an outward sign of the revival of polite society; not necessarily of the old society, but of a society not actively revolutionary. The works of Chateaubriand did not appear alone. A literary revival marked the beginning of the century in France; but a revival without much real novelty or merit except so far as novelty and merit were to be found in Chateaubriand. The revival was rather the thawing of a frost than a true spring. Revolution and war had suppressed culture, and it was found again with peace. Chateaubriand's style alone was completely new. De Bonald and de Maistre belonged to the past, among the philosophers, as did Delille, Parny, and most of the other poets who at this time put forth great masses of inferior work. Ducis and Népomucène Lemercier, on the other hand, in the drama, Royer-Collard in philosophy, Fontanes in criticism, and Madame de Staël in general literature, belonged, in some sense, to the future. The general condition of literature in France at the moment of Napoleon's assumption of supreme power was far from brilliant. The two great names, de Staël and de Chateaubriand (of which the latter is great in the estimation rather of French than of foreign critics), are the names of opponents of the empire, although Chateaubriand was for a moment a friend. Although "Corinne" and "Delphine" are, to us degenerate beings, dull, Madame de Staël's other books, and her

father's las book, in which Napoleon rightly suspected the daughter's hand, were brilliant, and these led to her disgrace and exile, and that of all her friends. Chateaubriand never, after his return to France, had to submit to exile, but he was often worried by the police, and was far from being able to write as he pleased.

Ballanche, whose book on Sentiment appeared in 1802, was in 1800 known only as a crack-brained printer in the provinces, and was to enter the Academy only a lifetime later. The empire was tottering to its fall when Ballanche came to Paris, and his fame and his friendships with Madame de Staël and her lovely friend do not belong to the moment of Napoleon's glory. In the book on Sentiment an attempt to restore the spiritualistic philosophy might have been discerned, had it been read, but it found few readers in 1802. Some writers of less note, but still considerable, who were neither in disgrace, nor in exile, nor provincial and unread, were so tied by the self-imposed restraints of place-hunting partisanship that their names and characters stand less high in the history of letters than their talents might have entitled them to expect. The peasant's son, Laplace, was so much bent upon becoming the great official who a few years later was known to the world of fashion as M. le Marquis de la Place that his great book perhaps suffered by his career. Fontanes is another example of the man of thought half-lost in the Napoleonic official, but in this case the loss was less great to the world. Fontanes was, like Laplace, a count of the empire, and, like Laplace, became a marquis of Louis XVIII. He was, perhaps, the least artificial of the French professional writers of the time, except Madame de Staël. To my mind the greatest literary man of France alive in 1800 was that disciple of Rousseau who at this moment showed immense promise in three works—a promise which was to lead to no future worthy performance, although Senancour continued to write till 1833 and to live till 1846. Not only in his "Obermann" and in his "Primitive Nature," but in his treatise upon love, which appeared in 1805, Senancour made use of descriptions of scenery as a means of producing moral impressions on the reader's mind, and in this practice he in his book of 1799 had preceded Chateaubriand, who was to owe to it the most brilliant successes of his pen.

On all these men, the most brilliant of his contemporaries,

Talleyrand may be expected to have much to say; but I shall not be disposed myself to differ from him if he indicates the opinion for which one is well prepared—that he, Talleyrand, was the superior of all of them in mental power, by far the most useful of them all to France, and not the inferior of any of them in their strongest point of literary style.

"1815" was a very different period from 1800, but one in which Talleyrand was equally supreme, or more so, inasmuch as Bonaparte had been virtually removed from the scene and Talleyrand reigned alone.

The leaders of the Royalist party in 1814 and 1815 were the King and his brother, Louis XVIII. and the Comte d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.);—Louis XVIII., so moderate as to be a fit employer for Talleyrand; the Comte d'Artois, the leader of an extreme party of ultra-royalists who were so powerful at court as to be the source of the most serious difficulties and dangers to Louis XVIII., whose line their folly ultimately overthrew. There is little doubt that Monsieur had often tried to procure the murder of Napoleon for the benefit of the Bourbons; but the murder of the Comte d'Artois himself would have been of greater advantage to the French branch of the family. M. de Vielcastel and M. Duvergier de Hauranne, both of whom are excellent historians, but both of whom were sometimes led away by their Orleanist opinions, have tried to show that the government of Louis XVIII. had made many grave mistakes in 1814, and by its own acts so undermined an otherwise strong position as to help to bring about the return from Elba and the Hundred Days. So far as mistakes were made, they were mistakes forced upon the King and on Talleyrand by the party of the Comte d'Artois; and there is much to be said for the opposite view, namely, that, considering the enormous difficulties under which he came to the throne and ruled France, Louis XVIII. made wonderfully few mistakes. To please at once the *émigrés* and the army, Monsieur and the half-pay officers, was impossible. It may safely be declared that the task of the Bourbon King in following Napoleon in 1814 was one of the heaviest and hardest that has ever fallen to the lot of man. Judging the policy in the light of subsequent events, some may argue that it would have been wiser to have disbanded the army rather than to have tried to win it over by making peers of nearly all Napoleon's marshals and (in November, 1814) selecting Soult

for Minister of War. But to say so is to be wise after the event. The policy of Talleyrand, accepted by the King, was to keep on foot a powerful army commanded by the best soldiers of the Continent, to divide the allies, and to thus restore France to the first place in Europe.

At Vienna at the end of 1814 and the beginning of 1815 the ablest diplomatist was Talleyrand; and Talleyrand, Metternich, and Castlereagh (under Talleyrand's real lead) were successful. Talleyrand, courteous, cynical, and corrupt, was a man of the times of his own youth; an abbé of the regency or of the court of Louis XV. His venality, proved in some cases by documentary evidence such as can hardly be disputed, was suspected in every negotiation in which he was engaged. Nevertheless, he was emphatically the man who always understood the situation; and at Vienna he performed immense services to France, as well as personal services to the French Bourbon line. Talleyrand went into the congress to maintain a principle in which he did not believe any more than did his master—that of legitimacy-at-all-hazards, except, indeed, as regards the right of the Pope to Avignon, which had been papal till the Revolution and was French only by revolutionary right. The ex-bishop who had served the republic, the consulate, the empire, and the Bourbons, devised his own line of conduct, dictated the instructions to himself, and convinced the King, not, indeed, that legitimacy was a principle likely to rule the modern world, but that it was the only principle upon which the plenipotentiary of Louis XVIII. could successfully attend the Congress of Vienna. Once convinced, Louis XVIII. backed him thoroughly, signed the instructions to Talleyrand, which Talleyrand wrote, without making an alteration, and approved his project of a firm alliance with Great Britain. At the moment when Talleyrand reached Vienna, "The Four," as they were called, the great allies,—England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia,—were thinking of excluding France from the most important of the deliberations. Within a month they were divided, two to two, and France, speaking through the mouth of Talleyrand, was the arbiter of Europe.

Metternich, though, indeed, he had never been a bishop, was, like Talleyrand, a man of old family who (also like the Prince de Benevent) had bowed before the Revolution, although swearing all the time that Europe did not contain so stanch a Tory as him-

self. Successful in 1814, but less brilliantly and conspicuously successful than Talleyrand, because he possessed greater means of success and represented a greater power, with a quarter of a million of men under arms in central Europe, instead of a power just humbled to the dust, Metternich was luckier than Talleyrand in his after-career, and may be looked upon as both the creator and preserver of the Austria of 1814–1848.

Castlereagh, a cold, stiff Englishman of brains, came to Vienna with a dread of Russia. He saw in Alexander's crafty and fantastic character danger of an attempt at Russian domination, but, though ready enough to come to terms with Metternich, he was by no means inclined by character or by opinions to trust himself to Talleyrand and France. He had, however, seen that Alexander intended to keep Napoleon in reserve and to bring him back whenever it might suit his purpose so to do, and wished to remove Napoleon to St. Helena or Ascension or some other Atlantic island. He was on this particular point at one not only with Metternich, but also with Talleyrand and the King of France. Castlereagh would not indeed break a treaty—a difficulty which never hindered Talleyrand, and which would not have hindered Louis XVIII., who had already broken the money clauses of the treaty which in this instance was in question. But Castlereagh knew that Bonaparte was active in his Elban exile, and thought that some overt act would soon give an opportunity of retiring without loss of honor from inconvenient engagements. Castlereagh on his arrival at Vienna had supported the scheme for excluding France, and only changed his tone when the immense ability and tact of Talleyrand had made the French plenipotentiary's presence felt.

France and England were necessarily drawn together at Vienna in the winter of 1814–15, for, all the questions that directly concerned the two countries having been settled in the treaties signed at Paris, they were impartial powers. Great Britain and France had practically nothing to gain and nothing to lose at Vienna; while Russia, Prussia, and Austria were full of hopes and fears, for they had much to gain or lose. The only point in which the five powers were agreed, and in which they had also the support of Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, was in dealing with European peoples like so many flocks of sheep without the slightest attention to their wishes. F. von Gentz has ad-

mitted, with the express approval of his words by Metternich, that, as regards all the powers except England and France, the congress was a "battlefield," and that the "object in view was the division of the spoil." The great powers at Vienna might, by a slight attention to the principle of nationality, have definitely fixed the future of all Europe. As it was, they founded a state of things which was shaken in 1830, and which has been in steady course of complete disruption ever since 1848.

Much of the nominal work of the congress had been done before the chief plenipotentiaries of the great powers met. The union of Sweden and Norway had formed a secret article of one treaty, that of Belgium and Holland of another, and the addition of Genoa to the Piedmontese dominions of the King of Sardinia had been settled by the great powers and Spain, without the smallest trace of any consultation of the wishes of the citizens of the former republic, who were thus handed over to what was at that time the most clerical and reactionary government in the world. On the other hand, the clerical Belgians had been given to a Protestant people, whose speech most of them could not understand. Venice, as little consulted, had been bestowed on Austria. There remained for distribution Poland, Saxony, and Naples; and here lay the difficulties of the congress, of which Talleyrand availed himself with the highest skill.

As regarded Naples, Louis XVIII. attached much importance to the removal of Murat from the throne, desiring the restoration of the line of the former kings of the Two Sicilies, nominally because they were "legitimate," but in fact because they were his cousins. Murat was unpopular with the majority of the population, although he possessed an excellent army, and had friends among the mob and, outside his country, in the papal states; and there was a dream abroad of the possibility of the creation of a united Italy under Murat. To have left him on the throne of Naples would have been to abstain from closing the Napoleonic era; and the congress very naturally decided, although privately at first, that he must be removed.

The difficulties as regarded Poland and Saxony remained, but Poland and Saxony formed, in fact, one question. The King of Saxony was a prisoner at Berlin. The Russian forces occupied the grand duchy of Warsaw. Alexander had persuaded himself that he really intended to restore the liberties of Poland; but the Poles

themselves foresaw that, even had he remained long in these ideas (which was far from probable), his successor would certainly have been in this respect a true-born Russian. Russia and Prussia had agreed that Prussia should have Saxony, and that Poland should be formed into a kingdom united by a personal union to the Russian throne. Austria was bitterly opposed to both portions of this scheme. France and England were unpledged, but Castlereagh was opposed to any augmentation of the Czar's dominions. Talleyrand saw that the division of the powers into two hostile groups (consisting of England, France, and Austria on one side, and of Russia and Prussia on the other) was possible, and he speedily brought it about.

Alexander's only object at Vienna was to get possession of the duchy of Warsaw, but he was ready at the same time to obtain for Prussia all he could, anywhere and everywhere, except in Poland; looking upon Prussia as his only probable ally in future years. He bitterly hated Metternich, who had prevented his commanding in chief the allied armies, which the vain Emperor had wished to do, with Jomini for "dry nurse," to use the military phrase. He hated England for her former opposition to his plans in Finland and in Turkey, and he hated Castlereagh above all other Englishmen, for Castlereagh was a man who read him like a book. He hated the Bourbons most of all for having rejected his patronage and his advice, and he hated Talleyrand as their envoy. Hardenberg was a moderate man enough, but could not control the Prussian military spirit which wanted Saxony as a step towards turning Austria out of Germany.

Thiers (thoroughly untrustworthy when Napoleon is on the scene) has drawn in his history an excellent picture of the position of the Continent at the moment of the meeting of the congress, but has been guilty of a great error in making an attack on Talleyrand (in which he has been followed by the other French historians) for having preferred the alliance of England and Austria to that of Russia and Prussia. The French historians who are angry with Talleyrand for having indirectly gained for Prussia the Rhine provinces, by refusing Saxony to her, have all forgotten that in 1814 Prussia was far from dangerous, and that it was only after the middle of the present century that Prussia began to stand upon an equal footing with the other four great European powers. Thiers wrote this part of his book in the

second half of the present century, when France had begun to see in Prussia a possible enemy seated too near her capital by the possession of Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne. Talleyrand's work was good work for his time, and it was the business of his successors to provide for matters which occurred half a century later.

Talleyrand's dexterity was superb. His position was as dignified as that of Metternich and Castlereagh and Hardenberg was commonplace, and that of Alexander rapacious and disgraceful. Talleyrand's language was worthy of his position. He asked for nothing. He was guided by a plain principle—that of legitimacy, restoration, and public law; while the remaining powers were obviously guided by immediate interest or jealousy alone. In the beginning of his action for dividing the great powers, Talleyrand played with Castlereagh. The latter had plainly showed that he cared little about Saxony, but much about Poland. Talleyrand, who did not much care personally for either, at once protested that he cared greatly about Saxony, but little about Poland. This policy forced Metternich, who cared equally about both, to act as the intermediary to draw Castlereagh and Talleyrand together, and this in spite of Metternich's personal dislike for Talleyrand and of his full knowledge of the unpopularity of the French alliance among the German Austrians. Up to this moment Austria, although directly menaced in her existence by the rapacity both of Russia and of Prussia, had shrunk from challenging German public opinion by openly leaning upon the French army. But the alliance of Bavaria and of the smaller German powers was obviously not enough.

At the end of December Talleyrand suddenly proposed a secret treaty between England, France, and Austria, to which it would be easy to procure the subsequent assent of Bavaria, Hanover, Holland, and others of the minor states, and by which the maintenance of Saxony would be laid down in principle. Nothing came of this suggestion for some few days, and it was even agreed to leave the terms of a compromise with Prussia to a commission on which France was not to be represented. On this Talleyrand at once threatened to leave Vienna, and to publicly throw on Castlereagh the blame for the complete success of Prussia and Russia, which without French interposition would be inevitable. But Castlereagh had been pressed by the cabinet at home, at the wish of the Prince Regent, on the suggestion of his

Hanoverian ministers, to save Saxony, and he naturally shrank from letting Talleyrand speak out or leave. Austria and England accordingly insisted on the admission of a representative of France to the commission which met on December 31, 1814. A Polish compromise had already been virtually agreed to which gave two thirds of the duchy of Warsaw to Russia and divided a third between Austria and Prussia.

On the 1st January, 1815, we find from Castlereagh's memoirs that he received the news of the conclusion of peace between England and the United States, which allowed the immediate return to Europe of the best of the peninsular troops. On the 2d January the Prussians at a meeting of the commission blustered and threatened resort to arms, believing that Austria would cede before a direct Russo-Prussian menace, and Castlereagh privately asked Talleyrand to draw up the secret treaty of alliance between England, France, and Austria. On the 3d January the treaty was signed by Metternich, Talleyrand, and Castlereagh. By it each of the three powers was to contribute 150,000 men, and the new allies were, by a self-denying clause, to accept no violation of the treaty of Paris in their own favor. The secret treaty was communicated to the three small powers named above. Bavaria and Hanover of course adhered immediately, while the Dutch plenipotentiary signed some days later, after a reference to his court. Talleyrand in a few weeks had destroyed the united action of the allies of the great war, and, without for one moment abandoning the dignity which became the plenipotentiary of France in the day of her misfortune, had become the arbiter of Europe. Within a few months after the entry of the allies to Paris, the King of France, who had the French commander in the Peninsular War for his minister, was able to write to his plenipotentiary, who had been one of the grand officers of Napoleon, that the Duke of Wellington would be an excellent commander for the united armies of France and England in the field.

Russia and Prussia at once drew back, foiled. A compromise was come to by which Prussia obtained a third of Saxony, Leipsig was preserved to the Saxon Kingdom, and the matter settled; but the great position won for France by Talleyrand remained, and although the return from Elba destroyed the political position of the Prince for many years, it did not wholly undo his work, the results of which were seen in the peaceful development and conclusion of the reign of Louis XVIII.

Talleyrand may have been venal, and his action may have been often marked by duplicity, but at Vienna he was straightforward (possibly because it was his interest to be straightforward), and there is a really noble despatch of his to Metternich extant, in which he points out the evils likely to be caused to Europe by the complete departure from all grounds of principle in the action of the congress. Hundreds of thousands of souls had been counted over and counted back again on many occasions by quarrelling plenipotentiaries, exactly as booty obtained upon the roads might be wrangled over by highwaymen; and it seems strange that it should be to a Talleyrand that we have to turn for an exposition of those principles which ought to have obtained at Vienna, but which, as a fact, were only honored in the breach.

It is possible to admire the talent of Talleyrand and his immense services to his country without respecting the man who, after being a distinguished Catholic theologian, agent-general of the clergy of France, and then a bishop, had consented to consecrate the elective schismatic bishops, and been on the brink of becoming elective archbishop of Paris, when he was elected a member of the Assembly for the Seine and suddenly became the bosom-friend of Danton; who shortly afterwards was the toady first of Barras and then of Bonaparte, and who throughout life, even when Minister for Foreign Affairs, remained the desperate gambler on the Stock Exchange that he had been even when agent-general of the clergy under the old *régime*.

CHARLES W. DILKE.

WHY MORE GIRLS DO NOT MARRY.

BY MRS. KATE GANNETT WELLS.

ANY consideration of this question starts with the fact, not the supposition, that there are distinct social lines in American society, and that, though most girls do marry, there are special as well as general reasons which lead many women to regard marriage with distrust and dislike.

In American society the girl rules; others may be in it, but they do not make it. In the society girl, parentage and money, exterior carriage and interior outfit of mental ability, are mingled in just the right proportions to establish her identity. She is neither fool nor saint; she can as easily be vapid as agreeable, whimsical as good-humored. Whether she wears a V-shaped dress or a dog-collar, she knows how to confuse her parents, to bewilder men, to adore other girls, and to travesty simplicity. Very complex are her reasons for her aversion to marriage.

She demands a great deal in ability and money, and most men have not both to give. She could get along very well if sometimes she could be married and sometimes not, but she has not enough fixity of purpose to dare it once for all. She does not want to be in a hurry, and so she refuses No. 1 and No. 2, feeling sure of No. 3, who, after all, may never come.

Some girls are the vampires of manhood, but most of them are passably noble and yet not understood. They have much passionate, unguided feeling; they do not know what to do with themselves; they try to adjust the mosaic work of associated charities and working-girls' clubs to their own desires for a good time; they are full of a sense of personality, and the personality misdirected leads them to frivolity. They are enthusiasts for life in general, with longings for self-sacrifice and ideal values. Society prevents their meeting reformers; a few marry ministers;

oftener they marry men of their own sort, whose indefiniteness and negations deserve to rank them as a short-lived variety of men.

Such society girls are few compared with those who are neither very beautiful nor gifted, but who are well educated and rather wealthy; who are old at twenty-five; who have been too conscientious to develop the possible offer into an actual one; who have measured men by their readiness for summer flirtations, and have not appreciated the timidity in a real man, which hampers him from being at his best when he is in love. Weary with society life and its want of purpose, these girls turn inward; cultivate their intelligence; develop their common-sense; use their budding sympathies, and entertain their parents. They become brilliant dinner guests, careful committee workers, appreciative listeners, and have hosts of masculine friends. No illusion of marriage surrounds them. They have left it to an earlier stage of existence. When foreign *literati* arrive, they admire these well-bred, charming women, with whom one can never make a mistake. By thirty these girls are conscious of their own powers and of their self-sufficingness. They have wooed independence and it has come to them. They like men unless they pose as their husbands. Oh, the serene, self-poised, erect, free, brilliant, wise, unmarried society girls, whose very evolution has made them handsome! Their minds and hearts have been preoccupied with general ideas and the needs of the world at large. They have become unimpressionable and do not reflect man. Men feel this with such girls, treat them as sisters, and remain bachelors.

Professional life affects other women. It has developed surely and slowly, and has preoccupied the minds of those who want to do something with themselves. Many of them feel superior to a man, though not to men. Even if man was all that he might be, woman would still have wanted a profession, because a cause appeals to latent chivalry and because the sense of personality has been weakened by the slow growth of causes. The inventive and executive capacities of woman find an outlet in a profession, which in turn creates an independence of society and neutralizes the power of masculine personality when brought to bear on her. In this way the tendency of the modern woman to a profession lessens her liability to marriage and engages her mind. A man mar-

ries for a home; a woman for the sake of marrying a special man. There is little to be said about the practical inconveniences in the marriages of professional women, for they more or less surmount them. A Baptist husband can exchange with his Unitarian wife when each is settled in a separate parish, though they cannot hear each other, their home being a dividing line like a milestone between their circuits.

The life of a literary woman inclines her to marriage far less than that of the teacher, for the novelist creates her lovers at pleasure. Her books, even her newspaper work, are full of real people to her. Women artists also are not eager for marriage, for delight in transferring nature and person to canvas preoccupies the mind and disinclines it to marriage. Teachers, on the contrary, marry more freely than other professional women, for the very love for children which makes the foundation of a good teacher is a stepping-stone to marriage, though we are too prudish for such confession. Teachers are very particular about the kind of men they marry, liking newspaper and literary men better than stalwart farmers and clerks of a subdued turn of mind.

In the middle class of life self-esteem prevents many women from marrying. The average young girl considers herself a finer product of humanity than the average young man, who is easily "put off his base" by the flippant unconcern or indifference with which his efforts to be agreeable are met.

A stronger reason disaffects others in reference to marriage—the great mass of literature which has arisen to show a better way in marriage. It reaches from "The Kreutzer Sonata" and Zola to the peripatetic library of advice to mothers and girls, which does its work so frankly that one prefers conventual life. One class of reformers has said that man is bestial, but capable of improvement; the other that the passions of manhood ally him to the forces of the universe and justify themselves. All have spoken so plainly or insinuatingly that the one only refrain in which they agree is, "Beware!" This warning has produced a strong reaction against man. The girl starts with the notion that her father, just because he was a man, has made life hard for her mother, and that all men are more or less explosive.

Subjects are freely discussed in mixed assemblies with as much unconcern as that which admits both men and women to the same dissecting-room. The feminine mind is preoccupied with the

original sinfulness of man. Nineteenth-century education has arrived as his helper to train him into a worthy husband. Much of what is said is true, but it is said in a way which is untrue. The very novels of to-day hint at man as having a different nature from woman. Girls before they are engaged can count through much reading the various kinds of kisses which mark the advent and climax of a lover's regard. Love itself is just as subtle and unselfish as ever it was; passion is as true and noble; but their parasites are deadly. Such knowledge wearies the fresh mind of a girl and makes her love her mother more. Daughters stay at home and find in daily cares, general helpfulness, and indefinite interests enough to make single life very pleasant.

Working women care little for marriage because they know it means childbirth. They have no wish to prolong in their own existence as parents the bitter economies of their girlhood, or to cause their children to practise them. They are influenced, however, by another reason which does not bear with such force upon society and professional women. The working woman dreads man. She knows him as contractor, boss, night-fiend, betrayer, and she wants none of him. If, meeting him in a better way, she sees him hardworking, weary, she fears he will be a perpetual father and cares not to share his lot. Her single independence is lonely, but not so aggravating as married subjection.

The reason which men often allege for marriage, that a "woman can help some," is hardly an inducement to a girl who is doubtful whether any part of her husband's wages will be given her for her personal use; since men so often provide for the home and ignore their wives. Why should she add to her burdens because of present enjoyment in finding herself courted? So she snaps her fingers at man, nurses her fears and her pride, and considers it respectable to be unmarried, though secretly preferring to be a young widow with one child and a small bank account.

There are three general causes which bring marriage into disfavor: philanthropy, higher education, and self-analysis. The first has been a powerful factor in its subtle influence against marriage. The mental atmosphere is permeated with the idea of responsibility for another's happiness. Woman now feels herself accountable for the welfare of humanity, and through the exercise of that responsibility has found occupation for mind and heart; which has prevented absorption in her own affairs.

Higher education has affected marriage, inasmuch as it has opened new avenues of employment for women, has fortified them for life as a whole, and has led them to regard marriage as an incident. It has given girls a communistic feeling which makes them prefer to teach where there are other teachers rather than to live on a hill-top and read aloud to their parents, or to retire to a farm or a tenement and bake and brew for their husbands. The higher education has separated marriage and motherhood. Almost all women love children and would gladly use their knowledge for the delight and profit of a family, but they do not want the intervening marriage.

Analysis has advanced from being a method in text-books to the study of one's self. The age is analytic. Once work was so constant that married women did not realize their loneliness or the want of appreciation which befell them. Now society and the middle class have leisure to examine their states of mental solitude, and to see just where husbands are wanting. Fifty years ago the woman was too busy to stop for the morning kiss as her husband went to his work. Now she has time to think about the absence or infrequency of the greeting for half an hour before she reads the morning paper, in which she finds some fresh instance of man's wickedness. Once the daughter did not realize how her mother toiled, for she herself did not know it. Now the weary mother tells her child to respect her father, but adds that married life is very lonely. The girl feels the daily want of comprehension of her mother's unuttered wishes, and says: "I'll take things as they come, but marriage does not pay. If I could be engaged and let it stop there, it might do." Single moments are lonelier than whole evenings, and there are many of them in marriage.

The trouble is not in marriage as an institution, for it is the ideally-perfect condition of life, but in one's self as an individual and in life as a whole. The reserve of family conditions has melted away before the rush and swing of existence. Mothers talk more freely of themselves to their children than our great-grandmothers even thought. Constantly is it said: "Men are not capable of comprehending women. Even father does not understand mother. I don't want to be married." The simple non-desire makes a girl, in turn, less attractive, and occupies her mind to the exclusion of any other feeling.

All this non-desire or preoccupation has had the effect of causing fewer offers than formerly. Of a given hundred middle-aged women, each had received in her girlhood from one to six offers, while their daughters had received from none up to three. Some counted their offers by halves. "I have had half an offer," said one, because now when a man says he loves a girl it is as likely to mean the business of a summer flirtation as of marriage. It really is very hard to tell when an offer is an offer, but it is also stated that all the offers nowadays do not come from men. Though, on the other hand, men do offer themselves repeatedly, they have a natural shyness about it and often declare that girls do not want love in a cottage, whereas any girl who is really in love with a cottager would rather marry him than not. It is not a question of money with her, but of independence. After a girl has gone through the tragedy of her first refusal it is much easier to undertake a second. The tragedy becomes a comedy when she finds that it was not herself, but marriage, that the man wanted, and that he proposes until he is successful. This is the subtle difference between the two: the girl wants the special man; the man wants marriage.

Still another cause which operates against marriage is the succession of stories, especially in the women's column of the newspapers, which tell of the hardness of a woman's lot, the want of pin-money, and the meanness of man. A young girl reading such stories is likely to regard man as an unconscious oppressor, and to think that, if she marries him, she must be on the alert to defend herself. If, notwithstanding, they teach her that woman has largely been to blame for her own misery, through her unnecessary self-sacrifice, which has blinded her to the observance of self-respect, the value of the moral of such tales outweighs the sameness of their plots.

Clubs, both men's and women's, have also had an indirect effect upon marriage, and have greatly strengthened society lines of demarcation. Clubs for gentlemen are entirely distinct from associations and unions for "Christian" young men. Such clubs detract from the value of the home as a place of refuge, or from the worth of the woman as an exclusive companion. Women's clubs are also formed on society lines in spite of all protestations to the contrary. With firm belief in their value, even in their necessity, as affording mental stimulus and change of occupation

from housework, they do somewhat enable women to get along without men, and emphasize the monotony of married life. Yet as marriage will always prevail, women must have the cheer and improvement which come through membership in a club, as once it came through membership in church work.

When the desire for marriage grows less on the part of either man or woman, each becomes less attractive to the other. Some stalwart moralist may object to attraction as a word or as a motive; nevertheless, it is nature's method of mating which has sprung from divine love.

There are cycles and epochs in the civilizing processes of affection. Natural love became artificial through the courts of love and gay troubadours. It burst its bondage and developed into the exceeding frank affection of the earlier English novelists, the hidden love of sentimental German heroines, and the grand passions of the French *salon*. In the earlier part of our century there still lingered the Priscilla type of womanhood and the obedient epistolary efforts of Abigail Adams and her large sisterhood of clear-sighted but submissive women. Then began the wave of philanthropy with its little counter-currents and eddies. The higher education, instead of checking philanthropy, found itself utilized for the benefit of humanity, and self-analysis has judged marriage to be far worse than it really is.

In woman's discovery of her ability to be independent, self-supporting, and self-sufficing, in her wish to work for humanity and not for one man, and in her fear that the appropriating power of a man's love will not be reverence for womanhood, her desire for marriage has lessened. The ideal of marriage is as beautiful to her as ever, but until she is sure that it can be hers she abides in friendships and believes that the time will come when all noble women and men will be married. Meanwhile she waits.

KATE GANNETT WELLS.

THE JAMAICA EXHIBITION.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY, SIR HENRY A. BLAKE, GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA.

THE 27th of January, 1891, has been decided upon as the day on which will be opened the Jamaica Exhibition ; an event of very great importance for the West Indies generally, and one that must have a singular interest for the United States, with its many millions of colored citizens.

For the means by which this exhibition is being carried out are different from those by which any exhibition hitherto held has run its course to failure or success. Heretofore the exhibitions held in various parts of the world have been guaranteed by government, or started by large capitalists, filled by manufacturers, and supported by the restless and inquiring millions of the Caucasian races. Here in Jamaica, with its population of 620,000, of whom but 14,000 are white, the exhibition has asked for no government guarantee ; its funds are provided on the security of many hundreds of guarantors of sums from £10 to £1,000 ; and its success is already assured by the hearty and united efforts of the entire population.

The enterprise came about in this way. In September, 1889, it was considered advisable to assist the intellectual development of the black population. Fifty years ago the conscience of England conferred upon them their freedom. Still later protective tariffs on one side of the Atlantic and foreign bounties on the other emancipated the island from the thraldom of a single industry, and the readiness with which the people availed themselves of the foreign markets showed that it was only necessary to bring before them the productive capabilities of their lands, to teach them what to produce in addition to yams, oranges, and bananas, and to point out to them the ready outlet for all their products, in order to insure a stable prosperity for them in the future.

The first idea was to hold a local exhibition in Kingston and bring before the people exhibits of the vegetable and mineral products of the island, to be afterwards forwarded to the permanent Colonial Exhibition in the Imperial Institute, to be opened in London in May, 1891. With this view, early in September, 1889, a meeting was called of the principal merchants in Kingston, and the proposal was laid before them. It was decided that the exhibition must be carried out by private guarantee, and that at least £10,000 would be necessary. I accepted the position of president, and called for guarantees in sums of not less than £10. The proposal was warmly received throughout the island, and guarantees poured in so fast that at the next meeting our ideas had expanded into an international exhibition in which free space should be offered to all comers. Remembering that the primary purpose of the exhibition was an educational object-lesson showing what might be accomplished by the intelligent coöperation of all classes, we asked for no government guarantee. We appointed no paid officers. Architects and engineers came forward, designed the buildings free of charge, and undertook to carry out their erection. Everybody with technical knowledge on any subject freely offered his services to the committee. Parochial committees were nominated, and it was determined that the exhibition should be opened on the 27th January, 1891.

Three gentlemen in the island at once offered to advance £15,000 on the security of the guarantee. A site was required. It was only necessary to pitch upon the desired spot when it was immediately placed, without charge, unreservedly at the disposal of the committee by the owner and the lessee. So far as the building was concerned, all was now plain sailing. An engineer went to New York with full power to complete contracts for the supply of lumber and other material. The grounds were all ploughed over and levelled, and by the aid of tree-removers imported from England large numbers of palm, bamboo, cocoanut, and other tropical trees were taken up and planted therein. This portion of the work was undertaken by the director of public gardens, and wherever a suitable tree was found the owner displayed generous readiness to hand it over for the embellishment of the exhibition grounds. The first tree thus transplanted was a Gru-Gru palm, forty-three feet high, which was successfully carried for four miles from King's House grounds, and now occu-

pies a position in front of the main building. All this work took a couple of months. In the meantime guarantees came pouring in from the thirteen parishes into which Jamaica is divided, until a sum of nearly £30,000 was offered. Had we accepted guarantees of £5 or less, that sum might have been trebled.

It now became necessary to bring to the knowledge of the thousands of the peasantry who live in the mountainous centre of the island, and who rarely see the newspapers, the fact that the exhibition was to be held, and to explain to them in simple language its object and the probable effect upon their well-being. Ninety thousand copies of a message of the Governor were distributed by the ministers of religion and schoolmasters, and the immediate effect showed that the black population were ready and willing to move forward, and only waited for some person to show them the way. In the message I said:

"All persons in the island will be at liberty to send for exhibition samples of anything either grown or made by them. Prizes will be given for the best samples of products or manufactures. Samples of sugar-canes, cacao, kola, bananas, oranges, ground provisions, cocoanuts, sisal hemp, manilla hemp, tobacco, cigars, cinchona, coffee, peppers, ginger, pimento, rum, logwood, fustic, annotto, castor-oil, cocoanut oil, cattle and horses, sheep, pigs, poultry, birds, fishes, turtle, bees, carpentry, cabinet-making, boots, shoes, basket-work, nets, mats, goldsmith's and silversmith's work, models of cottage homes, boats, etc., fancy work, curiosities, are mentioned as showing the sort of things which can be exhibited by the inhabitants of Jamaica; but this does not include *all*. There is *nothing* which you grow or make which will not find a place in the exhibition.

"And you will also have the opportunity, which may never come to you again, of seeing what is grown and made in the other West Indian islands, in other colonies of the British Empire, in Great Britain and Ireland, and in other great countries of the world. You will find a thousand things not only to amuse and interest you, but also to instruct and improve you.

"I therefore earnestly advise you to set to work at once to prepare for our great exhibition, and to make arrangements in good time which will enable you and your children to come up to Kingston in order that you may have the pleasure of seeing not only the articles which you or your relatives or friends send up to the exhibition, but also the many interesting and wonderful things which will be sent from other parts of the world.

"The exhibition may be expected to aid in enriching all classes. Your children's children will reap the benefits."

Meanwhile committees were formed in England, Scotland, and the United States. The Queen graciously consented to lend two pictures. The Prince of Wales accepted the patronage of the exhibition and Prince George of Wales undertook the duty of opening it. The invitations to foreign countries were for-

warded by the Imperial Foreign Office, and the British Parliament granted £1,000 in aid of the exhibition. The local legislature passed a law giving corporate powers to the exhibition commissioners and regulating the entry of exhibits.

The answers to the invitations to foreign countries and our sister-colonies have now been received. Had we double the space at our disposal, it would not satisfy the demands. We have added thirty thousand square feet to our original space, and in our desire to accommodate our visitors have pared away the portion originally allotted to Jamaica until we begin to feel like a too hospitable host who has given up his house to his guests and squeezed himself and his family into the pantry.

At home the response of the people to the call for coöperation is full of hope for those who are interested in the future of the people of the West Indies. A thoughtless estimate of these people has been generally accepted. It may be summed up in the statement that they are densely ignorant, unspeakably lazy, and incapable of improvement. My experience for the past twelve months has shown me that this estimate is not true. During that time I have visited every portion of Jamaica and spoken to large numbers of the people. I have met the peasant proprietors in the mountain valleys, where, with the exception of the clergyman and the doctor, the face of a white man is not often seen; I have met them in the lowland plains of the seaboard; and, while there is much ignorance and backwardness, I am bound to say that I have met among them men equal in intelligence, shrewdness, and dignity of mind to men of their class in the United Kingdom. The well-built houses that the traveller finds with increasing frequency in the mountain districts show that a real improvement in the standard of comfort and mode of life is in progress. Nor is the estimate of laziness a true one. Both men and women work with the full average of diligence. I wish the women worked less hard abroad and confined their labors more to household matters; for a mother laboring in the fields means a neglected family and a house bereft of the comforts of a home. Material prosperity may be increased by the field labor of the housewife, but it is dearly purchased by the sacrifice of moral progress consequent on the neglect of those home duties that form the basis of social refinement.

No sooner had the parochial committees and local sub-committees settled down to work than the people showed how much in earnest they could be when occasion arose. Wherever I went addresses were presented dealing almost exclusively with the subject. Sometimes I was stopped by the roadside and asked to examine something either made or being made for the exhibition. These were not often objects found in exhibitions. Their uses were frequently problematical. But they were all to be welcomed as evidence of an awakened interest and an anxiety to do something. One day as we drove from a meeting in a distant part of the country, we were overtaken by a bright-looking black boy on horseback, who cantered beside the carriage, eyeing me rather wistfully. I spoke to him, and he then found courage to ask me if I would like to see what he was doing for the exhibition. I said, "Certainly," when, giving rein to his pony, he darted forward at a wild gallop. At a turn in the road we found him standing, bareheaded, and in his hands a box containing a number of rude carvings of horses, cows, sheep, etc., some of which showed the germs of real merit. His father, a respectable-looking shoemaker, stood behind with an approving smile at his son's achievement. The boy, about thirteen or fourteen years of age, was an exceedingly bright and intelligent lad, and the conflict between modest shyness and anxiety to submit his efforts for my approval was very apparent. Every evening after his labor in the fields was over he had devoted himself to carving these figures in the soft cretaceous limestone of the district. His joy was extreme when we purchased some of his work.

The exhibition building is now partially finished. It stands on a most beautiful site, with a view from the front commanding the town and harbor, while on the other side the hills that bound the plains of Liguanea rise tier over tier to where the Blue Mountain Peak lifts its head 7,500 feet up into the ever-changing cloud strata of the West Indian skies. In the grounds an industrial village has been built, the cost of every house being carefully noted, so that the people may see the approximate expense of these improved dwellings. A model school is attached for the information of country managers. Here will be carried on some of the native industries, such as the making of cassava, etc., and a small number of Caribs from St. Vincent will pursue their vocation of basket-making.

While the primary object of the exhibition is the industrial education of the people of Jamaica, the commissioners look farther afield and hope that it may be of great service in stimulating the production and foreign trade of the entire West Indies. With a population of over one and a half millions, and an aggregate foreign trade of twelve million pounds, capable of great expansion, the trade of the British West Indies is worth competing for, and there are indications that the competition will be keen.

Jamaica at one time may be said to have depended entirely upon sugar, and the contraction of that industry was followed for a while by serious difficulties. There is now danger that the cultivators may fling themselves as exclusively into the growing of bananas, a crop that is paying splendidly in the virgin soil of recently-cleared ground in sheltered mountain valleys, and on the highly-fertilized fields of abandoned sugar estates. But the banana is a very exhausting crop, and those who look forward see many objections to resting the hopes of future prosperity too largely on the now expanding banana-culture. We hope to learn from those who visit the exhibition what products they require that we can grow, especially non-perishable commodities, and then to show the people how to grow them, with the assurance that the market is ready. In this way we shall divide the risks from drought, flood, or hurricane, and make the position of Jamaica more stable and secure.

Beyond this, we want to induce people of education to come and settle in Jamaica, and manufacturers to see for themselves how favorably circumstanced is the island for the investment of capital. The absence of coal is an obstacle; but in the hundred rivers that water the island there is ample power for the working of any amount of machinery that is likely to be used. Besides, an inducement is offered in the fact that the "excursions and alarums" between capital and labor are here unknown, and one of the most serious risks of capital is thus eliminated. Those who know the black population best are satisfied that neither now nor in the near future is there any probability of such combinations as are found dealing heavy blows against the prosperity of every business in which capital is invested in other countries.

Some years ago I asked an accomplished American lady, who had just completed a tour around the world, what was the most

beautiful place she had seen. She answered, without hesi[illegible] "Jamaica." I did not then know the island. Now that I [illegible] it I think that in all probability her judgment was c[illegible] except to very few the island is even now a *te*[illegible]*a*. During the early history of Jamaica she owed he[illegible] turns to piracy and sugar. Of the pirates, some were h[illegible]ed at Gallows Point: some retired on their fortunes to live like gentlemen at home; one, Sir Henry Morgan, was made lieut[illegible]ant-governor of the island, where he distinguished himself by his [illegible]verity to the [illegible] a liberal supporter of the church. To our [illegible] nankering after New York Jamaica owes the rise of the sugar industry, for in 1675, Surinam having been ceded to the Dutch in exchange for New Amsterdam, now New York, twelve hundred of its inhabitants arrived in Jamaica, where they settled in Westmoreland, and immediately devoted themselves to the cultivation of sugar, as the old history has it, "inspired by their poverty with the resolution to labor." With the rise of the sugar industry came the days of the wealthy proprietors who covered the island with mansions built usually on sites commanding views of ideal beauty. Here they entertained right royally, as men could entertain when sugar sold at sixty and seventy pounds per ton, and the eternal summer was one long round of social pleasures, interrupted from time to time by servile insurrections. In those days the traveller who visited the island was pretty certain to be a person of consideration; every house was open to him, and the remains of old libraries that have here and there survived the periodical cataclysms show that the society of the old time was as cultivated as it was hospitable.

The decline in the value of sugar, which has been going on for a hundred years, sadly clipped the wings of the Jamaican proprietors; the manumission of the slaves completing the ruin of many. By this time old habits and new prices produced the usual result. The properties were mortgaged to their full value to the merchants, into whose hands were paid almost the entire twenty millions voted by the British Parliament for the creation of a free people; the "great houses" were abandoned, some being left standing with plate, pictures, furniture, and library intact, until the pictures fell from their frames or were cut out and used as tarpaulins to cover mule loads; the books were devoured, leaf and cover, by the voracious bookworms; the furniture fell

to pieces, and the plate alone found its way back to England. Year after year the roll of abandoned sugar estates grew larger, and the society of Jamaica grew smaller. The roofs of the sugar factories fell in; the once busy water-wheels were idle; the long aqueducts succumbed to the continued succession of gentle earthquake shocks and became picturesque ruins, and all were soon hidden in the close embrace of the wanton tropical creepers. It may readily be imagined that during these long years the number of visitors to Jamaica grew less and less. Ruin was preached at home and abroad, and none but artists cared to examine the beauties of decay.

But all this time events were showing that freedom holds a blessing in both hands. The people who in times gone by had worked as slaves on the estates were gradually extending into the higher grounds of the interior, acquiring property, reclaiming and planting, with all the diligence that is the offspring of ownership. While ruin was being noised abroad and scared capital avoided the island, these people were busy laying a broader and deeper foundation of prosperity than that which had gone before, until we suddenly awoke to the fact that these thousands of rivulets of business that filtered down from the mountain clearings united in a volume of trade once and a half as great as that of fifty years ago. In 1847 the exports of Jamaica amounted to £1,671,656, two-thirds of which was sugar, then £24 per ton. The imports amounted to £541,287. The aggregate amount of trade was £2,212,943. In 1889 the exports amounted to £1,828,-590; the imports to £1,695,605; making a total of £3,524,195. The trebling of the imports shows most clearly the advancement of the people in their standard of living, and it must be remembered that the greater portion of these exports and imports is now produced on, or paid for from the produce of, lands that fifty years ago were outside the area of cultivation, leaving large properties intact around the seaboard plains, that only await the application of fresh capital to give returns equal to any area of similar extent in the world.

It is hardly to be wondered at that even with the curiosity of a yearly increasing travelling public, who have sought out the remotest corners of picturesque Europe, Jamaica has remained practically unvisited, for until a very few months ago there was not a hotel in the island; the accommodation for strangers being

confined to one or two boarding-houses in Kingston. Doubtless the appetite for travel grows by what 'tis fed on, but the stranger who determines to travel without introductions in a country where no arrangements exist for the reception of travellers must have a long purse, a thick skin, and an unlimited stock of patience. But now ample accommodation is being provided. Under a law passed last spring guaranteeing 3 per cent on the capital invested, large hotels are being built on improved plans not alone in Kingston and its neighborhood, but in various parts of the island. These hotels will be completed in time for the opening of the exhibition, and travellers will find excellent accommodation that will enable them to examine with comfort the beauties of the island.

What those beauties are, who can describe to the satisfaction of another? From the moment when the steamer glides into the harbor past the batteries of Port Royal in the still cold morning air, no two travellers will see the same picture. The gaze of one sweeps round the grand amphitheatre of hills; that of another rests with satisfaction on the great, placid harbor in which the serrated mountains are reflected, on the tall masts that fringe the shore and the blue wreaths of smoke that rise from what appears to be a forest of palms, and tamarinds, and other tropical trees, in whose shade is concealed the busy city of Kingston. And so in travelling round the country, one notes the exquisite blue shades of distant hills; another has an eye only for the details of the foreground; a third sees birds or butterflies; a fourth, flowers or ferns; a fifth may travel through the most beautiful scenery in the world and retain no picture beyond the driver's back and the moving heads of the horses. But whether the visitor comes as an artist, a scientific observer, an invalid, a capitalist, or a traveller seeking change of scene and interest, Jamaica offers every inducement for a visit.

The first consideration for those who desire to pay more than a flying visit to a tropical country is climate, and in this matter there has been serious misconception heretofore regarding Jamaica. As a matter of fact, the climate of Jamaica is as healthy as that of any tropical country in the world, and more healthy than that of most. This is shown by the mean of the birth- and death-rates for the past five years. The mean birth-rate has been 36.6 per thousand; the death-rate, 22.92. Of this latter, 1.75 per thousand

der the age of one year. Diversified as is the surface of nd, from the high mountains of the centre to the ains of the seaboard, the temperature is, of course, d. Near the summits of the hills it is sub-tropical ng from 63° to 75° at 3 P. M. At the sea-level from 75° to 90°. But here the heat is tempered by a fresh sea-breeze that blows all day and a cool land-breeze that sweeps over the hot plains from the mountains all night. It is in the imprudent exposure to this cold breeze when heated by exercise, that the danger of tropical fevers lies. It is so pleasant that new comers, who carefully avoid a draught at home, are tempted to enjoy the sense of refreshing coolness, forgetting the danger from the sudden check to the action of the pores. If the sun in the West Indies were as dangerous as it is supposed to be, the white male population must long ago have died out, for they walk and ride in the sun, play cricket all day, and otherwise disport themselves after the manner of Englishmen, without any ill effects; but I do not think the example can prudently be followed by persons fresh from higher latitudes.

The scenery is as varied as the climate. Every parish—there are thirteen in the island—claims for itself preëminence of beauty in some respect, and every parish is so far right that there will be found within its borders some point to satisfy the most exacting seeker after the beautiful. Look at the coast scenery of one, the mountain views of another, the river gorges of a third, the park-like expanses of a fourth; the pictures filled in with towering trees, and flowering shrubs, and graceful ferns, and lovely orchids.

Stand in the early summer morning at the Clifton Mount pass above Newcastle, when the sun is just bursting over the hills, and the air is fresh and pure as Eden, and look to the westward over the lower ranges that stretch away to the gray distance of the Clarendon Mountains, from whose valleys the mists are rising in fleecy masses, creeping up the hillsides until they melt under the warm kisses of the morning glory, while the great shadows of the hilltops shrink down the opposite slopes of the valleys before the rising sun. Down beyond the valley at your feet, where a thousand feet below the Hope River rises, are spread the plain of Liguanea and the harbor, formed by the long spit of land, at the extremity of which you can with a glass count the houses of what remains of old Port Royal—just

enough to afford shelter to a few fishermen and pilots and the people employed as workmen about the dockyard and forts. The other portion of the wicked old capital rests under the keels of the war-ships that are lying at their moorings. The old bell of the parish church, the only property of the buried town and treasures ever recovered, was brought up by an adventurous American diver, and is now in the possession of the Jamaica Institute. On the north of the harbor you see the town of Kingston with its fifty miles of streets. The plain is studded with the houses of the wealthier inhabitants, and beyond the Red Hills, once the sanitarium of Jamaica, the bright green squares of the Caymanas sugar estate stand out in vivid contrast to the dark foliage of the low forest that stretches along the Spanish Tower Road. Still more distant, in the plain of St. Catherine the old town of Santiago de la Vega recalls the memory of the stirring days when the foundations of Jamaican history were laid by the conquering pioneers from Spain. That old town has seen its full share of carnage in the ups and downs of West Indian warfare, and until twenty years ago it remained the seat of government and the centre of the social life of Jamaica. Since then it has drunk deep of the waters of adversity, and shanties were repaired with the flooring of ruined ballrooms. But the tide has turned, and houses that five years ago were valueless are now being repaired for ready tenants. It is not likely that the social glories of the old times will soon return, but the place shows signs of entering upon a period of solid prosperity. It will probably be a favorite tourist centre, as around it are some of the most beautiful riding and driving roads in the country, while, being on the railway at the junction of the two great branches, from it ready access can be had to any part of the island.

All these hills that now look so bright in the morning sun are thickly populated, and down the mountain paths on market-days may be seen long strings of women with baskets containing a varied assortment of fruits and vegetables on their heads. They make nothing of a walk of fifteen miles to market, and form picturesque groups of color as they swing along, chattering gayly with their companions. The marketing is usually left to the women, the men remaining at work in their fields. Along the northern side the loads are most frequently bananas, for this is the part of the island where that trade has most expanded. Almost daily a

fruit steamer arrives from America. Immediately telegrams are despatched to the inland post-offices, and the bananas are cut and carried down to the port, where loading goes on day and night until compl d These fast fruit steamers are fitted up for passengers and afford means of frequent communication with New York and Boston. A hotel is now projected at Anotto Bay, to which port some of the fruit steamers come. Thence tourists will be forwarded to Kingston, a drive of thirty miles, by the mountain road that follows the course of the Wagg Water River. Half-way are the public gardens of Castleton, where there will also be a small hotel or rest-house. These gardens are not only most beautiful, but they contain one of the finest collection of palms in the world.

Jamaica is in regular communication with Europe by the Royal Mail steamers fortnightly from Southampton, the West India and Pacific steamers from Liverpool, and the Clyde Line from London and Glasgow; while communication with Halifax is secured by the Pickford and Black West India Line, sailing monthly *viâ* Bermuda, and with the United States by the Atlas Line and Anchor Line from New York, and the fruit steamers of the Boston Fruit Company, the Wessels Company, and John E. Kerr & Co. Besides these means of communication, the Plant Steamship Line is about to establish communication between Jamaica and Tampa, so that travellers who may dread the possible rough waters off Cape Hatteras can go by land to Florida and at Tampa find themselves within three days of Jamaica, over usually quiet southern seas.

Should a regular succession of visitors be attracted to the island, Jamaica must profit greatly. But the benefits will not be entirely on her side, for a visit to a beautiful and healthy island, whose history began before Jacques Cartier had discovered Hochelaga or Lord Baltimore had settled Maryland, cannot be without interest; and whether the traveller sees Jamaica in the early morning as she rises fresh and sparkling from the deep blue waters of the Caribbean Sea, or looks at dewy eve when the red flashes of the setting sun tinge with rose and gold the diadems of fleecy clouds that crown her mountain summits, he must acknowledge that there are some grounds for the pride which her sons take in her as the Pearl of the Antilles.

HENRY A. BLAKE.

CAN LAWYERS BE HONEST?

BY HOMER GREENE.

THERE is a popular opinion in America that lawyers, as a class, are dishonest. One is not obliged to go far nor live long in order to be able to make that affirmation. It is not a new opinion either. It dates from a "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Whether justly or unjustly, the dishonesty of lawyers has become proverbial. A white blackbird is no less *rara avis* in the common mind than is an honest lawyer.

A peculiar feature of the case is that lawyers do not, by reason of their calling, lose caste or credit. They are as highly regarded in the community as are the members of any other profession or calling. It does not seem to have occurred to the general public to look upon the question of their alleged moral laxity as one for serious consideration. The tendency has been rather to treat it as a huge joke. Indeed, tradition and the books are full of good stories told at the expense of professional integrity.

Perhaps the chief reason for this singular state of affairs is that the lawyer is believed to be dishonest only when his dishonesty will advance the cause of his client, and retard or defeat that of his opponent in the law.

This consideration brings up another peculiar feature of the case, which is that, as a rule, lawyers are believed to be honest with their own clients. Indeed, it may be said that the lawyer enjoys a respect and faith on the part of his client for which the merchant, the physician, even the preacher, may well envy him.

It will be seen, by this time, that it is not intended to include in this discussion those few members of the bar who disgrace their profession by the conduct of a highwayman or a hog. No doubt they justify whatever evil reputation they may have, but they bear too small a proportion to the whole number of lawyers

to deserve consideration here. The bulk of the legal profession —indeed an overwhelming proportion—is composed of men whose names are synonymous with respectability, and it is with this class only that it is proposed to deal.

The first question that arises in the case is this:

Does the conduct of lawyers, in the practice of their profession, justify the popular opinion concerning them? In other words, are lawyers as a class really dishonest? This question can be answered seriously in the affirmative only at the risk of rousing the warm indignation of all members of the bar.

No lawyer will admit that he is dishonest. Very few will charge themselves, even in the privacy of their own thoughts, with moral impropriety in practice. They are ready to justify themselves in any course they may take, and what they do they do, as a rule, with unburdened consciences.

Is this because they really do nothing amiss?

The cases in which an attorney will admit that he is on the wrong side of a suit at law are very rare. Yet will any candid lawyer dispute the fact that in at least 50 per cent. of the causes which he tries in court he would have appeared for the adverse party if that party had been the first to retain his services? Does it not seem that, from the attorney's stand-point, the question of right and wrong is largely determined by priority of retainer?

Suppose we examine into this question a little more closely. Take, for instance, a case involving the contract of a minor. A man seeks to be relieved from the fulfilment of a burdensome contract because at the time of making the contract he was a few days or weeks under the age of twenty-one years. How many attorneys are there at any bar who, on application for their services in the matter, would say to that man: "It is true that the law will relieve you from that obligation, but in honor you are bound to fulfil it, however burdensome it may be. You cannot retain my services in an effort of this kind"?

The average attorney looks at the legal rather than the moral aspect of the matter, advises the man that he has a good case in law, and accepts a retainer for his defence.

Now, no one will deny that it is really unmanly and ignoble for a man of sound mind to plead the "baby act" in order to avoid an honest obligation. Why is the attorney who assists him in doing so less unmanly and ignoble? The client may have

his moral judgment warped by the interest he has at stake; but there is no reason why the attorney should be similarly affected. Is it true that a client who is seeking to attain an end in law inconsistent with just principles may be guilty of moral impropriety while the attorney who advises and aids him is justified and innocent?

Light will be thrown on the answer to this question if we examine another rule of law in more general use, viz., the running of the statute of limitations against debts more than six years old.

Every one will admit that this is, in itself, a most just and judicious rule, and of great benefit to society at large. Yet there are cases—though, indeed, they are rare—where its enforcement works injustice and oppression. But in these cases the law can not step aside to favor those who may be prejudiced. The law must follow certain lines, and carry out certain principles, and be uniform in its application. Its processes must be invariable. It cannot be bent and twisted to take in each individual case. If it could be, it would be as worthless, as a standard of human justice, as individual judgment now is. To violate its rules or avoid its results for the purpose of saving one innocent man would be to open the door for the escape of a hundred or a thousand guilty ones. Indeed, the individual injustice that results from a strict application of the rules of law in an isolated case but serves to emphasize the strength and certainty of that law, and to inspire respect for and fear of it. Must, then, that lawyer who seeks the enforcement of a law which, while it is prejudicial to an individual in an exceptional case, at the same time strengthens the pillars of society—must that lawyer be set down as narrow-minded or dishonest? Is not he, by his effort, advancing "the greatest good of the greatest number"?

The law governs conduct, not motives. It is the duty of the courts to enforce the law in favor of any person who places himself within the proper limits of the law, regardless of his motive for so doing. Is the lawyer to set himself up higher than the law? Are the duties of lawyers more sacred than the duties of courts? If a man places himself within the rules and under the protection of the statute of limitations, are lawyers bound any more than courts are to go back and unearth his motive for such conduct?

Suppose the statement of his case which the client makes to the attorney does not, in the attorney's view, exhibit a perfectly moral motive or line of conduct: does it necessarily follow that, because the attorney's sense of the moral fitness of things does not quite coincide with that of his client, the ideas of the one must be unalterably right and those of the other unmistakably wrong? Is it any part of the duty of an attorney to fix a standard of morality for his client? Would not an attempt to do so be regarded as unpardonably presumptuous?

But there is something to be said in reply.

It must be admitted that neither the law nor the courts can discriminate between suitors, nor penetrate into the minds of parties at law in search of motives or morals. But does it therefore follow that it is not the duty of lawyers to do so? Does it not rather follow that, since it is without the province of the law and the courts, it is all the more the duty of the lawyer to do so? The task is not a difficult one. Motives are not far to seek in the light of past or proposed conduct. Why not, as lawyers, give aid to those whose motives are good, and refuse assistance to those whose motives look to inequitable results? And surely there are certain broad standards of right and wrong which one may follow safely without trespassing on debatable land in the domain of morals.

Again, it is true that the rules of law must be invariable and their application uniform, and that no lawyer is called on to violate or even to evade them in order to save the individual from unjust suffering. But is there any valid reason why he should not discourage, to the extent of his ability, that peculiar use of the law which leads to individual injustice?

But the problem has still other and more complex features.

Suppose, after a full examination of his client's case, the attorney finds that it is a good one in law and, for the greater part, in equity also; but that in some minor detail the client has erred or has even committed a wrong. Is it the duty of the attorney, because the case is tainted with this slight indiscretion, or marked with this unimportant attribute of evil, to refuse the client his assistance in obtaining that large measure of justice to which he is certainly entitled?

To carry the suggestion still farther: suppose an attorney undertakes a cause, having full faith in its perfect honesty and com-

plete equity, and, while actually engaged in the trial, learns of some small error on the part of his client in connection with the case, some venial wrong, some unjust or inequitable thing done by him, which, though not sufficient to outweigh the substantial justice of his cause, still places upon it a slight burden of unfairness. What is the attorney to do? Abandon the case on the high road to success for what most people would call a trivial reason?

Suppose, in addition to what he already knows, the attorney learns of something done or left undone, something about which his opponent is ignorant, but which, if revealed and presented to the court and jury, would so change the aspect of the case in law as to make it almost impossible for his client to recover. Is that attorney morally bound to point out to the opposition this defect in his case? to condemn openly his client's fault and parade his error? What would be thought and said of an attorney who should make such an exhibition as this in court? Would he not be called either a fool or a traitor?

Take a similar case in the criminal courts. Suppose the defendant is on trial for murder. Is the attorney bound, in justice to his client, prisoner and in chains though the client be, to conceal all the defects in his case? to suppress all evidence that is prejudicial to him, regardless of its character? to fight as bitterly against the revelation on the witness-stand of those truths that make against the prisoner as he fights earnestly to bring out those that are in his favor? Should the attorney's aim be to have the prisoner acquitted? or should it be to have him fairly tried, whether that trial result in acquittal or conviction?

But what would be thought of an attorney who, in a suit of this kind, would decline to take advantage of a technical error by which he might secure his client's acquittal, on the ground that it *was* a technical error and did not go to the merits of the case? What would be thought of him if he should allow, when he might have prevented, the presentation of damaging evidence against his client because he believed that evidence to be reliable and true? What would be thought of him if, in addition to this, he should actually produce such evidence on the part of the defence for the same reason?

It is difficult to conceive of a case of this kind, it is so far beyond precedent; but if such a case should occur, it is not hard to

imagine the denunciation that would be heaped on the attorney concerned in it. Yet if he is strictly honorable, if he is seeking for his client justice rather than acquittal, what course is open to him other than the one suggested?

Again, no attorney in asking for the judgment of the court on the legal aspect of his case, ever, by any chance, cites precedents that make for the opposing interests, unless he cites them for the purpose of refuting them. No attorney ever comments favorably to the jury on evidence that bears against his client, no matter how trustworthy or pertinent it may be.

If he has within his knowledge facts or precedents that, if known, would put the case of his opponent in a better light, he is the last one to disclose them. His policy is more or less a policy of concealment. But concealment not only leads to—it is in itself—deceit. Yet if deceit is one of the conditions of success in obtaining substantial justice for a client, why may it not, in this instance, be regarded as a virtue rather than as a fault? In other words, is not the standard of morals, in the practice of law, necessarily, one need not say lower than, but different from, that which should govern conduct in other relations of life? And may not a lawyer adopt, with propriety, the professional standard in his practice and retain the other at home and in society? As a matter of fact, is not this what is usually done? And is it not the secret of the respect which is had for lawyers at home and in society, and of the prevalent opinion concerning them so far as the practice of their profession is concerned? But is it an honorable consistency that has two standards of right and wrong, one for professional and one for private life? What difference can it make in the abstract honesty of the thing done whether it is a man's wife and children whom he attempts to deceive or the court and "gentlemen of the jury"? And why should it be less ignoble to do a dishonest or unfair thing in behalf of another than to do it for one's own benefit?

If the popular opinion be correct, that morality in its finer and more spiritual phases, and conscience in its fainter and more delicate promptings, are comparative strangers to those engaged in an active practice of the law while they are so engaged—if this be true, then why is it true?

The answer to this can better be given after considering what is really the most important and serious question at issue, viz.:

Can an attorney be successful in his calling if he follows the lines of integrity and the promptings of conscience with unvarying strictness?

It is not pleasant to say of any honorable calling that it places a premium on dishonesty; and so far as the practice of the law is concerned this may not be true. But take the instance already supposed, of the attorney who, while advising his client that he has a good case in law, refuses to be employed by him on the ground that the case has inequitable features, and that therefore a man of strict honor could not conscientiously give it his aid and support. How long would it be before that client would have in his employ some attorney whose conscience did not bind him with such rigid rules?

Suppose, as has already been suggested, that during the trial of a cause in court the attorney for one side or the other should arise and, in the expressive language of the day, "give the case away" because his strict sense of honor would not allow him to conceal an important fact or precedent. Would his client be likely to again intrust him with a case at law? Would ninety-nine out of a hundred persons who had heard his fatal admissions and statements employ him thereafter in any matter at law in which they might become parties? How long would it be, if he should persist in this general line of conduct, before prospective and active litigants would avoid him altogether? Surely no one would care to place important interests in the hands of an attorney who, by reason of a too tender conscience or an over-scrupulous sense of honesty, is liable at any moment to wreck the entire cause.

For what purpose do people employ attorneys? To advise them as to the moral status of their claims? By no means! They want to know, in the first place, whether they have good cases at law, and, if they have, they want those cases pushed to a successful issue, regardless of any questions of ethics that may arise concerning them. The bulk of the men who have business in the courts, in this era, consider themselves capable of being their own custodians of morals.

It may be well to say, at this point, that the clientage had in view in this discussion is not a clientage of rogues, but of that great body of respectable persons who enter or who are forced into litigation, believing that justice lies in the main, if not wholly, on their side.

But as a rule clients are blindly prejudiced in favor of their own view of a case. The old leaven of human selfishness works in them constantly to their own moral undoing. In order to win they will resort to conduct and methods that in any other person at any other time they themselves would denounce as disgraceful. And the serious part of it is that what they are willing to do for themselves they expect—yes, they demand—that their attorney shall do for them.

Does any one imagine that this is a pleasant position for the attorney? Does any one wonder that he is in danger of losing the finer edge from his moral sense? Doubtless there is no other honorable profession under the sun in which a man is so constantly and so sorely tempted to swerve from the straight line of strict honesty as he is in the law.

Is not this, after all, the secret of the decadence, if decadence there be, in professional morals?

The desire and aim of the client must necessarily reflect upon the attorney. The attorney, at the worst, is only what the client expects him to be, wants him to be, employs him to be.

Suppose the case were different. Suppose every prospective litigant were to relieve himself of all manner of blame before seeking the services of a lawyer, were to apologize if an apology was called for, pay money if money were due, confess and plead guilty if he had done a wrong or committed a crime, and, having exhausted every effort of the kind that a nice sense of honor would demand, suppose he were still compelled to go to law to obtain or protect his rights: what would the result be if he should lay the matter fairly before his attorney and say: "I want this case tried openly and honorably. I don't want a suspicion of unfairness or prejudice or undue advantage of any kind to attach to it in any way"?

Why, the result would be that the attorney would obey instructions and do so cheerfully. And if the opposing attorney were similarly instructed, what an unusual and refreshing spectacle there would be in court when that case should come on for trial! Yet there are few attorneys who would not rather, and far rather, conduct a cause after this fashion than with the usual concealment, evasion, exaggeration, and strained logic, if only they could be satisfied of the approval of their client and the appreciation of the public.

Suppose all clients should desire their cases conducted in this way and all attorneys should yield to that desire, as doubtless they would be glad to: how the character of litigation would be changed! how the atmosphere of the courts would be cleared and purified! what a moral revolution society at large would undergo!

The public may wag its head, and smile and talk as it will about the disingenuousness of lawyers, but when it has succeeded in taking the beam out of its own eye, it will be astonished to find that the motes in the eyes of its brethren, the lawyers, have already disappeared.

But this dream of a reformed society and a reformed bar is Utopian. Few people have yet attained to the point of perfection reached by these imaginary clients. Men must be taken as they are, not as they ought to be, in discussing problems concerning them; and there still remain among us those human prejudices and passions that govern individual conduct, and that, overflowing into the office of the attorney, drive him often to the verge of dishonor.

So the burden of the effort at reform rolls back again upon the attorney; and does it not properly belong with him, after all? Has not he the power of compelling would-be clients to come to him with clean hands and honest hearts? His aid is indispensable when the law is to be invoked. Suppose he were to refuse that aid until they shall have purged themselves of all manner of unfairness and deceit. Suppose—not one attorney alone, for that would mean professional disaster to him, as we have already seen, but—an entire bar should adopt a certain high standard of professional morals, and compel their clients to come to it and live up to it. Would not that solve the problem?

Utopia again! It is easy enough to form bar associations and lay down rules for the conduct of members, to a certain point, and to enforce them too. Direct falsehood, treachery to a client, a hundred unprofessional and dishonorable deeds, may be discovered and punished. But how can any man or set of men lay down rules to govern conduct in relation to those nicer moral qualities in which no man is capable of judging another; qualities which are too ethereal to be reduced to material form, too subtile to be moulded into definite shape, too spiritual to be defined in the language of men? In this moral domain there is no room for for-

mulated laws for the government of any conduct but self-conduct. Here each individual must be his own censor and guide.

Hence the fallacy, not to say the folly, of attempting to frame a system of laws which shall take in the entire range of professional ethics, with a view to its enforcement by any organization.

In the mean time this is the situation: The profession of the law is, to a certain extent, in ill repute. Lawyers are regarded, as a class, with something more than suspicion, so far as their professional integrity is concerned. More serious still is the fact that this suspicion is not wholly unfounded, and that this lack of integrity, if such it may be called, goes not only unrebuked by the people at large, but is actually placed at a premium by those people when they become prospective or active litigants.

For all this there should be a remedy. Who will suggest it?

Who will rescue a most honorable calling from its present unfortunate environment?

HOMER GREENE.

THE SILVER QUESTION AGAIN.

BY JESSE SELIGMAN.

THE first essentials of production and commerce are certainty and stability. Absolute certainty is, of course, never attainable; even moderate certainty is rare. Whatever reduces uncertainty aids enterprise. The physical obstacles surrounding undertakings are difficult enough to foresee; they should not be complicated wilfully.

It is apparent that in a community where money is unknown and barter is in vogue there would be two causes affecting the value of any article which the owner desires to exchange for any other article. These would be, first, the amount of the former as compared with the needs of the community, and, secondly, the amount of the latter, similarly compared. The value of the article would vary according to this compound ratio, and any one making a contract must run the risk of variation in each ratio. The introduction of money does away with one of these causes of complication by substituting a standard whose variations are exceedingly slow in their operation. For this purpose all civilized nations have come to use gold, a metal whose scarcity and usefulness have qualified it for the purpose. It will not, presumably, be questioned that in industrial and commercial operations certainty is essential, and it should be clear that this certainty is better attained by a standard in conformity with that of other communities than by a different one.

On this point the mere mention of a few facts drawn from our own experience will dispel all doubt. Our surplus agricultural products are all exported to countries having a gold standard, and are paid for in that standard. Suppose for a moment ours to be a silver standard, and what results? Our farmers are paid in silver, while grain and cotton prices follow not only agricultural prices

abroad, but the price of silver as well. Wider variations in price, more difficult to foresee, result, together with an increase and accentuation of that speculation which the producer regards as so injurious to his interests, and the producer suffers: prudent buyers for uncertain markets insist on ample margin to guard against loss, and this means lower prices for the producer.

It seems unnecessary to say more on this point; the statement carries its own proof. If we had no commercial relations with other countries, a silver standard would answer our purpose as well as a gold standard. True; but we have such relations, and they are of enormous importance. A standard different from that of the commercial world would affect the vast mass of our imports and exports, and but little less directly every other industry touching these at any point. We desire to create a foreign market for our products; and shall we manifest our desire by putting obstacles in the way of its fulfilment? But it is said that the country is crying for more circulating medium: whether it needs it or not, is a question apart from the question of free coinage of silver, and one to be considered on its own merits. If it is needed, by all means let it be furnished; but let it be a medium that will cure and not aggravate the complaint.

But enough—the contention so far is but this: the most stable commercial condition is the most favorable; a common standard with other nations gives more stability than the reverse. This is only saying that it is easier to walk a steady than a swaying tight-rope.

Does free coinage of silver mean a silver standard? Undoubtedly; and the most disastrous effects of free coinage are not, by far, those outlined above, but consist in the agonies of transition.

What is free coinage? Free coinage of silver means that any one may present 412½ grains of silver 900 fine at the mints of the United States and have a silver dollar coined therefrom. But silver 1,000 fine is worth in the market $1.05 per ounce of 480 grains; so 412½ grains 900 fine can be bought for 81 cents. Who would not jump at so simple and certain a profit? The government stands ready to give $1 for a quantity of metal that may be purchased for 81 cents; the profit is certain; there is no risk. Is it doubted that practically all silver bullion in the country will flow into the mint, that silver will come from abroad for the same purpose, and that the product of the mines will take

the shortest road to the same shelter? So large an increase in circulating medium causes a rise in prices, which checks exports and stimulates imports of commodities,—checks exports, for foreign countries cannot use our products at such high prices; stimulates imports, for foreign merchandise is then cheap, compared with our prices. So at the moment when we have the most imports to pay for we are deprived of our usual means of paying for them, namely, our exports. But pay we must; commodities cannot be sent except at a loss; only gold can be had on the old basis; silver cannot go, for who will send silver abroad for the privilege of receiving 81 cents, when at home the state offers a dollar? So the gold goes, and a wild scramble begins for the metal which is, after all, the standard of the world. The gold in government vaults is quickly drained, then follows a premium, and the silver standard is upon us.

The magnitude of the forces at work to bring about these results can be seen by considering a few important figures. The mines of the United States yielded during the calendar year 1889 gold to the value of $32,800,000; silver with a commercial value of $46,750,000, but with a coining value of $64,646,464. The whole world produced in the same year $121,162,000 of gold and $161,318,000 (coining value) of silver.

The stock of gold and silver in the United States on November 1, 1890, is estimated by the Director of the Mint to have been $1,180,236,177, of which $694,865,680 consisted of gold coin and bullion. The metallic assets of the treasury of the United States on the same date consisted of $294,489,602 gold and $352,566,752 silver.

In other words, the greater part of the treasury assets already consists of silver. Under a free-coinage law, the four hundred millions of gold now circulating or hoarded by private parties or banks outside of the treasury vaults would at once disappear from circulation, while the gold in the treasury would remain no longer than the time required for the physical effort to remove it.

The effect of a change of standard on enterprises in course of execution, on established business, on investments,—in fact, on all industry,—is most disastrous. Such a change defeats every reasonable expectation formed before it took place. Merchants that have bound themselves to make large payments in other countries, and therefore in gold, receive silver from those that

owe them, and so cannot pay their debts, or, if they can, then only at immense loss. Railroads receive silver for freight and passengers carried, and have promised to pay their bonds and coupons in gold; and so throughout the list. But this is only the beginning. The failure of one merchant means the failure of others, his creditors; mercantile failures, the stoppage of factories, the ruin of railroads, mean laborers and mechanics thrown out of employment, reduced wages to those remaining, and, to crown all, decreased purchasing power of these reduced wages. Prices of commodities rise rapidly; wages but slowly.

Let it not be forgotten what such a condition means: translated into daily newspaper reports, it reads, distrust; failure upon failure of commercial houses, of banks, of factories; demoralization; panic; then hard times; utter stagnation and dulness, and, accompanying all this, suffering and hardship.

Those who will feel these hardships most keenly are wage-earners and farmers, the people of small means, for they have no surplus on which they can depend: a reduction of the purchasing power of wages means to them an inroad on the comforts and necessaries of life, and not merely smaller savings, as it does to those of larger means.

It is admitted that our coinage as at present constituted is not satisfactory; the discussion of a remedy is an interesting subject, but one which the present limits will not permit us to enter on. Let it here suffice that our inquiry has shown free coinage not to be the remedy, for it is a blow at prosperity—a blow the main force of which will fall on wage-earners and producers. Let these examine the question candidly, and if they do not bring their representatives to a realizing sense of their position, they will have only themselves to blame for the consequences.

Whether the solution will ultimately be in international bimetallism, time will show; conferences of all the principal nations to discuss the subject should be encouraged. Meanwhile it is to the interest of every section of the country that it do not expose itself to grave dangers in attempting the impossible.

Just here the cry for more circulating medium calls for a word concerning the distinction between free coinage and the coinage of a fixed amount of silver by the state. The coinage of a fixed amount by the state stands, for purposes of circulation, on the same basis as an issue of paper money. As a circulating

medium it is good as long as there is back of it, in the control of the state, an amount of gold sufficient to meet all demands for redemption. It circulates because every one believes it to be convertible into gold on demand. What proportion such issues must bear to reserves is a matter of banking experience. But it is here important to note the distinction between this condition and free coinage; it is a difference of kind, not of degree.

Let us formulate the conclusions forced upon us. We see that certainty is a necessary element of prosperous industry; that a standard of value in common with other countries contributes to certainty; that free coinage of silver causes a different standard; that therefore free coinage of silver is a measure hurtful to the prosperity of the country; and, above all, that the financial strain incident to the change of standard will be severer than any previously experienced in this country.

JESSE SELIGMAN.

HAS CHRISTIANITY FAILED?

BY OUIDA AND FATHER IGNATIUS.

VERY soon, as the history of the world counts time, Christianity will have completed its two thousand years of existence. In some shape or other its doctrines dominate the whole of Europe and America and Australasia; and even in Asia and in Africa its representatives and its missionaries are busied in the endeavors to diffuse them into the dark places of the earth. Whether we accept it as what is called a revealed or supernatural religion, or whether we consider it an offspring of the older and similar myths of Asia united to Judaism, the fact remains the same of the immense area of its adoption by the human race, and especially by the Aryan race. Islamism is widespread, but has no continuous power of proselytism similar to Christianity; and Judaism, though inexorably potent on the Jewish tribes, whatever country they inhabit, can claim little or no power of attracting strangers within its fold; does not, indeed, seek to attract any.

To live and spread as it has done, Christianity must have some vital force within itself superior to those possessed by other creeds. It must be suited to the human race in some manner which the religion of Mohammed and that of Israel have alike missed. Indeed, the whole history of the acquisition of its dominion is very singular, and has probably been due to the socialistic element contained in it; for the gospels are a breviary intimately dear to the heart of every communist. Mohammedanism is aristocratic; so is Judaism; so were the Greek and Latin religions; but Christianity is the religion of democracy, of universal equality, of the poor man consoled for privation on earth by his belief that such privation is surely the narrow gate by which heaven alone can be reached. Even in the moment when Christianity most nearly approached an aristocratic worship, it

still contained the germs of democracy; it still held out hope to the poor man, hope both spiritual and material: in the feudal ages, when it was the war-cry of knights and the ruling power of great kings and arrogant priests, it still whispered in the ear of the swineherd and the scullion: "Take my tonsure and my habit, and who knows that thou mayst not live to earn the triple crown?"

Because socialism is for a great part atheistic, it has been wholly forgotten how socialistic have been the influences on society of Christianity. The evangels are essentially the dream of a poor man; the vision of a peasant asleep after a day of toil, and seeing in his vision the angels come for him, whilst they spurn the rich man on whose fields he has labored. "Come to me, all ye who sorrow and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest." It is the invitation to the poor; not to the rich. The disciples are fishermen for the most part; Christ is himself a carpenter; the whole dream is a passion-play of peasants as entirely as that which represented it last year in Ammergau; and in it power, intellect, and law are all subverted and proved wrong when Pilate goes down from the judgment-seat, and the watching fishers believe that they behold the resurrection. This socialistic influence the doctrines of Christianity have had, and have gradually made felt throughout many ages, and are making felt more sharply and rudely in this our own than in any other age. The most "pious" of all sects are also always the most democratic: the Nonconformists and the Wesleyans are always the most intent on levelling the barriers and irregularities of social life. Protestantism was the democratic daughter of the Papacy, but the Papacy was also a democrat when it made it possible for a swineherd to hold the keys of St. Peter, and for a Becket to rule a Plantagenet, for a Wolsey to rule a Tudor.

Again and again the humble vassal lived to thunder excommunication upon monarchs, and the timid scribe who dared not lift his eyes from his scroll became the most powerful, the most arrogant, the most inexorable of churchmen. It was this hope contained within it for the lowliest, this palm held out by it to the poorest, which made the enormous influence of Christianity from the days of Basil and Augustine to the days of Richelieu and Wolsey. The feudal lords who shouted Christian war-cries, and the despotic kings who swore by the Holy Rood and by Our Lady,

were wholly unconscious that in the creed they cherished there were the germs of the democratic influences which would in time to come undermine thrones and make aristocracy an empty name; they did not know that in Clement Marot's psalm-books and in Wycliffe's Bible there lay folded that which would in time to come bring forth the thesis of Bakounine and the demands of the Knights of Labor.

And if we meditate on and realize the essentially socialistic tendencies of the Christian creed, we may wonder that the "*grands de la terre*" ever so welcomed it, or ever failed to see in it the death-germs of their own order; but we shall completely understand why it fascinated all the laboring classes of mankind and planted in them those seeds of communism which are now bearing forth full fruit. But what is almost equally certain is that Christianity will be wholly powerless to restrain the results of what it has inspired.

For of all absolutely powerless things on earth Christianity is the most powerless, even though sovereigns are still consecrated, multitudes still baptized, parliaments and tribunals still opened, and countless churches and cathedrals still builded in its name. It has become a shibboleth, a husk, a robe with no heart beating within it, a winged angel carved in dead wood. It has said that it is almost impossible for the rich man to be just or inherit the kingdom of heaven: the anarchists insist that it is utterly impossible, and will, if they can, cast the rich man into hell on earth.

Christianity has opened the flood-gates to socialism; but it will not have any power in itself to close them again. For nothing can be in more complete contradiction than the prevalence of the profession of Christianity with the impotency of that profession to color and control human life. The Buddha of Galilee has not one-thousandth part of the direct influence on his professional disciples that is possessed by the Buddha of India. Christianity is professed over the whole earth wherever the Aryan race exists and rules, but all the kingdoms and republics which make it their state creed are, practically, wholly unaffected by its doctrines, except in so far as their socialistic members derive precedent and strength from them. Take, for instance, that which governs states and prescribes the duties of men—the majesty of the law, as it is termed—the science and the practice of legislation.

Side by side with the religion enjoined by the state there exists a code of legislation which violates every precept of Christianity, and resembles only the *lex talionis* of the old Hebrew law, which the Christian creed was supposed to have destroyed and superseded.

A savage insistence on having an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth is the foundation of all modern law. The European or the American or the Australasian goes on Sunday to his church and says his formula, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us," and then on the Monday morning prosecutes a boy who stole a ball of string, or a neighbor who has invaded a right of way, or an enemy whose cow has strayed, or whose horse has kicked, or whose dog has bitten, and exacts for one and all of these offences the uttermost penalty that the law will permit him to demand. It may be said that such law is absolutely necessary in civilized states: it may be so; but then the empty formula of the Christian forgiveness of trespasses should be in honesty abandoned.

Mr. Ruskin never writes on Venice without dwelling on the vital influence of the Christian creed on the men of the middle ages, and contrasting the religious spirit of those whose cry was St. Mark and whose admiration was St. Jerome with those of modern times, when these names mean nothing on the ears of men. But, in truth, the influence was architectural and artistic rather than moral; the memory neither of St. Mark nor St. Jerome ever prevented the blinding of the eyes of doges who had displeased the people, the treachery and brutality of their inexorable decree, or the torture of the Foscari, or the betrayal of Carracciolo, or the sale of slaves, or any one of the awful cruelties and tyrannies of the Council of Ten.

And as it was in the Venice of the middle ages, so has it been and is wherever Christianity is nominally dominant. The cross is embroidered on banners and its psalter is carried to churches in pious hands, but its real influence on the life of nations is as slight as that of Mark and Jerome on the Council of Ten. The whole practical life of nations lives, breathes, and holds its place by creeds and necessities which are the complete antithesis of the Christian; they are selfish in their policies, bloodthirsty in their wars, cunning in their diplomacy, avaricious in their commerce, unsparing in their hours of victory. They are so, and, alas!

they must be so, or they would be pushed out of their place amongst nations and parcelled out, like Joseph's coat, amongst their foes.

The capitalist who makes millions by the manufacture of rifled cannon sees no inconsistency in murmuring in his seat at Catholic mass or Protestant service, "Return good for evil," "If one cheek be smitten, turn the other," and all the rest of the injunctions to peace and forbearance: were any to suggest to him the inconsistency of his conduct, such an one would speak to deaf ears; that his whole life was a violation of the precepts he professed would be an unintelligible reproach to him; his soul would take refuge, smug and safe, in his formulas. Yet who can deny that, if the commands of Christianity had in the least penetrated beneath the surface of human life, to make weapons of destruction would be viewed as a crime so frightful that none would attempt it? Some writer has said that "singing psalms never yet prevented a grocer from sanding his sugar." This rough joke expresses in a grotesque form what may be said in all seriousness of the impotency of Christianity to affect modern national life.

Christianity is a formula: it is nothing more. The nations in which daily services in its honor are said in thousands and tens of thousands of cathedrals and churches, sell opium to the Chinese, cheat and slay red Indians, slaughter with every brutality the peaceful natives of Tonquin and Anam, carry fire and sword into central Asia, kill Africans like ants on expeditions, and keep a whole populace in the grip of military service from the Spree to the Elbe, from the Seine to the Neva. Whether the nation be England, America, France, Russia, or Germany, the fact is the same; with the gospels on its reading-desks and their shibboleth on its lips, every nation practically follows the lusts and passions of its human greeds for possession of territory and increase of treasure. Not one amongst them is better in this matter than another. Krupp guns, shrapnel shells, nitro-glycerine, and submarine torpedoes are the practical issues of evangelicism all over the civilized world. And the nations are so sublimely unconscious of their own hypocrisy that they have blessings on their warfare pronounced by their ecclesiastics, and implore the Lord of Hosts for his sympathy before sending out armored cruisers.

It is inevitable, is the reply: in the present state of hostility

between all nations, the first one to renounce the arts of war would be swallowed up by the others. So it would be, no doubt; but if this be the chief fruit of Christianity, may not this religion justly be said to have failed conspicuously in impressing itself upon mankind? It has impressed its formulas; not its spirit. It has sewn a phylactery on the hem of humanity's robe: it has never touched the soul of humanity beneath the robe. It has produced the iniquities of the Inquisition, the egotism and celibacy of the monasteries, the fury of religious wars, the ferocity of the Hussite, of the Catholic, of the Puritan, of the Spaniard, of the Irish Orangeman and of the Irish Papist; it has divided families, alienated friends, lighted the torch of civil war, and borne the virgin and the graybeard to the burning pile, broken delicate limbs upon the wheel and wrung the souls and bodies of innocent creatures on the rack: all this it has done, and done in the name of God.

But of mercy, of pity, of forbearance, of true self-sacrifice, what has it ever taught the world?

A while ago there was published an account of the manufacture of the deadliest sort of dynamite on the shores of Arran. Full in the front of the great sea, with all the majesty of a rock-bound and solitary shore around them, these hideous works raise their blasphemous face to nature and pollute and profane her most solemn glories. And there, on this coast of Arran, numbers of young girls work at the devilish thing in wooden huts, with every moment the ever-present risk of women and huts being blown into a million of atoms if so much as a shred of metal or even a ray of too warm sunshine strike on the foul, sickly, infernal compound which their fingers handle. A brief while since two girls were thus blown into the air, and were so instantaneously and utterly annihilated that not a particle of their bodies or of their clothing could be recognized; and all the while the sea-gulls were circling, and the waves leaping, and the clouds sailing, and deep calling to deep, "Lo! behold the devil and all his works!" And there is no devil there at all except man—man who makes money out of this fell thing which blasts the beauties of nature, and scars the faces of the hills, and has made possible to civilization a fashion of wholesale assassination so horrible, so craven, and so treacherous that the boldness of open murder seems almost virtue beside it

The manufactory of nitro-glycerine on the Arran shore is the emblem of the world which calls itself Christian. No doubt the canny Scots who are enriched by it go to their kirk religiously, are elders of it very likely, and if they saw a boy trundle a hoop or a girl use a needle on the Sabbath day, would think they saw a crime, and would summon and chastise the sinners. Pontius Pilate was afraid and ashamed when he had condemned an innocent man; but the modern followers of Christ have neither fear nor shame when they pile up gold on gold in their bankers' cellars through the death which they have manufactured and sold, indifferent though it should strike down a thousand innocent men.

Even of death Christianity has made a terror which was unknown to the gay calmness of the Pagan and the stoical repose of the Indian. Never has death been the cause of such craven timidity as in the Christian world, to which, if Christians believed any part of what they profess, it would be the harbinger of glad tidings, the welcome messenger of a more perfect life. To visionaries like Catherine of Siena it may have been so at times, but to the masses of men and women professing the Christian faith death has been and is the King of Terrors, from whose approach they cower in an agony which Petronius Arbiter would have ridiculed and Socrates and Seneca have scorned. The Greek and the Latin gave dignity to death, and awaited it with philosophy and peace; but the Christian beholds in it innumerable fears like a child's terror of ghosts in darkness, and by the manner of the funeral rites with which he celebrates it contrives to make grotesque even that mute majesty which rests with the dead slave as much as with the dead emperor.

Christianity has been cruel in much to the human race. It has quenched much of the sweet joy and gladness of life; it has caused the natural passions and affections of it to be held as sins; by its teaching that the body should be despised it has brought on all the unnamable filth which was made a virtue in the monastic orders, and which in the Italian, the Spanish, the Russian peoples and the poor of all nations is a cherished and indestructible habit. In its permission to man to lay subject to him all other living creatures of the earth it conjoined the cruelty of the barbarian and of the pagan, and endowed it with what appeared a divine authority—an authority which science, despising Christianity, has yet not been ashamed to borrow and to use.

Let us endeavor to realize the unutterable torments endured by men and maidens in their efforts to subdue the natural desires of their senses and their affections to the unnatural celibacy of the cloister, and we shall see that the tortures inflicted by Christianity have been more cruel than the cruelties of death. Christianity ever has been the enemy of human love; it forever cursed and expelled and crucified the one passion which sweetens and smiles on human life, which makes the desert blossom as the rose, and which glorifies the common things and common ways of earth. It made of this, the angel of life, a shape of sin and darkness, and bade the woman whose lips were warm with the first kisses of her lover believe herself accursed and ashamed. Even in the unions which it reluctantly permitted, it degraded and dwarfed the passion which it could not entirely exclude, and permitted it coarsely to exist for the mere necessity of procreation. The words of the Christian nuptial service expressly say so. Love, the winged god of the immortals, became, in the Christian creed, a thrice-damned and earth-bound devil, to be exorcised and loathed. This has been the greatest injury that Christianity has ever done to the human race. Love, the one supreme, unceasing source of human felicity, the one sole joy which lifts the whole mortal existence into the empyrean, was by it degraded into the mere mechanical action of reproduction. It cut the wings of Eros. Man, believing that he must no longer love his mistress, woman, believing that she must no longer love her lover, loved themselves, and from the cloisters and from the churches there arose a bitter, joyless, narrow, apprehensive passion which believed itself to be religion, but was in truth only a form of concentrated egotism, the agonized desire to be "saved," to ascend into the highest heaven, let who else would wait without its doors or pine in hell. The influence of this is still with the world, and will long be with it; and its echo is still loud in the sibilant voices which hiss at the poet who sings and the poet who glorifies love.

And herein we approach that spurious off spring of Christianity which is called cant.

Other religions have not been without it. The Mosaic law had the Pharisee, who for a pretence made long prayers. The Greek and the Latin had those who made oblations to the gods for mere show, and augurs who served the sacred altars with their

tongue in their cheek. But from Christianity, alas! has arisen and spread a systematic hypocrisy more general, more complete, more vain, more victorious than any other. The forms of the Christian religion facilitate this. Whether in the Catholic form of it, which cleanses the sinner in the confessional that he may go forth and sin again freely, or in the Protestant form, which, so long as a man listens to sermons and kneels at sacraments, does not disturb him as to the tenor of his private life, the Christian religion says, practically, to all its professors: "Wear my livery and assemble in my courts; I ask no more of you in return for the moral reputation which I will give to you."

Its lip-service and its empty rites have made it the easiest of all tasks for the usurer to cloak his cruelties, the miser to hide his avarice, the lawyer to condone his lies, the sinner of all social sins to purchase social immunity from them by outward deference to the churches.

The Christian religion, outwardly and even in intention humble, does, without meaning it, teach man to regard himself as the most important of all created things. Man surveys the starry heavens and hears with his ears of the plurality of worlds; yet his religion bids him believe that his alone out of these innumerable spheres is the object of his master's love and sacrifice. To save his world—whose common multitudes can be no more in the scale of creation than the billions of insects that build up a coral-reef beneath the deep sea—he is told that God himself took human shape, underwent human birth, was fed with human food, and suffered human pains. It is intelligible that, believing this, the most arrogant self-conceit has puffed up the human crowd, and that with the most cruel indifference they have sacrificed to themselves all the countless suffering multitudes which they are taught to call "the beasts which perish." It is this selfishness and self-esteem which, fostered in the human race by Christianity, have far outweighed and overborne the humility which its doctrines in part strove to inculcate and the mercy which they advocated.

It is in vain that the human race is bidden to believe that its Creator cares for the lilies of the field and for the birds of the air: it is the human race alone for which God has suffered and died, and this solitary selection, this immense supremacy, make it semi-divine in its own sight. It is the leaven of egotism begotten by the Christian creed which has neutralized the purity

and the influence of its teachings. Here and there saintly men and women have been guided by it solely in the ways of holiness and unselfishness; but the great majority of mankind has drawn from it chiefly two lessons—self-concentration and socialism. "Rock of ages, cleft for *me*," sighs the Christian; and this "immense Me" is, as Emerson has said of it, the centre of the universe in the belief of the unconscious egotist.

Christians repeat like a parrot's recitative the phrase that no sparrow falls uncounted by its Creator, and they go to their crops and scatter poison, or load fowling-pieces with small shot, to destroy hundreds of sparrows in a morning. If they believed that their God saw the little birds of the air fall, would they dare to do it? Of course they would not; but they do not believe: it only suits them to use their formula, and they are never prevented by it from strewing poison or setting traps.

Behold their priests taking on themselves the vows of poverty, of chastity, and of renunciation, and whether they be the Catholic cardinal, stately, luxurious, and arrogant, or whether they be the Protestant bishop, with his liveried servants, his dinner parties, and his church patronage, what can we see more widely removed in unlikeness from all the precepts of the creed which they profess to obey? What fiercer polemics ever rage than those which wrangle about the body of religion? What judge would not be thought a madman who should from the bench counsel the man who has received a blow to bear it in meekness and turn the other cheek? What missionary would be excused for leaving his wife and children chargeable on parish rates because he pointed to the injunction to leave all that he had and follow Christ?

What attempt on the part of any community to put the precepts of Christianity into practical observance would not cause them to be denounced to magistrates as communists, as anarchists, as moonstruck dreamers, as lunatics? There are sects in Russia which endeavor to do so, and the police hunt them down like wild animals. They are only logically trying to carry out the precepts of the gospels, but they are regarded therefore as dangerous lunatics. They can have no place in the conventional civilization of the world. What judge who should tell the two litigants in any lawsuit concerning property that they were violating every religious duty in wrangling with each other about

filthy lucre would not be deemed a fool, and worse? The French Republic, in tearing down from its courts of law and from its class-rooms the emblems of Christianity, has done a vulgar and unworthy act, offensive to a great portion of the nation; but it may be doubted if this act be not more consistent and logical than the acts of those nations who open their tribunals with rites of reverence towards a creed with which the whole legislature governing these tribunals is in entire and militant contradiction. "Religion is one thing; law is another," said a lawyer once to whom this strange discrepancy was commented on; but so long as law is founded on assumptions and principles wholly in violence with those of religion, how can such religion be called the religion of the state? It is as absurd a discrepancy as that with which the Italian nation, calling itself Catholic, drove out thousands of Catholic monks and Catholic nuns from their religious houses and seized their possessions by the force of the secular arm. It is not here the question whether the suppression of the male and female monastic orders was or was not right or necessary: what is certain is that the state enforcing this suppression can with no shadow of sense or of logic continue to call itself a Catholic state; as it still does call itself in the person of its king and in its public decrees.

How is it to be accounted for—this impotence of Christianity to affect the policies, politics, legislation, and general life of the nations which think their salvation lies in the profession of its creed? How is it that a religion avowedly making peace and long suffering of injury the corner-stone of its temple has had as its principal outcome war—both the fanaticism of religious war and the avarice of civil war; a legislation founded on the *lex talionis* and inexorable in its adherence to that; and a commerce which all the world over is saturated with the base desire to overreach, outwit, and outstrip all competitors?

Perhaps it is partly because the Jewish laws enter largely into the creeds of modern Christians, and because even in the pure creeds of the evangelists there is much of egotism. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" "His own"—that throughout is to be the chief thought of his existence and its constant end. The greatest of the Christian martyrs were but sublime egotists. Their fortitude and constancy were already rewarded, in their belief, by every sweetness

of celestial joys and glories. It may be doubted whether they even felt the scourge, the torch, the iron, or the rods, so intensely in their exaltation was their nervous system strung up to ecstasy. What could the poor offer of life seem worth to those who believed that by thus losing life they would enter at once and forever into the exquisite consciousness of a surpassing beatitude? An intense, though innocent, selfishness was at the root of all the martyrdoms of the early Christian Church. There was not one amongst them which approached for unselfishness the death of Antinous. And it is surely this egotism which is an integral part of the Christian creed that has been at once its strength and its weakness—its strength in giving it dominion over human nature, and its weakness in allying it with baser things. The alloy has made the gold more workable, but has destroyed its purity.

Meanwhile, although the majority of Christian nations profess the Christian faith more or less sincerely, and give it at least the homage of hypocrisy, all the intellectual life of the world is leaving its folds without concealment. There is in its stead either the hard and soulless materialism of the scientist, or the sad, vague pantheism and pessimism of the scholar and the poet. Neither will ever suffice for the mass of mankind in general. The purely imaginative and intellectual mind can be content to wait before the immense unexplained enigma of life; it accepts its mystery and sees the marvel of it in the changing cloud, the blossoming weed, the wistful eyes of the beasts of burden, as much as it sees it in humanity itself. To such a mind the calmness and sadness of patience and the kind of universal divinity which it finds in nature can suffice; and to it the complacent conceit of science over the discovery of a new poison or a hitherto unsuspected action of the biliary duct in mammals must seem as childish and as narrow as the belief in the creeds of the Papist, the Evangelical, or the Baptist. It is the only attitude which is at once philosophic and spiritual; but it must ever remain the privilege of the few; it can never be the possession of the multitude. The multitude will be forever cast into the arms of science or of faith, either of which will alike flatter it with the assurance that it is the chief glory of creation, before which all the rest of creation is bound to lie subject in bonds and pain.

And it is this selfishness and self-admiration which have neutralized in man the good which he should have gained from the

Sermon on the Mount. A religion which is founded on the desire of men to attain eternal felicity will be naturally seductive to them, but the keynote of its motive power can never be a lofty one. The jewelled streets of the New Jerusalem are not more luxuriously dreamed of than the houris of the Mohammedan paradise. Each form of celestial recompense is anticipated as reward for devotion to a creed. And as all loyalty, all loveliness, all virtue *pêchant par la base* when they are founded on the expectation of personal gain, so the Christian religion has contained the radical defect of inciting its followers to obedience and faithfulness by a bribe—a grand bribe, truly—nothing less than eternal life; such life as the soul of man cannot even conceive; but still a bribe. Therefore Christianity has been powerless to enforce its own ethics on the world in the essence of their spirit, and has been perforce contented with hearing it recite its formulas.

What will be its future? There is no prophet of vision keen enough to behold. The intellect of mankind is every year forsaking it more utterly, and the ever-increasing luxury which is possible with riches, and the ever-increasing materialism of all kinds of life into which mechanical labor enters, are forces which every year drive the multitudes farther and farther from its primitive tenets. In a small and a poor community Christianity may be a creed possible in its practical realization and consistent in its simplicity of existence; but in the mad world of modern life, with its overwhelming wealth and its overwhelming poverty, with its horrible satiety and its horrible hunger, with its fiendish greed and its ghastly crimes, its endless lusts and its cruel bitterness of hatreds, Christianity can only be one of two things —either a nullity, as it is now in all national life, or a dynamic force allied with and ruling through socialism.

Which will it be? There is no prophet to say. But whichever it be, there will be that in its future which, could he have foreseen it when he hung upon the cross, would have been more bitter to its founder than the vinegar and hyssop raised to his parching lips, and more cruel to his tender soul than the thorns wherewith his enemies crowned him.

OUIDA.

THE foregoing essay from the pen of Ouida is of a rather remarkable kind. Remarkable for its power and point from an

artistic point of view; in some passages for its picturesque humor and ring. Divested, however, of these external beauties, the essay is absolutely powerless from a logical stand-point. Ouida hopelessly confuses the Christianity of Christ and the gospels, which is the only religion that has the least vestige of a right to use the name of Christ, with the mongrel profession which the so-called Christian world has comfortably adapted to its own purposes. This, and this only, is the "Christianity" of whose influence the artistic Ouida writes. Her criticisms, her stinging satire, her indignation as a passionate humanitarian, in not the least degree affect or wound the religion of Jesus, or touch the position of his disciples. The writer of these words would denounce as willingly as Ouida the influence of the Christianity which she assails. As, however, Ouida, without the least dishonesty of purpose we must hope, so blinds the mind of the ordinary reader by her attempted fusion of the false and the real, it will be useful to deal with her words in such wise as to assist the reader to a disentanglement.

We have said advisedly that we hope Ouida writes "without the least dishonesty of purpose" respecting the influence of Christianity, for this reason,—that we are convinced by the whole tenor of her essay that she has not the very faintest shadow of an idea of what "Christianity" actually and practically is. Were she not thus hopelessly ignorant, she would be recklessly dishonest.

In the first paragraph of the essay in question we are told in the most quiet way imaginable: "In some shape or other its doctrines dominate the *whole* of Europe and America and Australasia." Our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles never proposed to themselves the task or object of "dominating" the world, or any part of it, in this dispensation. They simply and only proposed to call out *from* all nations, by the preaching of the gospel and by the power of the Holy Ghost alone, a people willingly separated unto God by an individual acceptance of Christ, by a personal trust in his promises and in his finished redemption of the cross. "Ye are not of the world; I have chosen you out of the world," says the Christ to his disciples, by the power of the Holy Ghost when the gospel is preached. "God visits the Gentiles to take out of them a people for his name." "The friendship of the world is enmity with God." "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye

[Christians] transformed by the renewing of your mind." "If any man *be* in Christ [*i. e.* a Christian], he is a new creature."

Thus do neither Christians nor Christianity "dominate," or attempt to "dominate," any part of the world. Their mission is to call out a willing, rejoicing, enfranchised people "*from* the world," and of them to form a magnificent cosmopolitan fraternity of liberty and love. This people is "*in* the world, but *not of* it." These disciples of Jesus may be found in all the various sects and church organizations of so-called Christendom. Their personal faith in an ever-present Saviour at their side "dominates" their hearts and lives, and interpenetrates the least and largest actions of their daily life. They are the witnesses of Jesus; they are his representatives to the restless, peaceless world around them. The world itself "takes knowledge of them that they have been with Jesus," and they themselves confess, "I live, yet not I; Christ liveth in me."

We dwell thus profusely upon this fundamental mistake in the first paragraph of Ouida's paper because, by doing so, we, on the threshold of our subject, show the fallacy that underlies the whole effort of our artist's pen.

Before parting with this first paragraph we must call attention to the outspoken confession respecting Judaism as "inexorably potent on the Jewish tribes." Ouida evidently sees and acknowledges the magnificent and unique phenomenon which the Jewish race thus ethnologically presents, inviting the analysis of the world. Every phenomenon has a cause. The greater the phenomenon, the greater, correspondingly, will be the cause. The Jew holds in his hands his history. In that history this cause of his phenomenal existence is distinctly and with the clearest minuteness described. He did not write this history himself; it is a stream from a fountain that burst forth 4,000 years ago amid the Mesopotamian plains. Abraham, the founder of the race, declared that the Creator of the universe called him forth from all the families of men, and spoke these words to him: "By myself have I sworn that in blessing I will bless thee, and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed." For 2,000 years this race held the little plot of our globe where Europe, Asia, and Africa conjoined. Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Syrian, Greek, strove to annihilate this race in vain. A power of all might made this race indestructible.

Shall we startle Ouida or the eyes that scan these lines? It was the influence of Christianity. It was the Christ-idea. It was the power of God. But when the mystic race of Abraham had produced the Christ and crucified him, that which all the empires of earth had striven and failed to do, the Roman hosts of Titus and Vespasian accomplished to the full. The Jewish race had finished the *first part* of their mission to humanity; they had given the Christ and his salvation to all the nations, that all amongst the families of men who would accept the blessing promised to Abraham might be saved. And behold the gospel goes forth from Palestine to all the peoples of our earth; and the Jews, unwilling witnesses though they be, themselves are scattered through the world with their history in their hands to prove the fact—Christianity is no myth! Its influence and power are *unique*, and consequently divine! We thank God that he forces Ouida, *et hoc genus omne*, to gaze upon Judaism and confess its "inexorably potent" might. Judaism is divine; it cannot be destroyed until the church of Jesus has been gathered, and the Jewish race restored, according to God's promises by the prophets, to Palestine, there to await and welcome their own Messiah king. There, at his second coming, he shall reign in righteousness, and the influence of Christianity shall "dominate" the world. That their restoration shall be a universal blessing St. Paul declares (Romans, xi., 15): "If the casting-away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be but life from the dead?" The second part of their magnificent mission to the nations shall then begin.

After her confession respecting Judaism, the cradle from which Christianity arose, our author confesses even of the Christianity which she assails: "To live and spread as it has done, Christianity must have some vital force within itself superior to those possessed by other creeds. It must be suited to the human race in some manner which the religion of Mohammed and [those (?)] of Israel have alike missed." Leaving the "religion of Israel" out of the question as one which was never intended or adapted, as we have shown, for any but Israel, we pass on to examine how Ouida answers her own statement respecting the strange vital force of Christianity so peculiar to itself. It is most inadequate and contradictory. In the sentence quoted she cannot by any possibility be speaking of the Christianity she assails, but of what we Christians call Chris-

tianity, viz., the faith in and the following of the dearly-loved and trusted Christ, for she speaks of its inherent "vital force" superior to all other creeds. But of the Christianity she attacks, she says a few lines further on: "For of all absolutely powerless things on earth Christianity is the most powerless." Our author here either flatly contradicts herself in the most curious and barefaced manner, or she is speaking of a totally different "Christianity" from that which she asserts to be of such unique vital power. We must apologize for Ouida. She is confusing herself needlessly. The matter is very simple. Sham Christianity, she and we alike agree, is "powerless," but the true religion of Jesus Christ, to use her own words, "must have some vital force within itself superior to those possessed by other creeds." But now, in attempting to account for this "vital force within itself," Ouida becomes more than ever illogical, contradictory, and confused, and she reminds us forcibly of a man who has fallen into deep water and cannot swim. She says that this "vital force within itself has probably been due to the socialistic element contained in it." So that, after all, the "vital force" is not in the faith and life of Jesus, not *in Christianity* at all, but "probably" in "the socialistic element contained in it." To us this seems sheer contradictory nonsense.

Let us pursue Ouida still further in her flounderings in the deep waters. In the next paragraph she gives us a specimen of her "socialistic element" in Christianity, and so explains herself as to make one quite sorry for her. She seems to write at random, for the purpose of accumulating words to fill up her page anyhow. "The evangels are essentially the dream of a poor man; the vision of a peasant asleep after a day of toil. . . . 'Come unto me all ye who sorrow [it is labor] and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.' It is the invitation to the poor; not to the rich." We think that Ouida has here reached an apogee of —we really must say it—rubbish. And yet imagine the multitudes who thoughtlessly and readily swallow such fluent words from an eloquent pen. Is it really for one moment to be supposed that Jesus Christ, when he uttered this divine and powerful invitation to "the weary and heavy-laden," referred to peasants, tired by work in the fields, and with their spades and hoes and forks burdening their backs? Were it not irreverent, almost convulsive laughter would drown the sound of such eloquence

as this. It is to the weary and heavy-laden of our race, tired of the restlessness and strife, the peacelessness of a sinful, hungry, and dying world, that Jesus himself is love and rest; is pardon and peace; is power and righteousness; is wisdom and light; is liberty and joy. And this offer, this welcome, are to all alike, peasant and prince, wealthy and poor, high and low, philosopher and little child, sinner and saint; all, all. "Whosoever will, let him come." "Come unto me; I will give you rest." He knew he could give it, and so he calls us, weary and heavy-laden in heart, in conscience, in intellect, in life. "Come unto me; I will give you rest." This he has given to *us* who trust him. As St. Paul has said, "We therefore which have believed do enter into rest."

After this it seems futile indeed to help Ouida out of her mazes of muddle, for when she goes on to slash right and left at her "Christianity," she seems like Don Quixote attacking most heroically the windmill. And Christianity has a "vital force" greater than all other creeds, and this "vital force" is "probably" its "socialistic element." This element is fairly represented in Jesus Christ's offer of "rest" to "weary" peasants and "heavy-laden" fishermen! Therefore it is most "absolutely powerless," "a shibboleth, a husk, a robe with no heart beating in it, a winged angel carved in dead wood." "Christianity," continues Ouida, "has opened the flood-gates to socialism." But Jesus says: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." His apostle says: "Fear God; honor the king"; "Give honor to the king as supreme." After having declared that the religion of Jesus has a "vital force" superior to all other creeds, our author contradicts herself most mercilessly again in the next sentence we quote, where, speaking of Jesus as "the Buddha of Galilee," she says that he "has not one-thousandth part of the direct influence on his professional disciples that is possessed by the Buddha of India." Did Ouida know anything of the teaching of Gautama, and of the religious attitude of the Buddhism of to-day, even she would not have had the courage to pen a sentence so diametrically and profoundly opposed to fact. The disciples of Buddha Gautama, even the most orthodox Buddhists of to-day, the Cingalese yellow-robed ones, utterly repudiate the atheistic teachings of Gautama, and also are compelled to confess that of the five hundred millions

of Buddhists now living, they are not aware of *one* who has attained to the salvation of Buddha—Nirvana. The Buddhists of to-day are no more Buddhists than Ouida is a Christian.

And now comes the question, Are there in existence any professing disciples of Jesus who not only adoringly believe all the Christian faith, but have found peace, joy, liberty, righteousness, grace, rest, satisfaction, salvation, by a God-inspired personal trust in Jesus as their all in all? From every tongue and tribe and nation countless multitudes, by their tongues and lives and actions, answer "Yes." The blessed season of Jesus's birth is illuminated with the brilliancy and the power of the love and life of Jesus. The glad Christmas chimes and songs from the echoing temples of Jesus throughout the world proclaim the gladness with which his birth has thrilled the hearts of men for 1,800 years. In hospitals, on countless beds of pain, in orphan homes, upon multitudes unnumbered of hungry and weary and lonely ones, the smile of the Christmas child has shone, and his birthday for the 1,890th time has banished their sadness and touched them with gladness untold. Loving eyes of the disciples of Jesus have looked the tenderness of the Child-God into their hearts, forcing them to Christmas smiles, and won their voices to join the glad yule-songs of love.

While the earth is ringing and thrilling with the joy of Bethlehem let us repeat again poor Ouida's words of weird untruth: "The Buddha of Galilee has not one-thousandth part of the direct influence on his professional disciples that is possessed by the Buddha of India." Could a million demons yell the lie in frantic chorus, the Christmas chimes, the carols from the hearts of men which "the Buddha of Galilee" has won, and in which he lives and reigns as prince of peace, would drown the discord in their sea of song.

To show the evil influence of *Christianity* upon men, Ouida instances a European who goes to church on Sunday and says, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us," and then on Monday prosecutes a boy who stole a ball of string. We do not think that this and similar sentences need unravelment from us; but we refer to this sentence as characteristically curious and contradictory. Supposing, for argument's sake, it were well for the juvenile thief to go unpunished,—which may be certainly questioned,—is Christianity to be blamed for the

sake of a man who repudiates its teaching and principles simply because he is permitted to enter her temples of worship ? It is the same with the attacks upon Christianity which follow.

Here is a climax of rhetoric : "The manufactory of nitro-glycerine on the Arran shore is the emblem of the world that calls itself Christian." It may be, but it is not the emblem of Christianity or the result of its divine influence either. Ouida, watch at midnight by the dying beds of countless suffering brothers and sisters of our common family of man ; watch and listen, too. For love of Jesus only, ministering hands are soothing the long, lonely hours of those nights of dying, and accents of tenderest sympathy are brightening with glad hope and calm the pain-filled weary ones. Ministering, patient love for the orphan, the destitute, the outcast,—unknown where Jesus is unknown too,—these are some few reflections of the influence of Christianity throughout every land of earth ; no sea is too stormy or too wide to cross ; no mountain pass too high to scale ; no depth of misery and want, of woe and crime, too deep for the influence of Christianity to penetrate. The love and life of Jesus, his spirit and power, are the "vital force" of which you speak, which causes Christianity, as you yourself confess, to surpass all other creeds.

Our author must have one word of answer to a taunt she flings all recklessly at the religion of Jesus in the matter of human love. "Christianity ever has been the enemy of human love ; it forever cursed and expelled and crucified the one passion which sweetens and smiles on human life. . . . It made of this, the angel of life, a shape of sin and darkness, and bade the woman whose lips were warm with the first kisses of her lover believe herself accursed and ashamed." A more desperate slash of base ingratitude and untruth was surely never penned. What power was it that produced the spectacle of our countless pure and lovely homes in England and America and other lands? What influence was it that dawned on the Greek and Roman world and rendered almost impossible in civilized society such scenes as the "Satires" of Juvenal or the works of Plato portray ? that elevated women and human love to a platform almost divine ? Was it not the word and spirit of him who at the Cana nuptials gave them wine from water, and stamped with his presence the highest benediction on human love ? But, listen, Ouida, listen. Is it simple

lust, not love, of which you speak—degrading, bestial, cruel lust, that gloats upon, then tramples down, the weak and trusting to a very hell on earth? Ah! then 'tis true Christianity is enemy to this, for very love of love itself, which is from God. Lust never sweetened human life, but ever marred its loveliness. Is lust "the angel of life"? Nay, rather, it is the angel of a living death; the woe that saturates the generations of our race. Love is of God; lust dares to desecrate it, and call itself by its fair name; but lust wears out at last,—love never,—and leaves its cursed brand upon the soul and brow of the heartless profligate, man and woman too, leaving only the burning memories of a peaceless life to follow the wretched slave of lust to a gloomy grave.

We could add numberless other wild untruths from our author's essay, flung with flippant carelessness at the religion of Jesus. Christianity, says Ouida, "has bronght on all the unnamable filth which was made a virtue in the monastic orders." By any honest-minded opponent of Christ's religion, such a charge as this would be regarded as not only false, but absurd. Any monastery, or any other professedly-Christian abode, where "unnamable" or namable "filth" was "made a virtue," would not have the faintest claim to the name of Christ, who bids his disciples to resist the impure thought and gives them grace to do so. We ourselves know of men, and women too, once captives of impurity, who now, by a living trust in Jesus, have gained the liberty of soul that springs from purity and blesses humanity.

"Krupp guns, shrapnel shells, nitro-glycerine, and submarine torpedoes are the practical issues of evangelicism all over the civilized world." Reader, where and from whom, think you, were these strange words born? You answer, "In the dangerous wards of a mad-house." No. From Ouida in her writing-room, calmly composing an article for THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Her opinion of American readers, unless she is mad herself, must be of a strange texture indeed, or she surely would scarce have penned a sentence so insane. She might with equal logic and force declare that she and her novels, which American ladies call "obscene," are the "practical issues" of the gospel of Jesus, who enjoins us to "put up the sword into the sheath," and who by his prophet declares that when he shall come to reign, and "the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters

cover the seas, the nations shall not learn war any more"; "they shall beat their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning-hooks."

Another sentence from the laboratory of our authoress: "But of mercy, of pity, of forbearance, of true self-sacrifice, what has it [Christianity] ever taught the world?" Shall we even condescend to answer such a query as this? Does not every page of the spiritual history of the gospel's progress through the ages bristle with many of Christ's disciples who have been instruments of mercy, pity, self-sacrifice, and tenderness, in the midst of an aching, restless, and pain-filled world? Ouida, on your right hand and on your left, let Elizabeth Fry and Florence Nightingale reply to your query for Christian women in the century of *your* day; for Christian men let Gordon answer, and Father Damien too. These are but representative and historic names of our century. There are vast multitudes behind them of Christian men and women, who have worked and are working their lives away for love of Jesus, *in mercy, pity, forbearance, and true self-sacrifice,* unknown, unpraised, except by Jesus, and the suffering ones to whom and for whom in his dear name they minister. Amid the dangers of the battlefields of earth, gentle sisters, brave, patient priests, are ministering bodily and spiritual consolations to the wounded and the dying. In fever-haunted slums and cholera-beset cities, the disciples of Jesus tend the deserted sufferers. The pity of the Christ and his infinite compassion are the nurse and the watcher to-day by the side of humanity's sorrow and pain, and all through the changing years the influence of Christianity is the soother, the healer, the friend.

"Even of death Christianity has made a terror which was unknown to the gay calmness of the Pagan and the stoical repose of the Indian." Has Ouida watched the *Christian* die? Has she seen the soul that trusts in Jesus, who is his disciple, stand by the Jordan brink, waiting for the parting of the waters? We have seen Christians, old and young, rich and poor, learned and simple, there; the patient gladness, the joyful waiting, the calm assurance in a Saviour's love, and, shall we add?—ah yes, we will —the testimony of their dying lips to visions of angels, and of Jesus in his glory, with smiles of radiant welcome to the child of his salvation. So frequent, so common, are scenes like these that it seems but needless to repeat them. "O grave, where is thy

victory? O death, where is thy sting?" is the dying whisper of gladness on the breath of the pilgrim of Zion as he nears the ending of his exile time. Christianity, by its revelation of the consequences of sin, does cast an awful terror, which the ignorance of the Indian veiled, over the dying hour of the obstinate sinner who deliberately rejects the pardoning love and saving grace of God in his son, Jesus Christ, and in the power of his enlightening spirit of truth. Thus the influence of Christianity by the sinner's dying bed gives the last warning of a saving fear, to win the sinner to the waiting-to-be-gracious one.

Ouida tells us that cant and conceit are two of the children that Christianity has produced, and she proves her statement by saying that Christianity cleanses the sinner "in the confessional that he may go forth and sin again freely," and that the man who, "in the Protestant form," "listens to sermons and kneels at sacraments," need not be disturbed "as to the tenor of his private life." We reply: This is the very exact opposite of what Christianity teaches Catholic and Protestant alike. It would be well for Ouida to give chapter and verse to prove the truth of this atrocious statement from any Catholic or Protestant authority, or apologize to her readers for so grossly insulting them by such daring words of falseness, clothed alone in robes of alluring rhetorical flourish, and, at all events, *literary* "cant."

And Christianity produces "conceit"—how? By teaching man that he alone "out of these innumerable spheres is the object of his master's love and sacrifice"; that "the common multitudes [of men] can be no more in the scale of creation than the billions of insects"; that "God himself took human shape, underwent human birth, was fed with human food, and suffered human pains. It is intelligible that, believing this, the most arrogant self-conceit has puffed up the human crowd, and that with the most cruel indifference they have sacrificed to themselves all the countless suffering multitudes which they are taught to call 'the beasts which perish.' It is this selfishness and self-esteem" which have been "fostered in the human race by Christianity." We have reproduced this passage in order to give Ouida fair play on this point, and to place our readers in possession of her unique opinion that a man and an insect are in one and the same scale on the platform of creation! And if a Bacon, or a Sir Isaac Newton, or a Washington imagines that he is any better than a cockroach

or a spider, "Christianity" is to be denounced for inculcating "this selfishness and self-esteem"!

Where Ouida obtained her authority for asserting that Christianity teaches man that he *alone* "out of the these innumerable spheres is the object of his master's love and sacrifice," we do not know; it would have been better if she had given chapter and verse for her statement. Christianity teaches that "God's mercy is over *all* his works," from the most resplendent sun in the "milky way" to the tiniest being on our little planet. The ant storing its food proves this love. If any other world besides our own needs redemption, Christianity teaches us, by inference, that the love of Jesus would reach its need as well as ours.

"The great majority of mankind has drawn from it [Christianity] chiefly two lessons—self-concentration and socialism. 'Rock of ages, cleft for *me*,' sighs the Christian." The reader must form his own conclusion as to the point of argument contained in this lucid association of ideas. We cannot help him.

There is a strong point made by Ouida towards the close of her essay, and it is this: she rightly calls the attention of the reader to the following "absurd discrepancy": "The Italian nation, calling itself Catholic, drove out thousands of Catholic monks and Catholic nuns from their religious houses and seized their possessions by the force of the secular arm." The only explanation is that the Italian government may *call* itself "Catholic" without being so; and, by its action in breaking up religious houses, it proves itself to be, not what it *calls* itself, but what it *is*—non-Catholic as well as non-Christian. It has only recently apotheosized publicly a noted leader of so-called free-thought, of not many generations past.

The two final paragraphs of Ouida's essay are really fine. There seems a ring of true enthusiasm in her closing tones. But, alas! the confusion in her mind respecting Christianity, spurious and true, is clearly revealed to the last.

May it be that our words, poor as they are and unlike her own, destitute of the music of her rhetoric, the melody of her wild sentences of storm, may yet open her mind to the fact that there is in the world of to-day a Christianity vital and true! that this Christianity is satisfying and resting the weary and heavy-laden ones of our still hungering and tired race! It consists in a simple trust in the living Christ, which trust takes hold of his

strength, and enables his believing disciple to follow his example and to become a messenger of light and liberty, of mercy and rest, to those who are hurrying restlessly on along their time-life to the tomb and the great eternity beyond.

The toil of time, the fever of fame, the pleasures of passion, are slowly, but surely, for us and for Ouida, ebbing and waning away. When she and we are standing at last upon the eternal shore, whence the tide of time is receding for us forever, may she and we rejoice in the embrace of the everlasting arms of our welcoming and glorious Lord, to realize forever that he is to us "the way, the truth, and the life"!

IGNATIUS, O. S. B.
(Monk.)

THE DEPOSITION OF MR. PARNELL.

BY JUSTIN McCARTHY, M. P.

THE cause of home rule for Ireland appeared during all the earlier and most even of the latter part of the last year to be moving on from steady success after success to a soon and complete triumph. The whole object of years of deliberate obstruction and also of deliberate self-sacrifice seemed to have been accomplished. The attention of the public of Great Britain had been aroused to the Irish claims. The democracy of England, Scotland, and Wales had been brought into cordial alliance with the Irish Home-Rulers. The whole Liberal party had made home rule the foremost plank in their platform. Mr. Gladstone had proclaimed it everywhere that the rest of his splendid political career was to be given up to the carrying of home rule. Victory after victory at the bye-elections had shown that the constituencies of Great Britain everywhere were won round to the home-rule cause. There was not a reasonable man on either side of the field who did not feel quite satisfied that the result of the next general elections would be to bring into power a government pledged first of all to home rule. The Irish Parliamentary party were acclaimed by everybody as an example of discipline and unity never seen before in any of the constitutional struggles of Europe.

The change was sudden. The Irish Parliamentary party is split in two,—the small minority following Mr. Parnell; the majority having formally deposed him from his place as leader. The Tories are triumphant and exultant. The Liberals, who were longing two months ago for a general election, now pour forth fervent, although mostly silent, prayers that the dissolution may be long postponed. *The Times* newspaper praises Mr. Parnell, and says the cause of home rule is dead and buried, for our generation at all events. I do not remember any such sudden catas-

trophe of change taking place in the fortunes of a man, a political party, and a national movement.

In the comments I have to offer it will naturally be assumed that I am putting merely the case for the majority of the Irish Parliamentary party—for the men who have by their votes and their voices deposed Mr. Parnell from that position of Parliamentary leadership which he had held so long and in which he had rendered so much service to his country. I say frankly that the assumption is quite correct: all I propose to do is to state to the best of my power the case for the majority of the Irish party. It is my firm conviction that the majority of the party acted wisely and patriotically; and not only patriotically and wisely, but also consistently. I say this with full recollection and recognition of the fact that we reëlected Mr. Parnell to the leadership of the party on the day of the opening of Parliament, November 25, and that the majority set on foot a meeting of the party for his deposition a day or two after.

Let us follow the process of events. The trial of the O'Shea divorce case came on a few days before the meeting of Parliament. To the surprise of almost every one, the case was undefended. What was the Irish Parliamentary party to do? Were its members to throw over a leader who had rendered them splendid service merely because an action in the divorce court had been allowed to go undefended against him? I say at once that I do not think the Irish party were bound to make on such grounds any such sacrifice. We were all the less inclined to make it because of the coarse and savage way in which certain writers and preachers in England broke into rabid denunciations not only of Mr. Parnell, but of the men who were associated with him, and even of the country which had given him birth. To read some of these leading articles and these sermons, one might have supposed that Mr. Parnell had invented the sin of adultery and had poisoned with it a previously sound and sinless world. One might have supposed, too, that the Irish people were the only people who had ever consented to be led by any but a Sir Galahad.

But as the days went on it began to be more and more evident that the outcry against Mr. Parnell was something much more serious than the mere scream of hysterical prudery. To some of us it soon became apparent that if Mr. Parnell continued to be the leader of the Irish Parliamentary party, the cause of home

rule would be put in grievous danger. Now, I am an absolute believer in the necessity of recognizing and taking full account of forces in every political movement. I am not for wasting breath in declaiming about them or against them. I was not concerned, as many were, to raise the question whether a man's private character must be unsullied if he is to remain a political leader. I was not concerned in the speculation whether there were or were not men in leading places in the House of Commons whose private lives would not bear the scrutiny of the White-Ribbon Association. The great fact which concerned me was the fact of which I was becoming more and more conscious, that public opinion in these countries would not stand Mr. Parnell. Yet I must own that I was prepared to run some risk even to the cause and the country for the sake of a leader who had led us on to so many triumphs.

On Monday, November 24, the day before the opening of Parliament, I received a letter telling me that Mr. Gladstone would be coming to London that day and would wish to see me. I saw him, and he laid before me his views as to the effect of Mr. Parnell's continued leadership. These views were, as everybody now knows, that under such conditions it would be impossible for us to carry the next general elections, and that therefore home rule was gone for years—perhaps for a generation. Mr. Gladstone told me that under such circumstances he could have no hope of carrying home rule for us; that he could not expect such a prolongation of his life as would enable him to see the final victory. The loss of the general elections would mean, he pointed out, the postponement of home rule for at least the length of one Parliament—that is, for five or six years—and perhaps for much more. He told me he had been expecting some personal communication from Mr. Parnell. Why? Because he had any right to assume that Mr. Parnell was bound to communicate with him? Not at all; but because in 1882 after the murders in the Phœnix Park—at a time when Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell were political enemies, and not political allies—Mr. Parnell wrote to him offering to retire from public life if Mr. Gladstone thought such a step would be of advantage to the cause of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone asked me if I knew whether he was likely to receive any such communication now. I could only say that I knew nothing whatever on the subject. Then he asked me to communicate his

view of the situation to Mr. Parnell, and, if necessary, to my colleagues of the Irish party.

Even still, I frankly own, I did not think the actual deposition of Mr. Parnell was necessary. Mr. Gladstone said nothing to me which led me to believe that he contemplated resigning the position of Liberal leader in the event of Mr. Parnell's persisting in the leadership of the Irish party. I presume that Mr. Gladstone had not then made up his mind to any such course. Therefore all that I had present in my mind was Mr. Gladstone's conviction that, if Mr. Parnell remained, the general elections would be lost. I still thought that the situation might be retrieved without the formal deposition of Mr. Parnell; that Mr. Parnell might be reëlected if he desired it, and might keep out of public life for a time, and that things might yet go well with us. Mr. Parnell, in full possession of all that Mr. Gladstone had told me, still declared that he would offer himself for reëlection as sessional chairman of the party. It is our custom to elect all our officers at the opening of every session, and we could not put off or delay the decision. We reëlected Mr. Parnell. My first serious doubt as to the wisdom of the course we had taken was called up in my mind when, to my great surprise, I saw Mr. Parnell enter the House of Commons—the debating chamber itself—and take his seat in his familiar place just as if nothing whatever had happened.

This was the day of the opening of Parliament. On the evening of that day we heard some rumor that Mr. Gladstone was about to issue a letter announcing his intention of retiring from the leadership of the Liberal party. We found, after some hurried inquiry, that this was true, and that the letter had been read to Mr. Parnell by Mr. John Morley—after the meeting of our party and the reëlection of all the officers. Then we found ourselves confronted with a new condition of things. No man in his senses could believe in the possibility of a speedy success for home rule without Mr. Gladstone as leader of the Liberal party. It is beyond all question that Mr. Gladstone's personal influence has been needed and taxed to the full to carry with him some of his influential colleagues on this question of home rule. Men like Lord Spencer, John Morley, Shaw Lefevre, Stansfeld, and others are, of course, convinced and ardent Home-Rulers; but there are others who have accepted home rule simply because Gladstone said it was right. Now, we might "resolute till the

cows come home," but we could not carry home rule in the English Parliament without the help of one of the great English Parliamentary parties.

Mr. Parnell has lately compared himself to Wellington and Washington and other great soldiers and conquerors. Washington and Wellington were very great men, but neither of them could have carried his cause to victory without the aid of certain numbers of men to do the fighting. If we of the Irish party had absolutely the whole Irish representation, that of the University of Dublin included, in our hands, we should still be but a miserable minority in the British Parliament. One might as well tell Washington and Wellington to go in and win without cannon, bayonets, and powder as tell an Irish Parliamentary party to go in and win home rule without the votes of either Liberals or Conservatives.

After years and years of a policy specially designed and conducted to that end, we had won over the support of the great Liberal party of England, Scotland, and Wales. We had won over to our side the greatest Parliamentary orator, the most influential Parliamentary leader, of our time. More than that, we had had to surrender in our desperate struggle all the weapons by which we had been enabled to make the struggle effective. We went in for the rousing-up of the people—above all, the democracy—of Great Britain. We had faith in our cause. We believed that, if we could only obtain a hearing for that cause, it must succeed. We resolved to make England hear it; and our only possible platform for such a purpose was the House of Commons. Therefore we started our policy of obstruction. We said, If Parliament and the English people will not hear us, they shall hear nothing else. We succeeded—we compelled a hearing—and the hearing compelled conviction. But we had to sacrifice our weapon of obstruction. Parliament took fright at the use we had made of it, and abolished the rules and forms which enabled a small, a numerically-insignificant, minority to hold the immense majority at bay. Never again can a small party in the House of Commons do the work that we once did.

Therefore, when we heard that Mr. Gladstone believed he could do nothing more for us, and must give up the fight, we at once called to mind the fact that it was for us not merely the going-back to the position of ten years ago, but the going to a

very much worse and weaker position. We felt that we should be like poor Hector when he has allowed himself to be deprived of his sword and armor, and is confronted with the enemy whom under the very best of conditions he could scarcely hope to master. Still we did not think of absolutely deposing Mr. Parnell. We desired to confer with him upon the actual facts. We desired to hear from him what, under these new conditions, he deliberately proposed to do. We assumed that any patriotic man would have said under the circumstances: "I will not stand in the way. If my leadership threatens to be fatal to the present chances of home rule, I will at once withdraw from a position in which I can only be a peril to my country." Therefore we summoned by formal requisition a meeting of the party—summoned it after the regular and ordinary fashion—in order that a resolution might be proposed which invited Mr. Parnell simply to reconsider his position. We hoped even still that he would be a help to us, and not a hindrance.

Now, the policy of Mr. Gladstone in issuing his letter has been much criticised in Ireland. It was precipitate, some people say; he might on a question of such great importance have more fully consulted Irish opinion before he made up his mind. I am not much concerned to argue or to enter on this dispute. I have, as a party man, nothing to do with it. If Achilles determines to withdraw from the fight, the one fact which concerns me, a poor ally of the Greeks, is that Achilles is withdrawing from the fight and that we must see whether we can get on without him or not. It will be of some historic interest years hence to consider whether Mr. Gladstone might not well have given us a little more time. But at the moment, and even still, that did not seem to me a matter to make much talk about. I do not deny that it might properly occupy the attention of those who were mere outsiders and lookers-on; but I say that we who were in the fight had little or nothing to do with it. What we had to face was the fact that Mr. Gladstone had made up his mind under certain conditions to withdraw from public life. I may say, however, that I fully believe Mr. Gladstone had no alternative. Strong as he is in the affections of his people, he could not have stood up against the storm of public opinion if he had endeavored to continue in alliance with Mr. Parnell.

Mr. Parnell soon made it quite clear that he was determined

not to resign. I need not refer at any length to the early struggles in committee-room No. 15, or to the futile negotiations in which Mr. Parnell induced us to engage. The one great central fact of the new situation was the issue of Mr. Parnell's manifesto. When that letter appeared in print, most of his colleagues felt that all was over. We saw no possibility of leadership in the man who had written and published such a letter. It began by accusing the majority of his own colleagues of having been corrupted by the wire-pullers of the English Liberal party. Only think of it,—the very men—he named some of them in the committee-room—who had fought the great battles of the party with him, and more often still without him, in the worst and darkest parts of the struggle! The party—I say it deliberately, and I speak as one who knows and must know—could never have been kept together without the energy, the eloquence, the inexhaustible patriotic fervor and patience of these men. Their one great desire was to let no hint ever reach the public that they were sometimes dissatisfied with their leader. Their resolve was that in the face of the enemy there should be no mutiny seen, no murmur heard, in the national ranks.

The manifesto began with this attack on these men. It then went on to attack Mr. Gladstone and Mr. John Morley, to accuse them of having abandoned the cause of Ireland, and to assure the world that Mr. Parnell had learned this fact at his interview with Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden just a year before;—and he had kept this most momentous discovery a secret from his colleagues for a whole year. He had allowed us to go about the country in all directions glorifying Gladstone as the hope and safety of the Irish race. He had done the same thing himself—he had time after time declared that he had the most perfect confidence in Mr. Gladstone. He had done this as lately as last June, six months after the Hawarden interview. He had called Mr. Gladstone "our leader"—which no Irish member but Mr. Parnell ever had done, for much as we admire Mr. Gladstone, and profound as is our gratitude to him, we do not admit that any leader of an English party can ever be the leader of the Irish people.

Take it what way one might, this manifesto made it clear to most of us that Mr. Parnell was henceforward impossible as a leader. Suppose his recollection of the conversation at Hawarden were correct: then what a snare he had led his whole party into!

He knew a year ago that Gladstone would not bring in any home-rule scheme which the Irish people could possibly accept—and he had never told a word of this to his colleagues; he had, in fact, told them the very opposite. Suppose his recollection was inaccurate,—"curiously the reverse of the truth," to adopt a phrase of Carlyle's,—what manner of leader could he be who could fall into such hopeless confusion and mistake? In any case, where is the English party which could ever again enter into any confidential understanding with such a man? Mr. Gladstone says that Mr. Parnell's account of the conversation is utterly inaccurate, and that Mr. Parnell and he parted in the most complete understanding and agreement as to the principles of the home-rule measure. Mr. Gladstone says that Mr. Parnell is utterly wrong about the police question, about the question of representation at Westminster, about everything concerning which he has made a statement in his manifesto. Mr. Morley, for his part, says just the same thing. It is not for me to discuss the relative credibility of the different statements, but it is evident, at all events, that Mr. Parnell could not have been accurate when he publicly declared that Ireland could trust Gladstone on the home-rule question, and afterwards when he publicly declared that he knew all the time that Gladstone was not to be trusted.

The manifesto, I think I ought to say, did not come upon me by surprise. Mr. Parnell told me he was going to publish it, and gave me a general idea of what its contents were to be. I remonstrated as strongly as I could against any such publication, and I prevailed on Mr. Parnell to delay its issue for one day; this was all the delay I could obtain. Mr. Parnell afterwards invited me to the house of a colleague in London to hear the manifesto read. I objected, of course, to the whole thing from beginning to end, and I told him and his friends that I firmly believed its publication would render reconciliation impossible. That is exactly what its publication did. The conviction was brought home to the minds of most of us that the man who published such a statement was absolutely unfit for any position of leadership. The English people had been slowly, but very steadily, growing into sympathy and affection for the Irish people. Suddenly the man who claims to be the leader of the Irish race breaks into a shrieking denunciation of the English people and the English leaders, and does his very best to rekindle all the fierce and destructive fires of race

hatred which we had all believed to be happily extinguished. And what was the object of all this? Simply to maintain himself in the position of leader of the Irish Parliamentary party—in the sessional leadership of the party!

We, the majority of that party, had no power to depose Mr. Parnell from the leadership of the Irish people. Only he himself and the Irish people could do that—as he and they have, in fact, since done. But we could not do it. The only place in our gift was that of sessional chairman of the Irish party—a place for which there is an election at the opening of every session. We did not propose to expel him from Parliament and public life. We have no power to do anything of the kind. If Mr. Parnell's presence in public life were so necessary for the salvation of Ireland that it was worth throwing over Gladstone and the English people to secure it, surely such a man must be powerful enough to command in politics even though he had ceased to be sessional chairman of the Irish Parliamentary party. The truth is that, from whatever cause, under whatever pressure of feeling, Mr. Parnell appeared suddenly to have changed his whole nature and his very ways of speech. We knew him before as a man of superb self-restraint—cool, calculating, never carried from the moorings of his keen intellect by any waves of passion around him—a man with the eye and the foresight of a born commander-in-chief. We had now in our midst a man seemingly quite incapable of self-control; a man ready at any moment and on the smallest provocation to break into a very tempest and whirlwind of passion; a man of the most reckless and self-contradictory statements; a man who could condescend to the most trivial and vulgar personalities, who could encourage and even indulge in the most ignoble and humiliating brawls.

I do not refer to anything that was said or done at the Kilkenny election, for we had made our decision on the events that occurred before that election. I say that even if the divorce case had never occurred, even if the manifesto had never been written, what we heard and saw in committee-room No. 15—supposing those meetings called together for some other reason than the divorce court and the Gladstone letter and the Parnell manifesto—would have convinced most of us concerning the necessity of a change in the leadership. I do not take back one single word of anything I have ever spoken or written as to the capacity for

leadership which Mr. Parnell has shown in the past. I am only too well aware of the great ability for fighting a losing cause which he showed in committee-room No. 15. But the fighting power which he displayed in the committee-room was the power of a gladiator and not that of a leader. I can admire the qualities of a gladiator, but when a man becomes a mere gladiator, I will not serve under him as a commander-in-chief.

I indorse all that I have ever said about Mr. Parnell's services in the past. I say that when he was among us there was no man on the whole equal to him. But then, I cannot forget the fact that he was not very often among us, and that it was sometimes very hard indeed to get within hearing of him when a crisis was at hand. The English Liberals would not have endured even Mr. Gladstone as a leader for a single year on such conditions. We were willing to endure almost anything rather than find public fault in the face of the enemy with a leader gifted with such rare gifts and crowned with such splendid successes. But I may ask any one who knows anything about our struggle where the Irish Parliamentary party would have been years and years ago but for men like William O'Brien, John Dillon, Thomas Sexton, and T. M. Healy.

Mr. Parnell justifies his persistence in holding out against the majority of the Irish party, and, as I believe, against the Irish people, on the ground that he is the only man who can save Ireland. I have myself a general distrust of self-proclaimed saviours of society. When a mortal creature is sent to be a saviour of society or anything else, he generally does not know it and goes about his great work because he cannot help it, modestly and unconscious. When Mr. Parnell did his best, his very best, work for Ireland, he never talked about his being the only man who could save the country, and probably never had a thought of the kind in his head. I cannot think so poorly of Ireland and Ireland's national cause as to believe that the hopes and the life of both are dependent on the brain-pan of one man. I do not attribute to Mr. Parnell any deliberate or conscious egotism or self-seeking in all this. "A man," says Victor Hugo, "may be wrecked as is a ship. Conscience is an anchor; but it is terrible as true that like the anchor conscience may be dragged away." I think Mr. Parnell unconsciously allowed his political conscience to be dragged away. He asked again and again what had caused

the crisis—what but Mr. Gladstone's letter? The answer was plain—Mr. Parnell was himself the crisis. He had made himself the crisis—first in the divorce court, next in the manifesto, and finally in committee-room No. 15. We had seen individual authority rise to dictatorship, and the reverence for dictatorship degenerate with some into an absolute fetich worship. The time came at last when we were forced to act. For every one of us the decision was a cruel wrench—a pain never to be forgotten. But the decision had to be taken. We put it off and allowed it to be put off as long as we could, but at last we had to face it. It was made difficult by old allegiance, old friendship, old memories. But the principle of the decision was clear enough, and we saw it.

There was no choice for us between one policy and another; there was no choice for us between one leader and another. Before us lay the deep and dreadful decision between the rescue of our country's fructifying hopes and a slavish adherence to the man who can never now help us to fulfil those hopes, the man who sowed the seed and then blighted the harvest. Yet it was no light choice, nor was it lightly made. Ireland can say now whether she knows herself to be first in the hearts and minds of the men who made it. "After me the deluge," is an intelligible saying—"with me the deluge" was the invitation which Mr. Parnell seemed to offer to his country. "Hold to me and let us be ruined together, cause, country, and all." We did not feel tempted by such a proposition. Nothing but the course we took could have prevented the indefinite delay of the measure that is vital to Ireland's prosperity and progress.

No man's past services make him worth the prolongation of a state of things in which thousands of our people may die in despair, or, worse still, be born into misery, while there are yet helping hands willing, eager, and near to bring succor to a cause that has never before been so near to success. We have been accused, when all is said and done, of nothing worse than a determination to sacrifice, if needful, the political eminence of a man rather than submit to the ruin of a national cause. I think I may say for myself and my colleagues, in the memorable words of Burke's famous Bristol speech, that "in every accident that may happen through life, in pain, in sorrow, in depression and distress, we shall call to mind this accusation—and be comforted."

JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE BRUTALITY OF MAN.

THE article on "The Brutal Sex" in the January number of THE REVIEW is so frank in its pessimism, and so bold in its statements with regard to a subject about which we all think, but seldom speak, that it should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. The writer of it begins his arraignment of his brothers by distinguishing between the kindred qualities of brutality and cruelty, assigning the former to man and the latter to woman. I have no objection to this generalization, though, admitting cruelty to be the "attribute of weakness" and brutality "the vice of strength," we need not go far to find members of the sterner sex who display towards the weaker vessels what the writer in question considers to be the exclusively feminine prerogative, or to discover proofs that, as the women of the French Revolution have demonstrated to us, the weaker vessels may on occasion overstep the barrier which distinguishes the cruel from the brutal. Besides, he evidently forgets that

> "Heaven has no rage like love to hatred turned,
> Nor hell a fury like a woman scorned."

However, I would not for a moment maintain that women are as brutal as men, though their latent capabilities may be as great, but would simply consider the ground on which the critic rests his belief that men have pre-ëminent claims to being regarded as the sex of which the predominant characteristic is that of the brute. This he finds in the attitude of man towards women. "Think for a moment," he says, "what is implied in the single fact that in no part of the world is it deemed safe for a woman to go alone after dark, nor, in many localities, by day even." The reason for this "fact," according to him, is that woman "fears that, if unattended, some man will seek to rob her of her honor." But is it true that "in no part of the world is it deemed safe for a woman to go alone after dark"? It certainly is not true of America. It is immaterial to consider whether it be true of her in other countries, as one exception to this sweeping statement is sufficient to destroy its force. And admitting that woman fears to go out alone after dark, is her fear due to a dread of being robbed of her honor? Surely no American woman of average independence and intelligence, in a decently-protected community, thinks that a walk abroad at night is not "safe" for her, though she may consider it imprudent as a defiance of conventionality or as running the risk of being mistaken for one of that large class of women who are to be found in cities and who have a purpose in being seen alone at a time when the majority of their sisters are "protected." But the assertion that the "unprotected woman" in a large community fears that she will be

"robbed of her honor" if she ventures out under the night shades belongs to the category of the grotesque. The modern man may not be any better in his heart than the Romans of old, those wholesale ravishers of the Sabine women, who, in spite of their wickedness, had the grace, not common among our Don Juans, of marrying those whom they seized, or than the savage Tartars, "strong only to destroy"; but he is a discreet creature, and, knowing well that "swift retributive justice" which falls upon those who do not their sinning as well as their praying in private, wisely refrains from that wholesale robbery of women's honor which this critic would fain make us believe may be practised upon those indiscreet females who venture out at night. He has a strong enough case against "the brutal sex" without yielding to the temptation of misinterpreting and exaggerating facts to make it stronger than the truth admits it to be.

Another manifestation of our author's tendency to exaggerate facts is his statement with regard to the attitude of men toward women, which he defines thus: "Briefly and plainly, it is that man's physical welfare requires for its maintenance the moral ruin of unnumbered thousands of women." I hope there is no need for any one to dwell on this unpleasant statement in order to prove the absurdity of the fact implied in it. It is interesting chiefly because it probes the heart of the social evil and suggests one of the possible reasons why society has thus far been unable to cope with it. The tacit assumption in the minds of a large proportion of men—I cannot add those of even a small quota of women, for I doubt if there is on record an acceptance by a woman of the theory that the social evil is a necessary evil—that a certain proportion of women in every generation, like Carthage of history, must be destroyed for man's bestial gratification, is, I believe, one of the greatest obstacles with which the social-reformer has to contend in his war against immorality. Many men who believe that the "modern Babylons" are essential to the physical welfare of men hold a belief kindred to it in the natural powerlessness of a large portion of their kind to restrain their lower instincts, and therefore tacitly ignore, if they do not defend, the maintenance of them. Assuming both of these beliefs to be false, how are they to be disproved in the minds of men? Deep-rooted as they are, clinging, as they do, like innate prejudices in the very warp and woof of their mental structures, and strengthened by their passage through generations, are they to be destroyed by argument? The arguments of nineteen Christian centuries have been powerless to shake them; and can we expect to do in a day what the combined years of our ancestors failed to effect?

Assuming, on the other hand, that we must have our modern Babylons, it is interesting to ask why we must have them. Here we meet the social problem face to face. God made man and woman for each other—to be united at maturity in the holy bonds of marriage. Can we say that God's design—or nature's design—is followed out by the men and women of to-day? Most men are matured and fit candidates for marriage at twenty, and most women at eighteen. But how seldom do we hear of marriages of men and women at these ages! Our social conditions have run counter to nature's conditions, and it is not surprising that evil consequences should arise from the collision, and that one of these consequences should be the existence and the flourishing of social vice. There is no better way to prevent widespread violations of the marriage law than by marriage. Unhappily the youth of the present day cannot afford to choose a mate at the time when it is natural that he should seek one. Consequently it is not remarkable that rebellious

nature should lure him into those narrow paths leading from nature's path, which is broad enough, but from which he is "banned and barred." The maiden of to-day, too, frequently waits long after the mating-season for her mate to seek her. She must wait till he comes, and he comes perforce, if at all, sadly late. To those who hold up their hands in horror at "the shocking immorality of to-day," I can only say: "Why are you surprised by it? Let us thank God that it is not worse."

The author of "The Brutal Sex" reiterates the old charge against society, that it shows unfairness in condemning immorality in men and condemning women for it. "We forgive the one class," he says, "readily enough, or even deny the need of the exercise of forgiveness: the other class we refuse to respect, if we be men, or if we be women, we refuse to forgive." I believe that if we could investigate the origin of most popular beliefs, whether they be true or false, they would be found to have sprung, if not from a truth, at least from that which had in it elements or the semblance of truth. In the popular horror of fallen women, and the belief that the sin of impurity is greater in woman than in man, there is far more truth than falsity, and on this truth, which so many modern moralists do not hesitate to denounce as pure prejudice, rests the stronghold of morals. Woman is in a sense the repository of morality. She guards the doors of virtue. So long as she is faithful to this charge, society is safe; as soon as she is unfaithful to it, she corrupts not only herself, but posterity. The physical conditions of the sexes would alone make woman's purity of more vital consequence to herself and to the world, even though other considerations did not contribute to this end. When a man sins, he defiles himself alone; but when a woman forgets her honor, a whole family—nay, a whole generation, sometimes even a whole nation—may share the consequences of her shame. Once degraded, she can never regain the physical, even though she may regain the moral, purity which she has lost. This may seem a coarse and a material way of putting her case, but is it not the true one? And, being true, is it not fitting, as her crime is greater than man's, and the consequences thereof more vital, that she should suffer accordingly?

The social evil, great as is the danger to morality which attends a public discussion of it, is one that cries out for reform. We cannot say of it with Hamlet, "Oh, reform it altogether," for experience of the past has shown us that it will not be reformed altogether. But we can at least endeavor to seek out the causes of it and reform these as best we may. Silence with regard to immorality has ceased to be a virtue; and we are beginning to see that it does not necessarily indicate on the part of those who practise it a fine moral sense, as we once supposed that it did. But when we lift the veil which hides the modern Babylons from our gaze, let us try to see the facts presented to us as they are; not exaggerate or belittle them, but meet them squarely and try to solve the problems with which they confront us.

JOHN D. BARRY.

A REPLY TO MR. LECKY.

MR. LECKY, in his paper in the January number of THE REVIEW, takes the same view as Mr. Balfour and Mr. Morley did in former numbers of the effects of Mr. Gladstone's Irish land acts. All are mistaken, and very gravely mistaken, in their conception of the legal effects of the acts in question. They seem to think that Irish landlords are mere rent-chargers, with this

difference in favor of the rent-payer: that he can get the annuity reduced from time to time.

With Mr. Lecky's historical retrospect I decline to deal. I do not think that it has the degree of relevancy to the conclusions summed up in the last four paragraphs that premises and conclusions are required to possess. But he is an authority in political philosophy, as Mr. Morley is in statesmanship, and as Mr. Balfour ought to be. I think it only fair that the American public should be disabused of the ideas, exceedingly erroneous indeed, which the papers of these gentlemen are calculated to impress upon them. I beg, therefore, to submit a few notes on the legal effects of Mr. Gladstone's land legislation, which, I apprehend, will account for much that puzzles fair-minded men with regard to the agrarian agitation in Ireland.

It must first be understood that not all agricultural tenants come within the purview of the land acts; that there are ten classes of tenants "specially excepted" from their operation, and that the lands of the tenants so excepted are by far the most valuable lands in the country. The land legislation was passed to protect the weaker class of tenants on the inferior lands—that class who could not be supposed to enter into their so-called contracts with any freedom. If Mr. Lecky had read Mr. Morley's paper, he would have seen that the relation which subsisted between this class of tenants and their landlords was one of tenure until the year 1860, and not one of contract, but by an act passed in that year the relation was changed to one of contract. The change was not a favorable one for the tenants.

Now, what is the nature of the contracts upon which Mr. Lecky lays so much stress? First, the contracts sprang into existence, without the consent of the tenants, at one blow, by an act of Parliament, in a legislature where the tenants were not represented; secondly, by the contracts one party possessed every power, privilege, and right over the soil "from the sky to the centre of the earth," as the old phrase expressed it; the other party was absolutely and entirely at his mercy.

Under this relation of contract, the tenant built the farmhouse, fenced the fields, drained the marsh, reclaimed the bog, and gave verdure to the barren hillside. For this the landlord rewarded him by increasing his rent whenever calculation or caprice impelled him. Some idea of the value of the tenants' improvements—the improvements upon which the successive increases of rent were charged—may be formed from the fact that the estates of the London Companies in Derry advanced in rent from less than £2,000 a year in 1614 to £160,000 a year in 1880. I had before me, as an investigator under the Arrears Act of 1882, receipts of tenants of that county which disclosed a most startling state of affairs. In one instance the receipt for the rent in the year 1814 was £6 10s.; the receipt when the tenant came before me to get the benefit of the act showed his rent at £37, and nearly treble the government valuation. There were other cases in which the rise of rent was equally striking, and I am bound to say that the picture powerfully affected me. It seemed really as if rent-raising ran a race with the tenants' expenditure. The frightful immoralty of confiscating the results of such expenditure by charging rent upon them, instead of allowing the tenant to reap the benefit, seems never to have struck large classes of opinion in Ireland. It was regarded as a matter of course, strictly within the landlord's rights, and for the exercise of which he was accountable to no one.

The public conscience of England at length became so shocked that Mr. Gladstone was enabled to carry a bill in 1870 which purported to put a check

upon reckless increases of rent and capricious evictions. But the act worked so ineffectively on account of the organized * attack made upon it by the landlords in the county courts that it became necessary to pass the act of 1881, which, according to Mr. Lecky, has "rooted" the tenants "forever on the soil."

If the tenants are "rooted on the soil," how does it happen that they are evicted every day? If the landlords are only rent-chargers, how is it that they exercise seigniorial rights? The fact is that all this legislation did was to import some new clauses into a preëxisting contract, which they conditionally limited by preventing eviction and arbitrary increases of rent. This is the correct legal statement of the matter, which I shall presently expand in a way to make it intelligible to lay readers.

What the tenant within the scope of Mr. Gladstone's acts gets by the act of 1881 is a right to have the letting value of his holding ascertained every fifteen years while the tenancy subsists. The tenancy may be forfeited by a breach of any one of a series of statutory conditions as stringent as the most skilful conveyancing lawyer could devise. No doubt the courts can relieve against forfeiture, but it is only upon such conditions that hardly a single tenant could perform, if he were not assisted by the benevolence of friends. It may be taken for granted that no tenant would wilfully commit a breach which on the bare happening would extinguish his interest, except upon the terms of obtaining relief at an expense little short of ruinous.

It is a statutory condition for the judicial tenant to pay the rent the day it becomes due; it is one not to sublet any part of the holding; it is another not to let any part of it in "conacre" for white crops; another not to part with the possession of the holding or any part of it for any purpose whatever; another not to cut turf for sale; another not to quarry for the purpose of raising limestone to make lime; another not to take sand or gravel; another not to take sea-weed; another not to prevent the landlord or any one authorized by him from entering on the holding for the purpose of setting bog for turf-cutting, or for quarrying, or for digging for gravel, sand, or other materials; another not to prevent the landlord or any persons authorized by him from entering for the purpose of shooting, hunting, fishing, fowling, or the taking of game.

Many of the privileges taken away by the statutory conditions were enjoyed by the tenants before the passing of the land acts, because the landlords were aware that otherwise they could not pay high rents. The cutting of turf for sale, for instance, was an important adjunct to a tenant's means of support. The blending of gravel, sand, and lime with certain kinds of soil was necessary to quicken them into fertility. The taking of sea-weed to spread upon land as manure was a privilege beneficial to tenants near the coasts. This privilege, with the others, has been taken away by the act from judicial tenants unless the landlord consents. This very few landlords will do, exasperated as they are and have been by legislation which they regard as confiscatory of their rights, and which a man so distinguished in letters as Mr. Lecky tells us has no "parallel in English history." †

Mr. Lecky further states that under the act of 1881 "rents have been reduced by judicial sentence, with complete disregard both to previous con-

*Irish *Law Times'* Reports, Donel's "Land Cases."

† What about the copyhold tenure of England? It is an exact parallel of what Mr. Gladstone intended, but failed to accomplish, by the act of 1881.

tracts and to market value." I dissent *in toto* from this statement. But first it should be understood and constantly borne in mind that it was the tenant's improvements that gave all the value to the land over and above certain inherent capabilities which his expenditure started into activity. These inherent capabilities must be regarded in fixing the fair rent. Their importance as a factor is recognized at least to the full in the leading case of Adams *v.* Dunseath (Irish Law Reports, vol. for 1882); and in practice sub-commissions have given them an excessive value.

Moreover, the act of 1870 limited the time which a tenant could go back in making a claim for compensation for improvements to twenty years before the filing of the claim. This act, incorporated with the act of 1881 for all purposes, consequently confers upon the landlord the property in all improvements made before twenty years. This in effect has bestowed by far the greater part of the value in the improvements upon the landlord, and has prevented the reduction of rents below what lawyers call the "rack rent"—that is, the highest letting value.

If, then, the sub-commissions cannot reduce rent below the "rack rent," where did the 25 per cent. over and above that value come from which tenants had to pay under the old untrammelled license which enabled landlords to hunt them like vermin off the land if they would not comply with whatever might be exacted? I can give the answer in the words of Swift, writing on the same subject in 1729—"from the blood and vitals of the tenants."

With the terrible power landlords possess in being able to evict tenants owing a year's rent, and thereby depriving them of all interest in their land, it is idle to say that the relation of landlord and tenant has been changed from a contract for six months into an interest in perpetuity. If the perpetuity had been conferred in reality, the condition of the country would be widely different from what it is. We should not read of the rule of anarchy, whether from above or from below, which has made Ireland for the last four years a sign and a wonder to the world. We should not have a decreasing population side by side with an increasing pressure of the residue against subsistence, and we should not have a government representing the landlords bringing forward a measure in Parliament to terminate landlordism forever.

GEORGE MCDERMOT.

FAIR PLAY FOR THE INDIAN.

IF SPACE in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW permits, I should like to make a few remarks upon General Miles's article, "The Future of the Indian Question," published in the January number.

General Miles says: "Again, take the Sioux nation that committed the terrible massacre of '62," etc. The Sioux, as a nation, did not commit that terrible massacre. One might as justly say that the Sioux as a nation fought the Sioux. In 1862 the money due the Sioux from the sale of lands was sent to them in gold; the agent paid them in greenbacks, pocketing the difference. The Indians protested against this, insisting upon all that was due, but the agent refused to give it to them. Their treaty stipulations were not kept by the government, and their annuities were in arrears; they were consequently suffering for food, but must starve, though provisions were in the government warehouse. Becoming desperate, they broke into the storehouse, and thus began the outbreak, these Sioux being designated as hostile.

Others of the Sioux rescued white men, women, and children from these warriors, risked their lives to carry them to safe places, sheltered them and fed them; others fled, as much victims of the outbreak as white people. Some of the Sioux now at Yankton Agency were organized as scouts under General Sibley, who said that "they proved more effectual than twice that number of white soldiers"; but the white troops received a salary, while the scouts have not yet been paid. And now, twenty-nine years after, these starving Sioux, brave, loyal fellows, are asking for this money due them; they want it to buy food for their families; otherwise they must watch them die for lack of nourishment. The crops this year have failed, and there is not work enough to keep them all earning something during the winter in a farming community.

Others of the Sioux, "who were known to be absolutely guiltless of any acts of hostility," but "deserving of reward for the rescue of white captives," says the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, were made prisoners and their property confiscated. Two hundred and fifty friendly Indian farmers lost not only their homes, taken by the government, but their crops and their herds of stock; $125,000 worth of their property was used to feed United States soldiers and prisoners. After repeated urging, Congress appropriated $7,500 for these farmers; what the government had taken the government refused to pay, and to-day we honestly owe the Sioux $117,500 of this debt. These loyal farmers, who had fed the troops and committed no hostilities, were deprived of their annuities for four years, and sent to another State, where they lived in want, suffering for food; having been deprived of their homes, their stock, clothing, and furniture. The Indian Commissioner in 1868 wrote: "What I ask for them is that our government restore to them a part of what we took, and give them the same chance to live and thrive which we give to all the other inhabitants of our country, whether white or black." It would be unjust for any one to pass over this bit of Sioux history knowingly.

General Miles also says that in 1876 the Sioux "were again openly hostile"—because the government drove them to desperation. Owing to a failure in appropriation, the supplies did not come. The crops and vegetables were destroyed by grasshoppers. Unless one witnessed this devastation, as I did, it would be difficult to realize it. Their farming implements, schools, and teachers were not furnished as per treaty—have not been furnished, as promised, up to the present moment. People constantly told them that they were to be removed to another territory. When these starving creatures left the reservation to seek game, in order to save the lives of their wives and children, troops were sent to arrest them. In violation of the treaty stipulation the Black Hills had been entered. Put yourself in such conditions as these Indians were placed in, and see if you, even with years of civilization and Christianity as an inheritance, would not conclude that it were better to escape and die, if needs must, rather than calmly starve. They slipped away from the agency and joined Sitting Bull. No wonder that they "were again openly hostile."

In 1877, according to General Miles, "their war ponies were sold and the proceeds returned to them in domestic stock." General Miles would not have made such a statement had he not believed it true. I am very glad to be able to call attention to this matter. It is true the war ponies of the Sioux were seized, but it was in direct violation of Article 8 of their last-concluded treaty. Not only the ponies but the mules were seized by order

of the War Department. This property was sold; from the sale of the horses alone the War Department received $19,412.96. The Indians were told that the loss would be made good; so 450 cows were given them, valued at not more than $20 each, amounting to $9,000. Instead of the proceeds of the sale of war ponies being returned in domestic stock, $10,000 is still due these Indians, and they have been asking for fourteen years where their $10,000 is.

General Miles believes the messiah was a messenger of war. Most of the people in the Indian country believed him to have been a messenger of peace. Bright Eyes says the Sioux looked upon the messiah as a messenger of peace; no weapons were allowed in the ghost-dance, not even a piece of iron; the first serious trouble occurred when the troops came to the ghost-dance with their weapons; this the Sioux looked upon as an insult to their sacred dance. Bright Eyes is at Pine Ridge, among the Sioux; she is an Indian, an educated, cultivated Ponca, and has been sent there to get at the truth, and has a better opportunity of knowing the true state of affairs than any white person at a distance, or even there.

The present trouble with the Sioux was caused, first, by the autocratic power of one incompetent individual over a community of individuals; secondly, by the failure of crops and the immediate reduction of food by the government, so that five and six people were dying daily from starvation. The failure of crops was caused by drought. To the white farmers thus suffering money and food were sent, but the Indian's ration was reduced; unsuitable farming implements were sent him, made of poor material; threshers where there was no wheat to thresh; corn-shellers where no corn would grow. Schools as per treaty, domestic animals, and wagons were not forthcoming, though the United States has three million dollars in the treasury belonging to the Sioux. Before their land was properly surveyed eleven million acres were opened to settlers. Those Indians who had built themselves houses and owned respectable farms were told that when the land was allotted their farms would be elsewhere. All this is summed up in "the Indians became restless."

The white man who posed as the messiah has been arrested. What is to be done with him? Sitting Bull was killed because he preached the messiah to the Sioux, though Sitting Bull offered to go with the agent and find out in different places if there was a fraud, and so no messiah. Sitting Bull, a superstitious, ignorant, cunning medicine-man, was killed in violation of both civil and military law, and the result is a war. His followers surrendered 250 women and children and 150 fighting men. The troops searched them because they did not yield up their weapons. The truth of what these Indians had been told flashed upon them; they were to be torn from their homes and sent to Florida. With one bound they faced death; the troops outnumbered them, and the Indians knew what this meant; but they fought "like red devils," says the newspaper correspondent; had they been white men it would have read "they fought bravely."

Bright Eyes writes to me December 28: "The rumor is that they are to take the hostiles—who were not hostile, mark you, and who have not taken a single life—to Florida. If true, it is the most outrageous performance yet. The country ought to ring with it. As the soldiers express it, they did not know what in the world they were brought here for in the first place; the Indians seem to look at it as an outbreak of the army instead of an outbreak of themselves. The idea of tearing these people away from

their homes because many of them fled from fear into the Bad Lands. I hope every paper in the land will open a broadside on whoever has done this."

When the battle reported at Daly's ranch is sifted, it turns out that one of the men, feeling pity for some starving Indian women, gave them two rams. The first intense battle at Pine Ridge was purely a newspaper space-filler; no one at Pine Ridge, I have accurate information, knew of the battle. When General Brook sent out to tell the Sioux to come into the agency, people interested in keeping them out told them they would be made prisoners and sent to the Indian Territory. The lower class of white people want troops because it puts money in their pockets; men who received but $1 a day before the troops came now get $5. One man who has a contract for forwarding supplies to Pine Ridge from Rushville gets $561 a day; people have contracts for supplying troops at Pine Ridge with three hundred tons of hay and over two hundred pounds of oats alone.

Newspaper correspondents sent out there have been determined to telegraph something; so the military authorities have been annoyed and the good work they might have done has been hampered by sensational press despatches. All these mistakes, with the false move of killing Sitting Bull, have forced an Indian war.

To make this impossible in the future there is but one course to take. It is absurd to pauperize the Indian by giving him either food or clothing; it is beyond reason to place any people under autocratic rule in this country; it is useless to give money destined for private individuals into the hands of politicians; not that our politicians are as a class dishonest, but that a temptation to cheat what people call the government, not realizing it is the people, seems too great for hitherto-honest persons to resist. We ought no longer to try impossibilities, but at once make each Indian amenable to the law of the State or territory in which he resides by making him a citizen. Treat him as a responsible individual, as has been done in Nebraska, and he will earn his own living, be willing to educate his children, learn not to be cheated. Do not chain him to the ground, as in Nebraska, by forcing him to farm whether he wills or not; let him rent his land and practise a trade there or elsewhere.

Until the Indian is a citizen, subject to the same privileges and penalties as are other men in this country, we may expect war, expensive in loss of life, loss of money, and loss of prosperity in that part of the country where it occurs.

GEORGE TRUMAN KERCHEVAL.

THE CONVICT AND THE CHURCH.

THE recent action of a well-known church in determining to retain upon its roll of membership a man convicted of the crime of forgery and sentenced to a term of imprisonment extending over seventeen years has very naturally attracted a good deal of attention and called forth no small amount of comment. In some quarters the church in question has been warmly commended for a course which is declared to be precisely in the spirit of the founder of Christianity, while by others its action has been roundly denounced.

Without naming any names, let us consider the facts for a moment.

S—— was a man whose reputation both socially and as a business man

was apparently unimpeachable. He possessed the entire confidence of all who knew him. He was engaged in a lucrative business, having two partners who believed him thoroughly trustworthy. He was an active member of a prominent church, and an earnest worker in its Sunday-school. His social position was good, and his name was gladly sought to be added to to the boards of directors of charitable and benevolent institutions. He had a charming family, and, while he lived well, there was no suspicion that he was living beyond his means. Nor did he, so far as is known, possess unwarrantably expensive tastes or indulge in extravagant habits. To all appearances he was a prosperous, successful, happy, and contented man.

Suddenly it was revealed to his partners, by an examination of the firm's accounts, that this man, in whom they had reposed the most absolute and unquestioning confidence, was a forger. S—— for six years had been living a lie. He had been a conscious and consummate hypocrite. He had taken advantage of and most cruelly deceived those who trusted him. His method of operation had been to "raise" certificates of stock—that is, to increase the number of shares represented by certificates in the possession of his firm—and then dispose of them and avail himself of the fraudulent proceeds. This operation he had repeated many times, until the sum secured by his forgeries was counted by hundreds of thousands.

It is certainly to S——'s credit that, when the terrible discovery was made known to him, he made no denial and no attempt to leave the country, as perhaps he might have done. On the contrary, he lent his aid in ascertaining the full extent of his criminal acts, and voluntarily surrendered himself to the authorities. More than that, he was willing to plead guilty to the charge of forgery and prevent the necessity of a trial; but, inasmuch as the crime was one which might involve life-imprisonment, this was not permissible under the law, and a trial was accordingly had, although no defence was interposed.

Hardly had he been taken to prison before S—— wrote a letter to his pastor, setting forth that he had repented of his sins, and believed that he had received divine forgiveness. This letter was read at a meeting of the church held a few days later, and on the recommendation of the pastor, who had visited the convict in prison, the church voted to retain S—— on its rolls of membership, believing, as was stated in its formal resolutions, that if he ever needed the church's help and sympathy, it was in the situation in which he then found himself.

This is probably the first time in the history of Christianity that a convict in striped clothes, and undergoing a long term of imprisonment on his own confession of evil-doing, has been allowed to remain in good and regular standing as a member of a Christian church!

There are circumstances conceivable in which a church might pursue such a course toward one of its number without laying itself open to any adverse criticism whatever. Suppose, for example, that S—— had committed a single fault of a criminal nature; that he had yielded for once to a momentary temptation; and that he had confessed this to his pastor and his fellow-church-members, expressed his contrition therefor, and then bowed to the majesty of the law and gone to prison. In a rightly-constituted church, permeated by the right spirit, the question of dropping him from membership would never have been raised for a moment.

But how different is the case we are considering! Here the repentance is merely *ex post facto*. Not one solitary crime has been repented of and con-

fessed, but a long series has been committed, extending over six years, without the slightest sign of confession until the exposure has been made and concealment is no longer possible. When a prison suit has been donned, and temptation no longer confronts the convict because he is wholly beyond its reach, it is easy to repent and promise restitution, and ask the forgiveness of one's church and the privilege of remaining one of its members.

Here it is pertinent to inquire what degree or kind of crime would be sufficient to justify the church in question, in the estimation of its own members, in refusing to extend further fellowship to one of their number who had fallen into sin. If forgery carried on for years by a man professing Christianity is not, would burglary, or highway robbery, or murder, or any one of a hundred other crimes for which the criminal code provides penalties? Surely, it would seem, the line must be drawn somewhere; but where? That is the question. A wife-murderer on the church-membership books in unimpeachable standing is the logical consequence of the action which forms the subject of this article: all that is necessary is that the murderer, after conviction of his crime, shall write to his pastor making confession and beseeching forgiveness; whereupon nothing but the noose or the electric current shall terminate the unfortunate man's active connection with the church which he has disgraced and brought into contempt.

But, says S——'s chief apologist, his pastor, he committed his first forgery when suffering from nervous prostration. But what about the other ones? What about the six years of basest hypocrisy? And does not the apologist see that he opens wide the door for the justification of every possible sort of crime? Would nervous prostration excuse the murderer, the sneak-thief, the rehypothecator of bonds, or even the miserable wretch who steals a loaf of bread in order to keep his wife and children from starvation? Away with such silly sentimentalism!

But, says another defender of the church, there can be little doubt of the genuineness of S——'s repentance, and in all probability he was glad when the exposure came and he could quit leading the hollow life he had been living for so long. It must have been a great relief to him, and doubtless he went to prison with a glad heart. Well, we should really like to know what there was to hinder him from ending the lie at any moment he pleased during the years when he chose to be one thing and to seem another! Voluntary confession on his part would assuredly have afforded proof of a heart not wholly bad, and impelled the holding out of a helping hand. Such a course would have been manly and straightforward. It would have commanded respect at least.

The fact is that such a series of crimes as this person was guilty of strike a blow at the very foundations of business and of the social structure. The impairing of confidence in one's fellow-men is a very serious matter. If the comrade who has stood shoulder to shoulder with you, on whom you have felt that you could rely as firmly almost as on your very self—if he falters, stumbles, gives way utterly, your faith, and all faith, in humanity receives a violent wrench, from which it cannot soon, if ever, recover. Have a care not to underestimate the baseness of such a crime; have a care not to overestimate the soundness of the repentance that so speedily and so glibly follows.

Still another voice is heard in the way of apology, and it declares that the action of the church in question is altogether in the line of the Christianity of Jesus. Has this apologist forgotten the thunders of denunciation

hurled by the gentle man of Nazareth against the hypocritic Pharisees of his day and generation? "*Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outwardly, but are within full of dead men's bones, and all uncleanness. . . . Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?*" There is no lack of vigor and barb in these words, and if they do not "fit the crime" we are considering, I do not know where to find any that do.

"Muscular Christianity" is a phrase that has had a considerable vogue. Whatever the specific meaning put into the words at any time, it is certain that the Christianity which found expression in the action of this church towards its convict member had little muscularity about it. To my mind, at all events, it was decidedly flabby. Doubtless, had the opportunity presented itself, this church would have compounded the felony and prevented its member's crime from becoming known to the public. Society and the church owe a higher duty than that to themselves. Our penal systems are far from perfect, and come far short of accomplishing the results that ought not unreasonably to be expected from them. But they must be applied with impartiality to all. There cannot be one law and one punishment for the rich man who commits forgery, and another law and another punishment for the poor man who yields to temptation. Nor will the churches do their duty so long as they sternly condemn evil-doing in one and wink at it in another. Who knows whether S——'s alleged repentance and his remaining an unchallenged member of —— Church may not be employed within a few years as an argument in favor of his pardon? It is easily possible. Nay, it is easily possible that a man shrewd enough to carry on a series of forgeries for six years without detection is shrewd enough not only to foresee this, but to make plans for it. Under similar circumstances a wise church would "*beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.*"

By all means let Christianity be tender, loving, patient, long-suffering, forgiving; but let its churches, its professors, and its pastors and teachers beware of namby-pamby sentimentalism!

EMERSON PALMER.

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FURTHER RECOLLECTIONS OF GETTYSBURG.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL DANIEL E. SICKLES,

MAJOR-GENERAL D. MM. GREGG,

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN NEWTON,

AND

MAJOR-GENERAL DANIEL BUTTERFIELD.

GENERAL SICKLES:

IT WAS indeed an event of rare interest to meet on the battle-field of Gettysburg, on a golden October morning, the best historian of the battle and of the Civil War, our comrade and friend, the Comte de Paris, himself a veteran volunteer of the war; and by his side the son of one of our veterans, a gallant young recruit, the Duc d'Orleans. We miss the knightly Duc de Chartres, another veteran volunteer drawn from the ranks of the royal house of France; but we have with us the Marquis de Lasterie, descendant of Lafayette. Here in the cemetery of dead heroes, under the shadow of the great Reynolds, are assembled in the same group for the first time since the battle all but one of the living corps commanders who fought here, Slocum, Howard, Sickles, Newton, Doubleday; and the leaders of the divisions, Gregg and Wright. We miss Pleasonton, commander of the cavalry corps, kept away by illness, but we have Butterfield, chief of staff. The men who made history surrounded the historian.

The strongest emotion of the visitor to Gettysburg is the memory of those who here nobly fell in battle—"those who here

gave their lives that the nation might live." Volunteers of 1861–2–3, flower of our young manhood, the loved ones of our Northern homes, volunteers without bounty, men gold could not hire, for whom the flag and the Union were worth all else; men who had only a home to live for and a country to die for. And the great leaders, where are they?—Meade, commander-in-chief; Reynolds, who fell on the first day; Hancock, on the third; Sedgwick, Warren, Buford, Hunt, Kilpatrick. Nor can we forget Hooker, who reorganized the army and led it almost here, his chosen field, compelling Lee to give battle.

The transition from 1863 to 1890, little more than a quarter of a century, almost confounds the imagination, and makes the reality seem like a dream. Now we are more than sixty millions, all freemen, united, prosperous, tranquil. Then we were separated, mangled by the struggles of a great civil war of unforeseen duration, nearly all Europe against us, every resource of men and treasure strained to the utmost tension, no one able to forecast the boundaries which the end of the conflict would define.

The Army of the Potomac has lost the peninsular campaign; it has lost Pope's campaign, and, although it has won Antietam, it has lost Burnside's campaign, and Chancellorsville. The situation at home and abroad is grave. The insurrection that burst upon New York a few days after the battle is already imminent; it is visible in June. England and Napoleon are hostile to the Union, waiting for a suitable pretext to recognize the Southern Confederacy. Public opinion everywhere is much estranged by the Conscription Act of Congress. Resistance is openly threatened. The Proclamation of Emancipation, the organization of colored troops, and kindred measures have alienated large numbers of people. An impression, almost a belief, gains ground that for military, economical, and political reasons the success of the North is doubtful. Such is the general opinion in Europe. It is feared that the enormous cost of the war makes it impossible to prolong the struggle. It is apprehended that, in the absence of volunteers, the losses caused in our armies by desertions, disease, and battles cannot be filled up by bounties or conscriptions; and we have not yet found a commander who inspires at once the government, the people, and the armies with confidence in his ability to lead us to victory.

I would not have seen Gettysburg had Hooker not sent me a message summoning me from New York, where I was slowly recovering from a contusion received at Chancellorsville. He announced the coming battle, asking me to join my command instantly, giving such urgent and flattering reasons that I could not refuse, although my surgeons, Carnochan and Sayres, protested. I reached headquarters at Frederick on the 28th of June, at the hour Hooker was relieved by Meade. Hardie, who was the bearer of the order putting Meade in command, sat by my side from Washington to Frederick, chatting all the way, without revealing a word of his mission. The change in the command of the army was no sooner announced—Hooker sacrificed, on the eve of battle, by the action of Halleck—than I heard from Hayden, and others of my personal friends, earnest remonstrances against my serving under Meade. They knew he was hostile, dating from several incidents in the Chancellorsville campaign. I consult Hooker. He says: "You cannot ask to be relieved on the eve of battle; wait at least until after the engagement." This advice coinciding with my inclinations, I resumed command of the Third Army Corps.

Lee crossed the Potomac on his second invasion of the North at the head of the largest and best-equipped army the South had yet put in the field. It believed itself invincible. It had won many signal victories. It was stronger than ever in numbers, equipment, organization, and discipline. It was led by able corps and division commanders. Lieutenant-General Hood says: "Never before or since have I witnessed such intense enthusiasm as prevailed throughout the entire Confederate army. Exulting cheers reëchoed all along the line. Our forces marched undisturbed to Chambersburg. I found General Lee in the same buoyant spirits which pervaded his magnificent army. After the ordinary salutations he exclaimed: 'Ah, General, the enemy is a long time finding us. If he does not succeed soon, we must go in search of him.'"

Hooker and the Army of the Potomac were not as far off as Lee and his lieutenant supposed. Hooker had no superior in manœuvring a large army. The campaigns of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg are monuments of his strategical skill. Lee's cavalry, under Stuart, were on a long raid and failed to discover Hooker crossing the Potomac at Edwards's Ferry. Pleasonton

and his cavalry gave us eyes to see Lee's marches and movements, while they blindfolded Lee so that he could not see ours until Hooker was on his rear and flank challenging him to battle.

Lee commands a halt in sight of Harrisburg, on the Susquehanna. What is the matter? His communications are threatened. His retreat may become impossible. He must give or accept battle. He directs the concentration of all his forces at Gettysburg. This was Hooker's revenge for Chancellorsville. Ewell had reconnoitred that position a few days before. It was admirable for the invading army, because it afforded facilities for advance or retreat. And if Lee is quick in his concentration, he may choose a battle-ground as advantageous to him as Fredericksburg. And so it might have been, if bold and sagacious Buford had not stood in the way with a division of cavalry the counterpart of himself.

The battle of Oak Ridge, on July 1, was a surprise to both armies. It, however, gave to Howard the choice of position at Gettysburg, and was worth all it cost, forcing Lee to offensive tactics. General Lee says: "The enemy occupied the point which General Ewell designed to seize. The strong position which the enemy had assumed could not be attacked without danger of exposing the four divisions present, already weakened and exhausted by a long and bloody struggle, to overwhelming numbers of fresh troops." These fresh troops were Birney's division of Sickles's corps and a division of Slocum's corps, the corps commanders both present. Well might General Lee speak of his four divisions as "weakened and exhausted by a long and bloody struggle." The great fight of Robinson's division of the First Corps is an illustration of the terrible conflict at Oak Ridge. Out of 2,500 men on the field, Robinson lost 1,600 in killed and wounded. Hotly engaged for four hours on a July day against overwhelming numbers, repulsing repeated attacks of the enemy, capturing three flags and a very large number of prisoners, they were the last to leave the field. Says Robinson in a letter to Meade, soon after the battle: "We have been proud of our efforts on that day and hope that they will be recognized. It is but natural we should feel disappointed that we are not once referred to in the report of the commanding general."

Lee expected to make his concentration at Gettysburg unopposed. Meade expected to concentrate on his chosen line of Pike

Creek without interference. Strange, but not impossible, that two mighty armies, eager for combat, in near proximity to each other, like two giants groping in the dark, can march and manœuvre without the presence of one being known to the other.

At Oak Ridge the enemy had four divisions of infantry, Heth's, Pender's, Rodes's, and Early's—seventeen brigades; and sixteen batteries of artillery—the battalions of Pegram, McIntosh, Carter, and Jones. We had the First Corps—seven brigades and five batteries; and the Eleventh Corps—six brigades and five batteries; that is to say, thirteen brigades and ten batteries. The enemy were four brigades stronger in infantry, and they had a few more guns.

General Humphreys—good authority—says Lee had about eighty-five thousand infantry at Gettysburg; that is to say, nine divisions of ninety-five hundred each. In other words, Ewell's four divisions gave him thirty-eight thousand infantry against seventeen thousand five hundred under Reynolds and Howard, with a corresponding superiority over us in artillery.

Reynolds's battle was brought on without orders, perhaps against orders, if Reynolds received, as the other corps commanders received, the circular orders from General Meade issued early in the morning of the 1st of July, which were as follows:

"If the enemy assume the offensive and attack, it is his [General Meade's] intention, after holding them in check long enough to withdraw the trains and other impedimenta, to withdraw the army from its present position and form a line of battle with the left resting in the neighborhood of Middleburg and the right at Manchester, the general direction being at Pipe Creek. . . . For this purpose, General Reynolds, in command of the left wing, will withdraw the force at present at Gettysburg, two corps [First and Eleventh], by the road to Taneytown and Westminster, and, after crossing Pipe Creek, deploy towards Middleburg. The corps at Emmittsburg [Sickles's] will be withdrawn via Mechanicsville to Middleburg."

Reynolds was right in accepting battle as he did, to gain time, as Hancock says, "for the commanding general of the army to come to some decision." Reynolds's battle was necessarily fought, and well fought, by Buford, Doubleday, Robinson, Wadsworth, Fairchild, Huydekoper, and Barlow, and, after Reynolds fell, by Howard in command.

Accident, so potent in war, overruled the plans of Meade, drifting him towards a position chosen by the enemy; a better battlefield than he had himself chosen, it had for us the ad-

vantages of strong defensive lines and excellent communications, and the enemy was there—sure. Slocum, Hancock, Howard, Sickles, and Doubleday urged Meade that night to come to Gettysburg with all his army. He came. And so swift was the concentration of his forces, under the direction of the chief of staff, that on the morning of the 2d of July his army was in position, except the Sixth Corps, which had a long march from Westminster, thirty miles, and could not reach the field until late in the afternoon.

As these reminiscences are personal, I will dwell a moment on an anxious hour spent at Emmittsburg in the afternoon of the 1st of July, after hearing of the death of Reynolds, and receiving from Howard and Doubleday earnest appeals for support at Gettysburg. My orders from the general commanding were to hold Emmittsburg at all hazards. These orders, of course, were based on the supposition that the enemy's point of concentration would be at or near Emmittsburg, but no enemy was near. Reconnoissances and scouts for miles around gave no indication of the presence or proximity of a hostile force. The situation of Howard, so pressed by superior numbers, was hard to resist. Why stay here in idle security, in formal obedience to orders? What order would Meade give if he were here in person and read Howard's despatch? He would say: "Yes; march to Gettysburg." And so say I: "Yes; I will go, and take the risk of approval. It must be said, at least, that the Third Corps marches in the right direction,—toward the enemy." At 3:15 P. M. I wrote to Howard: "The Third Corps will march to Gettysburg immediately." The column is formed; two brigades under Graham and De Trobriand, with two batteries, are left to hold Emmittsburg. We move forward cheerfully, over a rough road, on a sultry afternoon. We arrive at Gettysburg, marching along the enemy's flank, uninterrupted. The welcome of Howard and his men rewarded us. We saw the proofs of their bloody fight, their resolute bearing, awaiting another attack, intrenched in their strong position on Cemetery Ridge. The Third Corps was massed on their left. At 9:30 that night I wrote to General Meade urging the concentration of his forces at Gettysburg, expressing the opinion that "it is a good battlefield for us, although weak on the left flank." Later in the night I received from General Meade an expression of his approval of my march from Emmittsburg against orders, and also instruc-

tions to bring up the two brigades and batteries I had left at Emmittsburg under Graham and De Trobriand.

The early morning of July 2 was spent reconnoitring my front on the left, choosing positions, gathering information about the roads, and learning something of the force and dispositions of the enemy. The prolongation of the line of Cemetery Ridge, perhaps the more desirable tactical position for me to occupy, unless overruled by superior considerations, proved upon examination to be an unsatisfactory line because of its marked depression and the swampy character of the ground between Cemetery Ridge and Little Round Top. The most commanding position on the field was Little Round Top and the ridge running from it toward the Emmittsburg road. Moreover, to abandon the Emmittsburg road to the enemy would be unpardonable. The force at my disposition, ten thousand men, was insufficient to hold the lines from Cemetery Ridge to Round Top and defend that height, which was obviously the key to our position. Longstreet had thirteen brigades of infantry. I had six brigades. He had sixty guns. I had thirty. Information from scouts and from Buford's cavalry on my flank indicated the presence of considerable bodies of the enemy's forces on my front, concealed in the woods and manœuvring to envelop our left. The ground was rocky and undulated with ridges ; convenient roads through woods and valleys gave the enemy excellent opportunities for turning our left flank and gaining our rear.

I had pointed out, the night before, in a letter to General Meade, that our left was our assailable point. Careful study of the field during the morning had confirmed my impressions. At 11 o'clock the reconnoissances of General Berdan with his sharpshooters and Colonel Lake with the 4th Maine revealed the formation of the enemy's columns in large masses, preparing to attack. General Tremain and Colonel Moore, my aides-de-camp, rode over to headquarters again and again all through the morning, reporting the situation of things on my front. Impatient of longer delay, more than ever anxious in view of the certainty of an attack from superior numbers, staggered by the announcement that Buford's division of cavalry had been withdrawn from my flank and ordered to escort trains to Westminster, thirty miles away, I went in person to headquarters and asked General Meade to come with me and reconnoitre the left. He was too busy. I

asked for General Warren; Warren was busy on the right preparing for an attack by the right wing on Culp's Hill, under Slocum. Butterfield was too busy preparing Meade's orders. Hunt, chief of artillery, was seated near by. I earnestly asked for Hunt, because I needed his advice in placing my own batteries, and others from the reserve which I was sure to require. Hunt was allowed to go with me.

We went over my part of the field together, looked at all the ground, from the swale and swamp between Cemetery Ridge and Round Top, to my proposed line running from Round Top along the ridge to the Emmittsburg road, *en échelon* to Cemetery Ridge and the line of Hancock's corps. Hunt liked my chosen line, pointing out, however, that more troops than I had would be necessary to hold it. Hunt and Randolph, my chief of artillery, found excellent positions for my batteries; all was in readiness for my advance except orders from headquarters. Hunt assured me I might look for orders as soon as he made his report to General Meade, declining himself to take any responsibility, because he was ignorant of the plans of the general commanding, and so much depended upon his determination to stand on the defensive, or to attack, or to manœuvre for another position. I waited an hour. No orders came. My troops, eager for combat and anxious to profit by all the advantages of the ground, levelled all the fences within their reach. The movements of the enemy became more and more aggressive. Their assault seemed to have been delayed by a change in the route of their columns, caused, as appears from their official reports, by my discovery of their formation and the advantages they found in enveloping our left by a march though the forest, which had been uncovered by the unfortunate withdrawal of Buford's cavalry from the flank.

Impossible to wait longer without giving the enemy serious advantages in his attack, I advanced my line towards the highest ground in my front, occupying the Emmittsburg road at the very point were Longstreet hoped to cross it unopposed, covering Round Top and menacing the enemy's flank if he attempted to turn our left. He accepted battle on my line. Birney's division extended from the Devil's Den, a great mass of boulder rocks, across the wheat fields and Peach Orchard, towards the Emmittsburg road. Humphreys's division held my right and the Emmittsburg road. It was 3 o'clock. The enemy's lines of battle were developing in

enormous strength. The artillery opened fire. I am summoned to headquarters. What can it mean ?

(Circular.)

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
July 2, '63, 3 P. M.

The commanding general desires to see you at headquarters. Very respectfully, your obedient servant, DANIEL BUTTERFIELD,
Major-General and Chief of Staff.

Sent to Major-Generals Sedgwick, Sickles, Sykes, Newton, Slocum, Howard, and Hancock.

General Sykes says : "At 3 P. M. General Meade sent for me, and while myself and other commanders were conversing with him the enemy formally opened the battle, and developed his attack on our left. I was at once ordered to throw my whole corps to that point, and hold it all hazards."

It is evident the commanding general has no just appreciation of the gravity of matters on my front. Else why summon me and all the corps commanders to headquarters at such a critical moment ? This question is answered by General Meade's telegram to Halleck, general-in-chief, at the same hour, 3 P. M. July 2 :

"The army is fatigued . . . If not attacked, and I can get any positive information of the position of the enemy which will justify me in so doing, I shall attack. If I find it hazardous to do so, or am satisfied the enemy is endeavoring to move to my rear and interpose between me and Washington, I shall fall back to my supplies at Westminster. . . . I feel fully the responsibility resting upon me, but will endeavor to act with caution."

This telegram from our commanding-general shows that at the supreme moment—3 P. M. July 2—when the enemy was advancing to attack, we had no plan of action, no order of battle. For Meade the battle of July 2 is a surprise, like the battle of July 1. Lee knows what he wants to do ; his corps commanders know his plans ; they know the order of battle ; they are executing it.

Unable to reply in writing, I point out to the staff officer who brought the order the attitude and movements of the enemy, and ask him to beg General Meade to excuse me from complying with the order, as my presence is necessary with my command. A second order comes from headquarters, peremptory, immediate. I reluctantly turn over the command to Birney, and proceed to headquarters. General Meade meets me at his door, saying : "You need not dismount, General. I hear the sound of

cannon on your front. Return to your command. I will join you there at once."

The sound of my guns breaks up the council. We fight here.

Spurring my horse to the utmost speed, I soon relieve Birney. The battle begins with the quickening fire of the skirmishers. General Meade arrives; thinks my line too much extended; too weak to resist the enemy. "Yes," I reply; "but I can hold him until reënforcements arrive. I will contract my line, or modify it, if you prefer. My men are easily manœuvred under fire." "No," said Meade, "it is too late; I will support you. I will order up the Fifth Corps on your left; call upon Hancock to support your centre and right. If you need more artillery send to the reserve for it."

Leaving me with these instructions, I did not see General Meade again, nor receive any communication from him, during the action. The enemy's attack was pressed with all the vigor and boldness characteristic of Longstreet, Lee's ablest lieutenant. The conception of the enemy's movement was based upon Jackson's assault on our right flank at Chancellorsville. The force employed was about the same. The ground, woods, and roads all favored it; and the loss of Buford's cavalry made it practicable. But the menacing attitude of my corps, in close proximity to Longstreet's column, threatening its flank, compelled every inch of ground to be disputed from the outset. Every inch of ground was disputed along the whole line, from Round Top to the Peach Orchard. Warren, who comes with Meade, goes to Round Top to reconnoitre. Seeing the efforts of the enemy to envelop my left, quickly discerning the importance of Round Top and the enemy's desire to seize it, Warren sends to me for a brigade. I have none to spare, needing every man, and more, on my front. I advise him to send to the Fifth Corps, already on the march toward us. Another message from Warren, saying the heads of column of the Fifth Corps are still distant and may arrive too late. We have seen it was not ordered over from the right until after 3 o'clock. At this moment the gallant and gifted Weed, of Ayres's division, reports in person to me that his brigade is near.

Pressed by Birney for support on my left, pressed by Warren for troops to occupy Round Top, the key of our position, I send Weed to him just in time. The gallant Weed falls mortally wounded on Round Top, and Hazlett, too, was killed as he leaned

over the body of the dying Weed to hear his last words. Zook's, Cross's, and Brooke's brigades, of Caldwell's division, of Hancock's corps, arrive and are at once engaged. The full force of the enemy's attack is felt. Zook and Cross and O'Rorke are mortally wounded. Our lines waver, but rally again and again. The same ground is fought over and over. Barksdale, of Mississippi, is mortally wounded in a charge within our lines. The chivalrous Graham, on my centre, falls seriously wounded and is captured by the enemy. The brave Ellis, leading his Orange Blossoms, is killed in the Devil's Den while leading a charge of the 124th New York. Vincent and Willard are killed at the head of their brigades. Bigelow's battery, in front of my corps colors, loses more than half its men and eighty horses. Randolph and Seely are wounded. The Sixth Corps is coming, our strongest corps, and is ordered to support the left. Humphreys, Carr, Brewster, and Sewell, of my corps, are engaged. Gallant Crawford, of the Fifth Corps, with a regimental flag in his hand, leads his Pennsylvania Reserves in a charge on the enemy's flank and front and drives him out of reach. This is the same division so brilliantly led by General Meade at Fredericksburg. Humphreys still stands firm on the right. I am wounded. I turn over my command to Birney and am carried to the rear, knowing that victory is ours.

We see from this glance at the battle of July 2 that as soon as our troops on the left equalled those of the enemy the battle was decided in our favor. If this equality had existed at the outset of the conflict, our victory would have been decisive early in the action, and the Sixth Corps, our strongest, would have been available to follow up our success and deal a decisive blow to the enemy; and if Buford's division of cavalry had remained on the left flank, its coöperation would have given us overwhelming advantages. With two corps, say twenty-five thousand men, holding the left, intrenched in good positions, holding Round Top and commanding the ridges and roads on our left, the repulse of the enemy would have been as disastrous to them as our assault on their lines at Fredericksburg was destructive to us. With the Fifth Corps in reserve on the left, our fight would have been an easier one, but Sykes was not engaged until 5 o'clock.

A signal feature of this battle was the buoyancy of the troops, their readiness to respond to commands, the eagerness of chiefs of battalions, batteries, and brigades to support each other, often

without formal orders. The charges and countercharges between sunset and dusk would take pages to describe. The impetuosity of the men and their field leaders in the Second, Third, and Fifth Corps was a priceless factor, without which our victory would not have been achieved. And it is remarkable, as showing the fierceness of the struggle on the 2d of July, that the losses of the enemy in both Hood's and McLaws's divisions exceeded the losses in killed and wounded in Pickett's division on the following day. The losses on both sides on the second day were greater in killed and wounded than the combined losses suffered on the first and third days of the battle. It is a moderate and safe estimate of the enemy's forces engaged on the second day to place them at thirty thousand infantry and eighty pieces of artillery. Hood's, McLaws's and Anderson's divisions included thirteen brigades of at least twenty-five hundred men each. The artillery of Longstreet's and Hill's corps amounted to one hundred and forty-four guns.

At the close of the battle of the 2d, after the enemy retired, the disposition of our forces remained as already described, except that a portion of the First Corps was moved to the left of Cemetery Ridge, the Third Corps under Birney, in support; Carr's brigade, of the Third Corps, slept on the field, in its position on my right. On the other flank, at Culp's Hill, the enemy had gained a foothold in our works during the absence of a considerable part of the Twelfth Corps, under Williams, which was ordered to our left, but Greene's brigade fought like a division and held the enemy, until Slocum, commanding our right wing, brought back his forces and drove Ewell once more to his position.

We pass over the council of war on the night of the 2d without comment, since it had no result. We stayed and fought it out at Gettysburg. General Lee persisted in his offensive tactics, against the remonstrance of Longstreet, and notwithstanding that our left had been made so strong as to resist the assaults of thirty thousand men the day before, General Lee rashly attempted to break our lines with eighteen thousand men on the 3d. It is true he expected the coöperation of Stuart's cavalry on our rear, but our cavalry, Gregg on our right and Kilpatrick on our left, had destroyed that hope, inflicting decisive defeats on Stuart, whose object Pleasonton, Gregg, and Kilpatrick quickly divined.

The great cavalry combat of Gregg we hear described by him-

self in modest, yet vivid, colors. Scarcely mentioned in the official reports, yet we see it was one of the most brilliant incidents of the Gettysburg campaign. Twelve thousand sabres flashing in the July sun on the open fields beyond our right. The thunder of two hundred cannon echoing from the main army answered Gregg's and Stuart's artillery. The ripening grain withered under the tread of heavy columns—columns of squadrons charging again and again, whilst the reapers of Gregg and Custer gathered a harvest of honor and fame.

Kilpatrick, too, with his division of cavalry, supported our left, besides the Fifth and Sixth Corps and a portion of the First, with the Third in reserve. Kilpatrick's cavalry battle on the 3d was no less effective on our left, as from this flank also the enemy's cavalry attempted to gain our rear and unite with Longstreet in piercing our left centre. In this fight the gallant Farnsworth fell. "A general on the 29th, on the 30th he baptized his star in blood, and on July 3d, for the honor of his young brigade and the glory of his corps, he gave his life. At the head of his dragoons, at the very muzzles of the enemy's guns, he fell with many mortal wounds." So writes Kilpatrick.

The story of the third day has been so often told in all its dramatic details that it has become a familiar picture of the battle of Gettysburg. It need not be repeated here. We had won the battle. Longstreet pronounced the enemy's last assault hopeless from the beginning. No troops, he said, however valiant, whatever their discipline, could make any serious impression on our left or left centre, the direction of the attack. So profoundly was he impressed with the forlorn and desperate character of the assault that he was unable, he says, to give utterance to the order to Pickett. In reply to Pickett's demand whether he should move, Longstreet could only nod his head in the affirmative. The assault ended, as Longstreet had foreseen, in the annihilation of the advancing columns of the enemy; a useless sacrifice of brave men, sometimes necessary in war, but not required on that day to vindicate the courage and discipline or fortitude of Lee's great army.

The headquarters staff was marked by signal ability. Butterfield had been already distinguished as a commander in the field. In the movement of large columns he had no superior in our armies. Hunt, our chief of artillery, would have won distinction

under Napoleon. He was ably supported by Tyler, commanding the reserve artillery. Warren, chief of engineers, was accomplished both in his special corps and as a commander. Pleasonton, chief of the cavalry corps, made his arm superior to that of the enemy in every equal combat. Besides, he was gifted with rare military intuitions. He sent Buford, with our strongest cavalry division, to Gettysburg, when nobody had divined the place chosen by Lee to concentrate his army for battle. He sent Gregg to our right to encounter Stuart and thwart his movement to our rear; on the third day, the day of Pickett's assault, he sent Kilpatrick on our left, where the enemy attempted a similar diversion, but was defeated.

Our army corps were ably commanded. Sedgwick, Reynolds, Slocum, Hancock, Howard, Newton, Doubleday, and Birney were all strong men, each differing from the others in elements of strength, yet forming a group of remarkable power. General Slocum and General Howard were chosen afterwards by General Sherman to command the right and left wings, respectively, of his great army in its famous campaign through Georgia. In the campaign of Gettysburg we lost three corps commanders—Reynolds, killed on the 1st of July; Sickles, wounded on the 2d; and Hancock on the 3d.

As Lincoln said to me, "There was glory enough at Gettysburg to go all round, from Meade to the humblest enlisted man in the ranks."

Military men are fond of comparisons between Waterloo and Gettysburg. There are, indeed, several military resemblances, but more contrasts; whilst in moral and political significance these two great battles are as wide apart as the fields themselves. Waterloo put an end to the rule of Napoleon and the military supremacy of France in Europe, already impaired by the campaign in Russia. Gettysburg upheld the authority of the wise and unselfish Lincoln, and assured the perpetuity of the American Union. Waterloo was the triumph of the reigning monarchs of Europe over the French Revolution. Gettysburg prevented an alliance between the Southern Confederacy and England and France to divide and destroy the United States. Waterloo restored France to the Bourbons. Gettysburg severed the chains from every slave in America, giving force and effect to Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation, which before was only an edict.

And here at Gettysburg I hope that the War Department will

establish a permanent military post, garrisoned by artillery, and that on this consecrated ground, all of which should belong to the government, the morning and evening gun may forever salute "the men who here gave their lives that the nation might live."

DANIEL E. SICKLES,
Major-General U. S. Army (retired).

GENERAL GREGG:

WHEN those two giants of the War of the Rebellion, the Armies of the Potomac and of Northern Virginia, had determined, by invitation of the latter, to seek a new field of combat far removed from the desolated plains of Virginia, that of Gettysburg was well chosen. Its commanding eminences, with the undulating vale between, all under cultivation, with here and there open groves of goodly trees, gave to the infantry and artillery of the combatants all that could be desired for effective attack and defence. Off on the flanks were fair and wide fields for mounted cavalry by thousands to mingle in wild mêlée, where pistol and sabre did their keenest work, and light batteries scattered canister most grievously in the faces of their would-be captors.

A field which made it possible for a great battle to be fought to the finish, in which each of the three arms of service was properly employed in its own sphere, and thus rendered its most effective service. There were attacks sublime in execution even to the point of their failure, which only occurred because success was impossible. Resistance was heroic. Surprises there were none, but there were many mighty rushes.

On one of the bright days of October last, on this famous field were assembled some eight generals and a smaller number of officers of lesser rank, all having served in the Union army in the battle of Gettysburg. Of the general officers, five had been corps commanders, one the chief of staff, and the remaining two division commanders of infantry and cavalry respectively. They were in attendance upon the distinguished historian of the War of the Rebellion, the Count of Paris, with whom all had served on the peninsular campaign.

The same sky was above. Round Top, Culp's Hill, and Brinkerhoff Ridge, the village with the seminary and cemetery, were all there. The stage was the same, but where were the

actors? where the great masses of men that were clad in blue and in gray? Could there be a reassembling of the mighty armies that contested this field twenty-seven years ago, those that could appear in the flesh would be outnumbered by the ghostly representatives of the dead. Nor have these assembled officers escaped the change that time works. When the battle was fought, the oldest of them had not more than reached the full maturity of manhood; and now the youngest could only claim to be in the old age of youth or the youth of old age.

It was a pleasant meeting. There were a kindness of greeting and heartiness of grasp that plainly showed how glad these old soldiers were to meet again, some not having met since the close of the war. As each stood upon the portion of the field where his command engaged the enemy, his story was briefly told. Indeed, it was scarcely more than pointing out lines and positions. The historian was not here so much to learn as to verify. A question asked, he was quick to be the narrator.

The entire field having been gone over, the party separated, all feeling that the day had been pleasantly and profitably spent. The old battlefield has dotted over it along the entire Union line monuments both beautiful and chaste, but the work of adornment is incomplete. On some commanding point near the centre of the line there should rise a colossal monument to the memory of the commander of the Army of the Potomac, George Gordon Meade. It should be built of material as pure as his character and as enduring as his fame.

In front of it, and just beyond the reach of its tallest shadow, there should be another to his able lieutenant, Winfield Scott Hancock, who on this and a score of other fields showed that his first commander had not erred in styling him "superb."

D. MM. GREGG.

GENERAL NEWTON:

THE recent visit to the field of Gettysburg in company with the Comte de Paris, the Duc d'Orleans, and the gentlemen who accompanied them to this country, was an interesting event, whether regarded in the light of bringing the distinguished historian of our Civil War face to face with the military features of that great battlefield, or of affording a few of the survivors of the battle, who escorted the party, the opportunity of renewing

their memories of the deadly and gigantic struggle, which was a turning-point in the fortunes of the Union and of the Confederacy.

Thanks to the liberality of the governments, national and State, the individual share which each organization, on the Union side at least, took in the battle is recorded in words and in many cases in stone monuments, and adequate information has also been collected in regard to the Confederate forces ; so that all that is required, beyond what has been done and is now in progress, is the historian who is capable, from the immense magazine of facts placed at his disposal, to group these scientifically in the relation of cause to effect, and to correct history, may be, by assigning anew to the prominent leaders on either side their just measure of praise or censure.

I do not think it possible to have gone the rounds of that field, listening to the simple, and in the main accurate, acounts of the incidents of the contest from the lips of the guides, without being profoundly moved.

Beginning with the action of the first day, we see the First and the Eleventh Corps displayed in an arc of a circle, covering the roads from Chambersburg and York, respectively, to Gettysburg. The Third Confederate Corps, Lieutenant-General A. P. Hill, from Chambersburg attack the First Corps on the Seminary Ridge, and the Second Confederate Corps, Lieutenant-General R. S. Ewell, from York attack the position of the Eleventh Corps. The contest, with unequal numbers against the First Corps, wages fiercely for hours, until after the lines of the Eleventh Corps were forced by the enemy. This exposed the line of retreat of the First Corps, and numbers were captured subsequently in the attempt to fall back through Gettysburg to the Cemetery Ridge. In this affair that splendid soldier General Reynolds, commanding the Union troops, fell early in the day.

The fault, if any, of the First Corps was in the obstinacy of their resistance, and in bravely prolonging the fight after their right flank and rear had become exposed. Who is responsible for the failure to give the order to fall back in season, it is not proposed to discuss in this article.

The position of the Eleventh Corps was, in a military sense, a nearly smooth plain, which afforded the opportunity for a magnificent display of artillery. A competent force of guns here would

have checked Ewell, or at least have seriously delayed him, and the disaster to the First Corps from having its flank and rear turned would have been prevented.

Another inquiry pertinent to the occasion is why the Union forces, which operated on interior lines with respect to the enemy, should in this first important action have appeared on the field with inferior forces. This in itself was a great blunder.

The remnants of the First Corps and the Eleventh Corps took position on the Cemetery Ridge, where they were early reënforced by the Twelfth Corps, which occupied Culp's Hill and formed the extreme right of the Army of the Potomac during this and the subsequent days.

General Lee, after having a reconnoissance made of the new position of the Union forces on Cemetery Ridge, declined a further attack that day, although with the superior Confederate force upon the field the chances of success under the circumstances, by a flank movement to the right, would have been good. As a result of the battle of the first day (July 1), the First Corps was reduced to about 3,300 men, and one of the divisions of the corps to 900 men. On the second day a new Vermont brigade was assigned to the Third Division, making the total of the corps between 6,000 and 7,000 men. The Eleventh Corps suffered, but not so severely.

Just here, to prevent misconception, it is necessary to state that the term "corps" as applied to organizations in the Union army was often a misnomer, as some of the corps might in respect to numbers be properly called divisions. The Confederate corps deserved the name.

Until some statistician devotes himself to an elaborate analysis of the battle returns of the Union and Confederate armies, it is impossible in most cases to ascertain the relative strength of either in their engagements; for while the Confederates counted the men in line of battle, the Union authorities stupidly relied upon the muster returns for the strength of their armies. Consequently it was seldom possible to ascertain, even approximately, the actual number present in battle. There were other causes of a selfish nature which sometimes swelled on paper the number in regiments.

On the night of the 1st of July Ewell's corps was in Gettysburg, with the left threatening Culp's Hill; Hill's corps occupied

the Seminary Ridge. Two divisions of Longstreet's were four miles from Gettysburg; the other division, Pickett's, was absent and not available for service on the second day.

On the Union side the Twelfth Corps occupied the extreme right at Culp's Hill; next came Wadsworth's division of the First Corps; then the Eleventh Corps on Cemetery Ridge; on their left Robinson's division of the First Corps. The portion of the Third Corps that had come up occupied the extreme left of Meade's forces present on the field.

A long space from the left of the Third Corps to and including the Round Top was entirely unguarded, and this fact, as well as the easy nature of the ground, invited an attack here from the enemy.

The testimony is direct and not to be questioned that Longstreet was ordered by General Lee to attack early in the morning of July 2 with two divisions of his corps, supported by Anderson's division of Hill's corps, and turn the Union left before reënforcements, which were the Second, Fifth, and Sixth Corps and a portion of the Third, should arrive. As soon as Longstreet's guns opened, Ewell was to assail our right and Hill to lend such assistance to both as the case might demand.

A vigorous and concerted attack of this nature could scarcely, in the absence of more than half of the Army of the Potomac, have failed of success by cutting that army in two, and thus have caused a disaster which it is unpleasant even now to contemplate. At all events, even if interrupted in complete success by the arrival of the Second Corps, which took place about 7 A.M., still the Confederates could have seized the Round Top, which alone would have rendered the position of the Union army untenable.

Longstreet did not attack, and his reasons for abstaining have never seen the light.

On the other hand, the serious nature of the mistake that was made in permitting a dispersion of the Union forces at the critical moment of the campaign is thus brought home to the mind of every one.

After the arrival of the Second Corps, which took up the position occupied by the Third Corps, the latter advanced to the front beyond the general line, and occupied the place which has become historic as the Peach Orchard. This spot, the Devil's Den, the rocky slopes leading to the summit, and the Round Top

itself, became on that eventful afternoon the theatre of a bloody and memorable contest between the Third Corps and portions of the other corps on one side and Longstreet's forces on the other. Longstreet did not attack until 4 P.M., and up to that moment, and even for some time beyond it, he might have seized the Round Top, for the attention of the Union commander does not appear to have been called to its importance until a late hour of the day.

Notwithstanding the bloody results of the day to the Union forces, who fought under the peculiar disadvantage of having to meet the initiative of the enemy without a well-defined plan of their own, the end was, on the whole, favorable, as, after two days of apparent reverses, they found themselves *hammered* into a good position.

I had the opportunity to express this idea in the way of congratulation to General Meade at nightfall of the 2d of July, when the battle of the day was over.

The intrenched lines of the Twelfth Corps on the right were on this afternoon considerably stripped of troops, and Johnson's division of Ewell's corps took advantage of this fact to occupy a portion. To anticipate events a little, on the morning of the 3d of July, at a very early hour, Johnson was attacked, and after a fierce struggle was forced to leave, and the Twelfth Corps resumed full possession of its first position.

The visit paid to the little old building which was General Meade's headquarters during the battle revived recollections of the council of war held on the night of the 2d of July, which has been so variously represented that a simple statement of its proceedings is in order here. After calling from each corps commander for a field return of the number of his troops, the discussion turned on the probabilities of the morrow. All agreed, so far as I remember, that the position in itself was a good one, but I suggested the possibility of an attempt to turn our left, which could be done with a whole corps secretly at night and without breaking or weakening too much the Confederate lines; that we ought to look to it by having a force there to prevent such a demonstration. General Meade said that Lee would attack the next day on the easy ground between the Cemetery and Round Top. I replied that I thought General Lee too good a soldier to do that, as he would infallibly be badly whipped. We were both

correct, it seems; General Lee did attack, and at the same time he was badly whipped. For the rest, the council unanimously voted to fight it out on the position we held. A force also was sent to watch for any attempt to turn the left flank.

Early on the morning of the 3d of July, about daybreak, a terrific fire of musketry at the position of the Twelfth Corps gave notice that the contest with Johnson's Confederate division had begun.

The Third Division of the First had the evening before taken post on the left of the Second Corps, and on the morning of the 3d I found that our line thence to the Round Top was very incomplete. Reporting the fact to General Meade, I was directed to get troops from the Sixth Corps, and batteries from the reserve artillery to fill out the empty spaces. By my official report it was about noon before this was completed. Longstreet meanwhile had been ordered to attack early; he had at his disposal Pickett's, Hood's, and McLaws's divisions of his corps, and R. H. Anderson's division of Hill's corps, and, later, Heth's and Pender's division of the same corps; this attack was to be supported with artillery.

The attack was not made early or with all the force that was available; neither was it supported by the artillery, because that arm had beforehand exhausted, it is said, its ammunition. This defect was not made known to General Lee before the attack was made.

It is a matter of speculation what would have been the result if the attack had been made in full force, supported by artillery, early in the day, before our lines on the left to the Round Top had been consolidated.

It has been the occasion of unfavorable criticism of General Meade that, on the repulse of the final charge, he did not take aggressive action. I think, however, a candid consideration of all the circumstances will show that little benefit could have followed such a movement.

The same might be said of an attempt to press the Confederates in their retreat to the Potomac. In the broken and wooded country traversed by them numberless positions for defence offered themselves, and the assailants would have suffered out of all proportion to the defenders. Finally, the proposed attack on the Confederate lines at Williamsport was pronounced folly by the most experienced officers of the Army of the Potomac.

I have not attempted criticism, except of the scattered condition of our army on the first and second days, but I give facts sufficient to attract the attention of historians and thereby to lead to a full investigation and thorough analysis of this battle.

JOHN NEWTON,
Commanding First Corps, 2d and 3d July, 1863.

GENERAL BUTTERFIELD:

THE successful reunion of the surviving corps commanders at Gettysburg to meet the Comte de Paris—save only the thorough soldier Gibbon, of the Second Corps, stationed so far away on the Pacific as to cause no effort for his presence through the uncertainty of our date, and the able cavalry commander Pleasonton, an invalid and unable to respond to the call—left nothing other than their absence to regret.

Time was cut short from the Gettysburg programme by the most interesting tour of the previous day, which covered the battle-grounds of Harper's Ferry, Bolivar Heights, and Antietam, with a charming trip to the Mountain House. None of us will forget the vivid picture of the battle of Antietam so clearly drawn and pointed out from the Confederate side by Colonel Kyd Douglas. The mountain view repaid us for the loss of the two hours of that afternoon intended for Gregg's cavalry fight. But we were fortunate enough to get that next day.

The well-known and competent guide, Long, who has a correct knowledge of all roads, lines, and positions of organizations of both armies in the battle, was placed with the driver of the first carriage to show the route selected. This carriage contained always the Comte de Paris, the Duc d'Orleans, his son, and the corps commander of the particular line or position where we were, changing as required. An order of the day had been prepared, and, by the courtesy of the railway staff of General Orland Smith, copied and distributed. Each commander was thus prepared in advance for the journey over his lines. Colonel de Parseval, the Duc d'Uzes, and Captain Treat rode near the leading carriage, and thus we were well organized for the tour of the battlefield.

The programme was as thoroughly adhered to and complied with by all present, through the force of soldierly habit, the

evident necessity for our purpose, and the character of the assemblage, as if a military order from a supreme commander. Recognition of this feature is a double satisfaction in that it is a pleasure and a duty.

All went smoothly. Surprises were not looked for, but they came—of exceeding interest to most of us; to none more than the writer.

Howard's and Doubleday's descriptions of the first day's battle and the movements of glorious Buford's cavalry and the First and Eleventh Corps gave a clearer understanding of the extent of the lines, the work done, the ability shown on that day, with the unfavorable conditions existing on our side, which were never so clearly understood and appreciated before by many of those present.

The guide's face showed profound astonishment when the Count pointed out, before they were indicated to him, positions and localities he had never seen. For the first time on the field, previous study of the battle and the War Department maps had made him as familiar with it as if he had fought the battle.

In the first half-hour the Count ventured to correct an accidental error as to a locality indicated by one of our number; and the Count was right. It was simply marvellous to us all, this faculty and knowledge of our gallant comrade and historian.

The current of affairs going smoothly gave moments for thought and recall of incidents, between the clear and cold analytical statements (if one might use the expression) of the corps commanders as to their lines, positions, and movements, and those of the enemy. The guide furnished occasionally, when requested,—with more poetic license of description than a military report ordinarily carries,—a glowing word-picture of the battle's phases, replete with details as to the location of troops and commands engaged on both sides. By this we first knew what was told to the world of visitors to the field. It was a surprise again to find so much accuracy in the recital as to position and commands. Many things were not told. How could they be? They were not known.

Overlooking the field, and hearing a side discussion as to the opening of the battle, recalled the incident of General Hooker's words in laying down a map of Pennsylvania and Maryland early in June. By the light of subsequent events it seemed a marvellous inspiration or intuition.

"They are worrying at Washington and throughout the North," said he, "fearing we shall permit Lee's army to get across the Potomac. If he would not cross otherwise, I would lay the bridges for him and give him a safe pass across the river. But he will cross, and we must endeavor to guide his march *there*."

Suiting the action to his words, he pointed on the map to the Williamsport crossing, and, running his finger along the west side of South Mountain Range, stopped at the point where the shading indicated a break or pass, saying :

"He will go on this route, and we will fight the battle *here*, and, before we fight it, concentrate troops enough from all available sources to prevent Lee's return. If he gets away with his army, the country can have my head for a football, and will be entitled to it."

The battle point indicated was Gettysburg !

Subsequently to this conversation an order to proceed to Washington and Baltimore, securing 15,000 troops from Heintzelman's command at the capital and Schenck's in Maryland, and place them near the passes of the South Mountain, failed through General Halleck's declaration to President Lincoln, in my presence, that such withdrawal would endanger Washington. Schenck freely offered what could be assembled and spared from his command. The result was a Maryland brigade only. The 7th New York (city) National Guard was offered, and many of them were anxious to go. But it was decided to leave them in Baltimore.

The refusal by Halleck of this column strengthened Hooker's feeling that there was a want of proper support at headquarters, and culminated with the Harper's Ferry incident of the like refusal of French's 10,000 and Hooker's request to be relieved. He said there was too much at stake to permit any personal feeling, and he felt it his duty to ask to be relieved, and the command given to some one who would receive all support.

In a private conversation with President Lincoln at the camp at headquarters, after Chancellorsville, Hooker had indicated to the President his unbounded confidence in Reynolds and Meade as capable commanders for that or any army.

But three days in advance of the impending and intended battle, one of the most self-contained, conservative, quiet, and at the same time gallant, soldiers of the Army of the Potomac

was called out of bed before daylight—an utter surprise to himself—and placed in command of the army. So quiet and unobtrusive were the ways of General Meade that he was in some parts of the army almost personally unknown. All knew of his gallant fight at Fredericksburg. He thought to assemble the army at Frederick, and have a review, to see and know and be known by those portions of the army with which he was not familiar. Upon receiving an explanation of the entire situation, he assented to the continued march of our columns prepared for the next day, and the programme of Hooker's movement after French's column was refused him was carried out unchanged until Reynolds reached Gettysburg and met the enemy. Hooker was to send French, under the command of Slocum, with the Twelfth Corps upon Lee's line of communications. This was abandoned when French's troops were denied him.

But we are not to fight the battle over again in this article. It would take more than a number of THE REVIEW to place in the record much that would be of interest. More will be interested, perhaps, in impressions and reminiscences. So many years after, men then unborn are now living and important factors in the body politic. It would seem hardly possible that they could realize what Gettysburg meant without the personal experience of the time.

The absolute self-possession and quiet demeanor of the corps commanders present at this (in war history) unique assemblage so many years after the battle, though marked, was not as strongly marked as the same characteristic of all during the three days' fighting. It strongly and forcibly recalled it.

Typical of this, it brought back Meade sitting quietly on the little grass plot at the roadside of the headquarters house, in the midst of the battle; shells bursting constantly every few minutes and officers' horses disabled; surrounded by a small group of staff officers attached to headquarters; telling, as quietly as if at a quiet home in a peaceful glen, an interesting experience and incident of his career as a young officer. Generals Sharpe, the loved Seth Williams, Perkins, and others were of the group. The world might naturally suppose that, with the immense responsibility so suddenly placed upon him unsought and unexpected, Meade might have been a trifle nervous or excited. If he was, he never betrayed it. This self-possession and absolute coolness, so

marked throughout that battle on the part not only of the principal commanders, but of most of the subordinates, was more strong and pronounced, to so express it, than in any of a score of battles of personal recollection and experience.

Slocum was much more quiet and collected on the night of the council of war (after the second day's battle), when, reclining with almost absolute nonchalance, he answered, as his vote on the proposition of a change of our position, "*Stay and fight it out,*" than he was when listening to the words of Howard, Doubleday, Gregg, and the others so many years after. He did not tell us why the proposal to which he had assented, and for which he held his command ready, to follow up the repulse of Pickett's assault, was not accepted or approved.

We never thought to ask him of the truth of the story current of the oldest living and one of the bravest of Gettysburg's veterans, General Greene, beloved by us all—that in the midst of the darkness and night of the second day he stood almost within the enemy's lines under orders to retake his former position, and ordered his command, although they were a long way out of reach of his voice, as though present, with the successful purpose of retarding the enemy's movement until his own men could get there.

Howard seemed more calm and collected at headquarters under fire on the second day's battle, when explaining the position of his troops with reference to the withdrawal in *échelon* ordered, but not begun,*—stopped by Longstreet's attack on Sickles,—than he was standing on tiptoe, all aglow, listening to Gregg, or telling of his own movements so interestedly and energetically.

Sickles was more calm and unmoved on the second day's fight, when he came to the headquarters council called, but not held, for a joint understanding of the proposed movement, and announced the battle opening on his front, than he was sitting on the rocks at Little Round Top, listening to the story we asked the guide to tell as he told it to battlefield visitors. From the first-mentioned encounter Sickles was carried away minus a leg, but with lasting honor. He gained another crown of honor on our visit, in the thought of some of us, since he never mentioned his initiative and strong demand repeated to headquarters for the occupation of

* The original order-book of headquarters containing this order has been destroyed or lost, and is not at the War Department.

that position which caused Warren to be sent where his statue now stands.

Dear General Wright, gallant, quiet, modest to the extreme, was far less demonstrative in manner, language, and mood (not in force) so many years ago than he was when his quiet yet decided manner gave about the only corrective suggestion made during the day to the guide's story of any of the movements.

Newton's genial and calm temperament seemed, if anything, no less marked than when he said to Meade, to the latter's apparent disgust, on the evening of the second day's battle :

"General Meade, I think you ought to feel much gratified with to-day's results."

"In the name of common-sense, Newton, why?" was the inquiry in reply.

"Why," said Newton, with his pleasant expression and smile, "they have hammered us into a solid position they cannot whip us out of."

Doubleday's strength was sorely tested, invalid as he is, in the severe ascent to the belfry of the seminary. His clear and lucid description of Buford's work and his own on the first day of the fight, before and after Reynolds's death, and his explanation of the splendid *coup* of Robinson, with Wadsworth's and Fairchild's work, were interrupted and broken, but not impaired, by inability quickly to regain breath and strength after climbing such a height. He was much more quiet and composed during the battle days.

Gregg, with his courteous, high-bred manner, briefly described in the clearest way his brilliant cavalry fight. One would hardly have thought he was a participant, so modestly and tranquilly he spoke. He seemed not a day older nor a whit changed in any respect (save being in mufti) from the *beau sabreur* and quiet gentleman who always rode so tranquilly at the head of his command in or out of the fight.

At the visit to headquarters the scene and the discussions of the council of war on the night of the second day's battle were recalled. The recollections by all after so many years were in entire accord, with the slight exception that one commander thought Meade used the language, in expressing his opinion, that "Gettysburg was no place to fight a battle," instead of "Gettysburg is no place to fight a battle." The trifling difference was not worth discussion, since all agreed so closely.

There were recollections, musings, regrets, on that day, not alone by the writer, but, I think, more or less by all. They would fill a volume, and would be of interest to survivors of that field.

There was a strong regret that the good people of Philadelphia or Pennsylvania had not placed the equestrian statue of Meade on that field, where it belongs, rather than in Fairmount Park. It was Meade's victory, as it would have been his defeat had it terminated in the enemy's favor. Everybody who goes there, and who will go, will always wish to see the commander as he was. Perhaps Pennsylvania will yet do it. What a group it would be to place in the field where the wooden observatory is, opposite the cemetery! Equestrian statues, life-size, of Meade, Reynolds, Hancock, Sedgwick, Wadsworth, Buford, Humphreys, Sykes, Birney, and others gone, as they were in life in that battle, and the gallant commanders yet living who will follow them to a future crown!

Whatever we may have thought in years agone, with less reflection and no knowledge of present results, speculation as to what might have occurred is but speculation. We know what the Army of the Potomac did at Malvern Hill after previous defeats, and we realize that our opponents were not to be undervalued for courage or tenacity. They proved it in our fighing days, as did their ancestry side by side with ours in the days of '76, at Yorktown, Saratoga, and the other fields of the Revolution. That they believed they were right, while we fought because we thought we knew they were wrong, passes unchallenged into history.

We cannot blame the prudence and conservative judgment that led Meade not to stake what, in case of failure, might perhaps have caused a fatal result to our Union. His great responsibility did not descend below the commander or to those of us who would have had it otherwise.

Some of us believe that it was a good Providence that endowed him with caution, if the consciousness of his grave responsibility did not of itself do it. We believe that his unquestioned bravery in obeying orders carried with it a saving and prudent judgment when he personally commanded; that it was better for the country, for all sides, that the fighting was not pushed for the conclusion and results we then thought and still think might have been possible, and that we can be profoundly grateful for the results as they stand to-day.

It is not to be wondered at that there are many honestly mistaken as to the real effect and results of their own work in this battle, tactically of accident, strategically of purpose.

Many subordinate commanders to this day think their action won the battle, which would have been lost but for the combined work of all. It will never cease to be a regret to every true soldier that the full and just meed of recognition has not been given to all who deserved so much on that field.

There is no reason why the Illinois cavalryman should not have honestly supposed he was right when he marked the spot where he believed he fired the first shot of the battle about 7 A.M. July 1. He was ignorant of the fact that one of the 6th New York Cavalry had opened the fire some hours before at daylight. Although ordered not to fire at night, he reasoned that his orders not to fire during the night ended with daybreak, and he fired into the fog at the sound of the enemy's cavalry close to his picket post, though he could not see them—a lucky shot, in that it halted the advance of the enemy for the time. They could not see him. It added time for concentration.

It would be of great interest to know if the great and glorious soldier, Reynolds, who was fully apprised of Hooker's views and purposes, had in his mind the actual battlefield of the second and third days, and moved in front of it on that morning to give time for and cover the necessary concentration of our army, which he knew we could make by our distances as soon as, if not sooner than, Lee's entire army could. The battle-field memorial association will, we hope, some day, get light on many such points of interest. They have done and are doing excellent work.

It is not worth while to speculate upon a proposition to which there can never be an answer or positive solution. We could not rewrite the history of Europe if Wellington had been defeated at Waterloo, nor the result if we had failed at Gettysburg. Hence it is only speculation and opinion, with no certainty, as to what would have occurred had Lee adhered to the stated forecast of his campaign that it should be "strategically offensive" and "tactically defensive," leaving us to be the attacking party. We must always be grateful that Lee changed this. So theories or speculations as to the result had Hooker retained command are idle, as well as what would have occurred had Slocum been per-

mitted to enter upon the pursuit after Pickett's repulse, backed by a division of the Sixth Corps, as he was ready to do.

Nor need we speculate on the results if Sickles's position on the second day had not prevented Longstreet's junction with the force sent to our rear for that purpose or any withdrawal from our position, or on what result would have occurred if the magnetic, forceful, and impetuous Stonewall Jackson had been there commanding the force coöperating with Longstreet. We may on both sides cherish theories of results, but they are vain and idle. There are dangers before us now from virtually the same causes that brought on the War of the Rebellion—*avarice, greed, and selfishness*—that we may rather speculate upon with the hope to counteract.

We may, and we should be, profoundly thankful that results are as they now exist; more than grateful to the splendid, brave old Army of the Potomac, down to the last soldier on its fighting rolls, before, and at, and after the days of Gettysburg. It never proved more thoroughly or strongly its great discipline, organization, patriotism, and endurance than in those eventful days. Its memory and its lustre will never grow dim with us, and will always reflect with added brilliancy the glories of the armies of the West, of the Tennessee, the Cumberland (its glorious Western counterpart), and the Ohio. This light and lustre in all the armies came from the same source—the soldier in the ranks. He was always of good material, and ever showed it when trained and led by competent officers—sometimes without such leadership.

How appropriate here the words of our greatest soldier, Grant! How true!

"My sympathies are with every movement which aims to acknowledge our indebtedness to the private soldier—the countless, nameless, often disregarded, heroes of the musket and bayonet, to whose true patriotism, patient endurance, and fiery courage on the day of danger we who are generals owe victory, and the country will yet owe its salvation." (Grant's speech in 1863.)

Gettysburg, so often called the "soldiers' battle," appreciatively bears monuments from their States on the lines where they fought. We ought to place there monuments to mark the lines of our opponents, now, we trust, forever our fellow-citizens. The display of their great courage emphasizes that of our own brave men.

DANIEL BUTTERFIELD.

THE FUTURE OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

BY CLAUS SPRECKELS.

THE death of King Kalakaua has aroused public interest in Hawaiian affairs. It was generally understood that the prime object of Kalakaua's visit to this country was to promote closer relations with the United States. His death while negotiations were pending was somewhat unfortunate, because it is not absolutely certain that the policy of the Hawaiian government under his successor will run on precisely the same lines. But while there is room for doubt on this head, there is also a reasonable probability that Kalakaua's death will not materially change the drift of public policy.

The Hawaiian Islands are American in sentiment and sympathy. Visitors from the United States to Honolulu feel themselves at home the moment they land from the steamer. There is nothing in the social conditions to remind them that they are on foreign soil. Hotels and stores are conducted on the American plan. American money is the circulating medium. Outdoor sports and popular amusements are fashioned on the American pattern, and the Fourth of July is a national holiday. Conversely, when a Hawaiian resident visits America, he finds himself at home in San Francisco or anywhere else in the United States.

The native Hawaiian people look to America as their best friend. They received their civilization from it, and they have constant intercourse with it. In other words, they know that their material prosperity depends upon the friendship of the United States. But they are impressionable and easily led. This is the weak point in Hawaiian affairs. It has been the cause of the recent trouble in the islands, and will continue to be a source of uncertainty and weakness while the Hawaiian natives continue to be influenced by their old traditions and customs.

There is a small but influential element on the islands which, if not exactly antipathetic, is not inclined to be favorably disposed

to American ascendency. This element may be grouped as representing British and German sentiment, while the Portuguese, by reason of their numbers and thrift, are fast acquiring political and commercial importance. At present the leaning of the Portuguese is toward America, but the sentiment is not very pronounced. The Japanese are likely to make their influence felt through their government, which, it has been hinted, would probably demand the suffrage for such of its people domiciled on the islands as may be able to comply with the requirements of the election law; but there is no danger of any interference from Tokio in the foreign relations of Hawaii with the United States or any other country. Should the Japanese receive the franchise, possibilities would be opened, however, for political combinations of various kinds, some of which might be inimical to American influence.

The Chinese form the remaining element in the Hawaiian Kingdom which might possibly become hostile to American supremacy. But the Chinese do not take any part in public affairs as a rule, although they took an opportunity of exhibiting their strength when it was proposed by the late reform government to initiate stringent anti-Chinese legislation. They assembled in public meeting and pronounced against the proposed legislation, and as a consequence it was quietly dropped. This incident gave the Chinese confidence in themselves, and they are not at all likely to abate one particle of their importance or pretensions. But Chinamen look upon all foreign countries with the same feelings of aversion, and therefore may be regarded as passive on any question that might arise in Hawaii between the United States and either England or Germany. I am inclined to think, all other things being equal, that the Chinese in Hawaii would give the preference to the United States. However, it must be remembered that the Chinese are a people who do not permit sentiment to influence them, and may therefore be expected to favor that which they think would pay best.

This brief statement of conflicting national sentiment on the Hawaiian Islands is necessary to a proper understanding of the situation there. It will be observed that the only potent factors, exclusive of native Hawaiians, are the American, British, and German nationalities. I have grouped the last two together for convenience, although they are very far from pursuing a common

aim outside of business. As I have said, however, American influence greatly preponderates in every department of government and branch of industry. The banks of the kingdom are conducted by Americans. Of the capital invested in sugar plantations and mills, estimated at $29,665,990 in 1889, $22,537,210 belonged to Americans, $5,090,830 to British, $1,756,300 to Germans, and the balance to native Hawaiians and other nationalities. The carrying trade of the islands is in American hands, and the Pacific coast is the consuming and supply market for the entire Hawaiian group.

It is only natural, from a consideration of these facts, that American citizens should take a deep interest in Hawaiian affairs, and that the death of King Kalakaua at San Francisco, so soon after a native uprising in his capital, should cause anxious speculations as to the future. The late revolutionary movement, which resulted in the proclamation of an amended constitution, might, under favoring circumstances, be successfully imitated by the reactionary party, although Wilcox failed in his attempt: in that case how would American investments be affected? and would the United States government retain its influence over Hawaiian affairs? These questions have been asked frequently of late; and while it is not my purpose to attempt to answer them, for the reason that the future is uncertain, I do not hesitate to say that the chances are against any organized attempt to change existing political conditions. But much might be accomplished without resort to violence, and it is far more difficult to guard against a stealthy than against an open attack.

The commercial importance of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States cannot very well be overestimated, for the reason that their great natural resources are only beginning to be developed. And what has heretofore been accomplished has been mainly done by American skill, capital, and enterprise. The total foreign trade of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1876, when the reciprocity treaty with the United States went into operation, was $3,811,187. The sugar export for that year was about 16,000 tons. For 1889, under the stimulus of limited reciprocity, the sugar export of the islands was about 125,000 tons, every pound of which was marketed in the United States, employing skilled labor in the refining business and dependent trades, while the total foreign commerce was $19,313,131, of which $13,972,579, or

72.34 per cent., was with the United States. The Collector-General of Customs of the Hawaiian Islands, in his annual report for 1889, says: "The trade with the United States has increased 5.78 per cent. during the year, and is now 79.10 per cent. of our entire imports. Our exports virtually all go to the United States. The United States received the bulk of our trade both in exports and imports; Great Britain received 3.45 per cent.; and China and Japan 1.10 per cent."

In the shipping trade of the Hawaiian Islands the American flag has the preference, and in this respect the Hawaiian trade is an exception worth noting. The Collector-General's returns for 1889, from which I quote, state the percentages of shipping employed in the foreign trade of the Hawaiian Kingdom as follows: "American, 72.34; Hawaiian (nearly all built on the Pacific coast), 19.19; British, 5.90; German, 2.04; all other, .53." The percentages of shipping for 1890, when published, will tell even better for the American flag. These figures emphasize the fact, however, that, while the stars and stripes are being driven from the high seas by foreign competition, the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii, a mere dot in the wide Pacific Ocean, has created a trade of which Americans have the virtual monopoly. Indeed, it is to this fact alone, and to the wise and far-seeing policy embodied in the Hawaiian treaty, that San Francisco ranks so high on the list of American ports for American shipping. Yet further, the commercial standing of San Francisco is very largely dependent upon its Hawaiian trade, as the following exhibit for 1890 will show:

	EXPORTS TO.	IMPORTS FROM.
Hawaii	$4.179.311	$12,363,450
Central America	1,789,046	3,012,517
Mexico	1,570,646	800,061
Ecuador	155,727	99,083
Chile	27,935	416,751
China	3,114,757	5,699,638
Japan	717,363	7,847,974
Great Britain	16,998,694	4,685,320
British Columbia	871,613	1,570,052
Australasia	1,402,316	1,195,047
East India	495,035	2,885,737
France	2,182,322	1,216,395
French colonies	353,951	213,107
Belgium	1,089,066	725,875
Germany	167.593	1,156,008
Italy	.....	158,271
Holland	1,600	.....
Cuba	.....	407,306
Philippines	59,667	957,954
Asiatic Russia	128,937	416,751
Brazil	430,295	.....
Peru	257,776	.....
Other countries	.....	58,727

This exhibit demonstrates conclusively the great value of the Hawaiian trade to San Francisco and the country at large. It is of the utmost consequence, therefore, that it should be conserved and extended. There is no other instance on record where so large a trade has been developed with 80,000 people, which is about the total population of the Hawaiian Islands.

These figures, which deal with merchandise only, speak for themselves. They are more convincing than any argument I could use, if our public men would only condescend to consider them. They attest the commercial value of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, and suggest that the true policy of this country is to strengthen, and not impair, American influence in Hawaiian affairs. The necessity for pursuing such an enlightened policy consistently and continuously must also suggest itself to thoughtful men when it is remembered that the Hawaiian Islands will become the key to the north Pacific Ocean upon the completion of the Nicaragua Canal, which will bring the maritime powers of Europe within striking distance of San Francisco. The power which holds Pearl Harbor, close to Honolulu, and is in direct communication with it by cable, will be mistress of the seas in the north Pacific.

The possession of Pearl Harbor as a naval station has been guaranteed to the United States government by treaty for a number of years. Why not improve the harbor and make this condition of occupation perpetual by treaty conferring perpetual reciprocal advantages upon Hawaii? The overshadowing influence of the United States in the industries and trade of the Hawaiian Islands renders it eminently proper that it should protect its commerce and the investment of its citizens against any possible combination or attack from without. This should not, and, indeed, need not, involve any attack upon the independence of the islands. No one could be more opposed to their annexation to the United States than I am. It could do no possible good, and might do a great deal of injury; but only good could result from the plan I have suggested. It would restore confidence in the stability of Hawaiian institutions, and stimulate industrial enterprise on the islands. This would necessarily react favorably upon American trade, and help to build up the shipping interests of this country, which are now at so low an ebb.

CLAUS SPRECKELS.

WHY WOMEN MARRY.

BY MRS. JOHN SHERWOOD.

It is a very difficult task to answer Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells's brilliant paper in the last number of The Review, because she goes on answering herself. I have always admired her gallant assault on an ethical problem, and find it difficult to break a lance with her. However, I differ honestly from one or two of her opinions, and shall endeavor to say so respectfully.

I do not believe prudence or "the original sinfulness of man" has ever kept a woman from marrying. Mrs. Wells says that "the working woman dreads man. She knows him as contractor, boss, night-fiend, betrayer, and she wants none of him." With this postulate I disagree. Who has not had a superior housemaid, nurse, or even nursery governess, who went wild over this "contractor, boss, night-fiend, and betrayer" and would marry him, willy nilly, and be poor, deserted, miserable, but fond and affectionate, ever after?

The immortal epic of Nancy Sykes tells the whole story. It is a sad truth. One hates to acknowledge it. Women love brutes; they adore strength; they love, as a dog does, the master, and, although civilization has brought in some terrible complications, there is something honorable and natural in this strange contradiction. The man should have just enough of the brute in him to kill, as Adam did, the deer for the family dinner. He should be able to knock something on the head—presumably not his wife. Even through all the grades, from Adam down to an English duke, women have in their secret hearts this adoration of masculine power, and I remember hearing at a dinner-table in London, three years ago, where the differences of a certain noble couple were being discussed (they had just gone through the divorce court), this remark from a delicate and elegant countess, who was a friend of the wife:

"You see, Anastasia was one of those women who needed kicking down stairs, and Marmaduke was gentle; he was *not up to it.*"

This is putting it brutally; it is the plain English of it; but who does not know some dissatisfied woman of fashion who loathes her rather stupid husband, who does not know enough "*to kick her down stairs*"? That is, he has not inspired her with *a respect for his strength.* She ought to be (she wishes she could be) afraid of him, but she is sorry to acknowledge to her own heart that she is his superior. It saps her love for him. They are in a false position towards each other.

And rising above the housemaids and the nursery governess, do we not all know some gentle, superior, educated women who have loved and married men whom they knew to be gamblers, drunkards, and brutes? It is the superior woman who does this. Jane Eyre loved Rochester, although we see, who are looking on, that she was far his superior. He was simply masculinity on a black horse, the Centaur—sublime allegory of strength. He was her man of men. How splendidly the little Yorkshire woman pictures it for us in her noble English, as she paints the vapid manikins and womankins of fashion who gathered in that stately drawing-room. As Rochester tries to make love to one of them who would like to marry him for his money, we feel, all the time, how inferior she is to the plain little Jane in the corner in this great *power of loving*; aye, and we feel how illogical is Jane to love Rochester so much; but we respect her for it: it is womanly.

But Mrs. Wells will say, and very truly, that every woman is not a Jane Eyre; that some are so prudent and so selfish that they ask if half the husband's wage will be given to them; if it will not be more comfortable to live alone, and to save the money earned for one's self. These are very rare women. Did Mrs. Wells ever reason with a housemaid in love, or a schoolmistress, or a fashionable girl who wished to refuse fifteen millions and marry the man of her choice?

I do not agree with Mrs. Wells in the supposition that the higher education, or philanthropy, or the pursuit of an honorable profession drives out of a woman's head the idea of marriage. A profession is a refuge for a woman who has not been able to marry the man of her choice, or, having married him, has found him utterly uncongenial, or, as some witty woman said, "insupport-

able, and therefore to be supported." I have seen the most educated, the busiest, and the most superior women, at forty years of age glad to marry some very inferior weak creature, so great a craving had their noble hearts for love. Women who are exceptionally strong can stifle this hunger of the heart. "It requires," said Miss Sedgwick, "a very superior woman to be an old maid. Almost anybody can be a good wife."

Higher education has opened much that gives dignity and peace to a woman who has missed her destiny, which is marriage; but it does not keep a "double first" from wishing to marry, although it does undoubtedly make her less attractive to men to be so "very superior."

For, to return to that savage idea of nature which makes the brutal man attractive, a man likes a woman to be his inferior. She must be as feminine as he is masculine, and the first claim of femininity is this: that the woman looks up to the man. Who that has read Mrs. Oliphant's excellent story of "Miss Majoribanks" but recalls half a dozen such very superior women of his own acquaintance who were wrecked as to marriage by their very superiority? The man felt that he could offer neither protection, assistance, nor help to these very superior creatures. I often hear of such women, who are apt to be heavily freighted with self-conceit. "Oh, she could have married anybody, but she does not wish to marry." I never believe this. I think the legend should read: "She would have married almost anybody if she could." I am sure, had I been a man, I should not have wished to marry her.

A woman who thus gives the idea that she is a law unto herself loses her power of attraction, and it is one argument against the half-education which we misname the higher education that it sometimes produces an unhappy mixture of this kind. The true education, the highest education, places a woman exactly on a level with her mate. She loves the man who is her superior. She adores his superiority of mind, as she rejoices in the bigness of his hands and the superior largeness of his feet, which give him the physical strength for a mountain climb or the power of pulling at the sails of his yacht. He and she are the complements of a perfect whole. That is the ideal marriage.

No doubt there are many women—very grand women they are, too—who, like Miss Martineau, refuse to marry for physical con-

siderations—ill health ; the fear of hereditary disease ; the desire to save the beloved husband that should have been from unnecessary burdens. All honor to such women ; they are the silent martyrs. "'T is better to have loved and lost," etc. Such women are not unhappy.

But the sad reason why most women do not marry is because they have not had a chance. When we read that there are sixty thousand more unmarried women than men in Massachusetts alone, what shall we say of the rest of the so miscalled United States? Mrs. Wells wittily describes some one who had had "half an offer." It is to be feared that some most lovable women have not even reached to that dreadful moment of suspense. It is the "Lost Chord," and deeply to be deplored. It is true that in many a retired village some half-dozen very clever, well-educated, good women pass their lonely lives with no chance to "better their condition." No wonder that some of them make what their families call very bad marriages.

On one point I do agree with Mrs. Wells, when she refers to the horrible literature with which our market is flooded, turning life into a dissecting-room. That, indeed, may well frighten a susceptible and nervous woman. It is a shocking wrong and nuisance that popular magazines should publish stories which are read by young girls, enabling them, as Mrs. Wells says, to count "the various kinds of kisses which mark the advent and climax of a lover's regard. Love itself is just as subtle and unselfish as ever it was ; passion is as true and noble ; but their parasites are deadly." This is a splendid summing-up. But I do not agree that such reading makes a girl "love her mother more," or that she "stays at home," growing more healthful, and finding "indefinite interests enough to make single life very pleasant."

I fear the novels of to-day have had a very different result. This literature has had a vicious effect on the manners, if not on the morals, of our girls. It has led to the loud, unsexed, and vulgar product which we observe more in Europe than here. I do not think it has led to self-analysis, but to a demoralization of both young girls and young married women.

No doubt amongst the higher classes (if we have such a thing) the increased expense of living keeps many of the men from asking the women of their choice to marry them. So much the worse for the men. No factor in a man's fortune is so certain as a good

wife. If he fails, she can work. Women have proved during the last twenty years that they are a success as bread-winners. And where love goes before like a light in the pathway, who is such a tonic, when a man is down, as a good wife? Who will console him for the decline in stocks like the courageous creature who will say, "Never mind, Horatio, we can live in the country now; we *still have each other* and the children. Don't dare to say you are down while you have me and them, and now we will see what I can do"?

It would be worth several Baring Brothers' failures to have a woman say that. And do we not know many who have said it, and lived it too? Yes.

The great defect of the age is the lack of confidence between men and women on this point. Each should be thoroughly permeated with the idea of the other's happiness, and know that each is invaluable and necessary to the other.

In that sweetest of love-stories, "White Heather," we have the model girl, Meenie, who, rising above all the prejudices of caste, determines to marry her Ronald, and comes to Glasgow to save him from enlisting, and from going to the bad. She says, with a touch of wounded pride in her voice:

"Ronald, I have come all the way from the Highlands to save you."

And she tells him bravely that she was making no sacrifice to take him. She puts heart and hope into the brave, foolish fellow, of whom love has made a coward, and she consents to a Scotch marriage, under proper *chaperonage* (the idea of using this wretched French word under the shadow of Ben Loyal, and the Mudal, and Loch Naber, and Clebrig!), and these were halcyon days. The rich lover whom the ambitious sister wished Meenie to marry was sent to the right-about, for Meenie reasoned rightly that it was of no consequence to anybody but Ronald and herself whom she married; and so the rich lover was discarded. And Ronald turned out all right. Let all young ladies who hesitate about marrying the man whom they wish to marry read the beautiful, clean story of "White Heather," and, if they can find a Ronald, marry him on the spot.

It is a good book to read in these degenerate days, when "Love's Sacrifice" is out of date. It is a strong and healthy pulse which beats in the white wrist of Meenie. She knew that

with *her* Ronald would be a success, without *her* a failure; and love told her fortune with unerring accuracy.

To be sure, there was a rich American who helped along, but that does not make the moral less binding.

It would be better, no doubt, to have a dowry, to step into a well-furnished brown-stone house given by papa, to have a bank account on both sides; and then perhaps more of our girls would marry, if any sort of young man would ask them.

But when all that has happened to the fortunate young pair in whose pathway we strew roses, and around whom we crowd with congratulations, and ivory-bound prayer-books, we have still several millions of beating hearts unmated.

In this matter civilization has made a mistake. The birds and the squirrels make no such blunders. We do not hear of an old-maid nightingale singing to herself, forlornly, on a withered bough, nor of a selfish gray bachelor squirrel, going to his Union Club in an old oak-tree, eating his acorn, presumably served with truffles, all by himself.

To be sure, they neither of them have to consult Wall Street tickers or order Worth dresses.

Life with us is smothered in appliances. It could be very gay if it were not for its amusements, and very luxurious if it were not for its luxuries: both are overdone; and the first effect of our crude civilization is, with all our cleverness, to copy that which we ought to throw away, and to throw away that which is our peerless birthright. For if there ever was a country where young men and young women ought to marry for love, and to hope for a successful future, it is this country. We have seen that the rent-roll, the dowry, and the brown-stone house do not always bring happiness. We read every day that confession in the details of the divorce court. Therefore, why should not two strong young hearts say?—

"Never mind; whose happiness but yours and mine?"

Mrs. Wells says, wisely: "There are cycles and epochs in the civilizing processes of affection." It is to be feared that we are in a selfish cycle in which man desires marriage less than ever. Why he ever desired it has puzzled some absinthe-drinking Frenchmen.

We should be sorry to believe that woman was ever so untrue to herself as not to desire the fireside, the cradle, the cherub faces,

the infinite sacrifice and the infinite rewards of wifehood and motherhood. And we join with Mrs. Wells in saying: "The time will come when all noble women and men will be married."

For even the mistakes; the patient, brute-loving wife; the faithful, hopeful, weak husband, who waits and hopes; the sorrowful story of the imprudent marriage and its sad consequences; the foolish waiting and putting-off of marriage until fortune shall come, as if two could not court the fickle goddess better than one—even these mistakes and blunders prove that it is a "right road to travel," one we were all born to walk over on our upward path; and if any woman refuses to marry because of self-conceit, or because any learning or profession is better than marriage; if she regards selfish ease and the environment more than the man himself, then she is unworthy to read "White Heather," or even go a-salmon-fishing with that dear hero and heroine of William Black's best story.

I have not answered Mrs. Wells at all. She has still the fort untaken. Indeed, we neither of us know why our girls do not marry; we can only hope that they will "mend their ways," and imitate Mrs. Somerville when they are married, however superior they may be. For it is asserted that, while Mrs. Somerville's bureaus were full of diplomas, Dr. Somerville's buttons were always sewed on in the right place and his dinners were admirably served.

M. E. W. SHERWOOD.

THE MENACE OF SILVER LEGISLATION.

BY THE HON. EDWARD O. LEECH, DIRECTOR OF THE MINT.

THE silver question is a part of that larger question of money and of the monetary standard, meaning by money an instrument which, in exchanges of services or commodities, serves as a *measure*, and is, in and of itself, an *equivalent*.

Time was when silver possessed the conditions necessary to fit it to serve as such a measure and equivalent. It does not possess them to-day.

The history of coinage legislation in the United States prior to 1878 was a series of blunders, in consequence of which, at no time prior to that date, did gold and silver coins of full debt-paying power circulate concurrently in this country. The first Coinage Act (April 2, 1792) fixed the relative value of the two metals, in coinage, at 15 of silver to 1 of gold. In this legal relation gold was undervalued; that is to say, the quantity of gold in the gold dollar was worth more than a dollar. The result was that gold coins did not circulate, but gold was shipped abroad in exchange for commodities at its commercial value.

To remedy this, the gold in the gold dollar was reduced by the act of 1834 (and the supplemental act of 1837) from 24.75 to 23.22 grains, at which it still remains. The quantity of silver in the silver dollar, as fixed by the act of 1792, remained unchanged. The ratio in coinage between the two metals was fixed at 1 to 15.988—practically 1 to 16. By this change silver was undervalued, and, in consequence, all our silver was shipped abroad, and gold was our only metallic currency. Indeed, in order to keep sufficient silver in the country for change purposes, Congress in 1853 reduced the weight of the divisional silver coins about 8½ per cent. and limited their debt-paying power, at the same time withdrawing from individuals the right to have such pieces coined.

From 1834 to the War of the Rebellion, when we went on a paper basis, gold constituted our only metallic currency. Theo-

retically we had a double standard ; practically we had a single standard, of silver or of gold, from 1792 to 1861.

In the revision and codification of the coinage laws in 1873 the silver dollar, which was practically obsolete, was no longer authorized to be coined, and gold was made the sole standard of value.

In 1878, by what is commonly known as the "Bland Act," the coinage of the silver dollar, with full debt-paying power, was restored, not, however, for individuals, as prior to 1873, but on government account ; the law requiring the purchase, monthly, at the market price, and the coinage into silver dollars, of not less than two million nor more than four million dollars' worth of silver bullion. The minimum amount was purchased and coined.

From that period (February 28, 1878) until this provision of law was repealed by the act of July 14, 1890, the government of the United States bought 291,272,018 ounces of silver, at a cost of $308,199,261, and coined from such bullion 377,246,880 silver dollars, with a net profit, or "seigniorage," of about $67,000,000.

The present law (act of July 14, 1890) requires the purchase, monthly, at the market price, of four and a half million ounces of silver, of which two million ounces shall be coined, monthly, for the period of one year, into silver dollars ; after that date only such silver dollars need be coined as may be required for the redemption of the treasury notes issued in payment for the silver purchased. The silver dollars coined under these various acts since 1878, although not containing a dollar's worth of silver, have been maintained in domestic circulation at par with gold by causes not necessary now to be considered.

The silver question, as it now presents itself, means "free coinage of silver" in the United States concurrently with the free coinage of gold, at the ratio in coinage of 1 to 16 (exactly 1 to 15.988) ; that is, that individuals may take silver of any kind or description to the mints, and have every 371¼ grains stamped, free of charge, into a dollar, which dollar shall be a full legal-tender, for its face value, in the payment of debts and obligations of all kinds in the United States.

This is the right as to gold : why not as to silver ? There is an important difference. The minting of gold adds nothing to the value of the metal contained in the coin. It is simply a certificate to the public of the weight and purity of the piece. As a matter of fact, fine gold bars sell in New York at a slight premium

above full-weight gold coin, being preferred for shipment and industrial uses.

How is it with silver? The commercial, or bullion, value of the silver contained in the silver dollar is to-day 80 cents.* Here, then, is an important difference which did not exist prior to 1873, when we had free coinage of silver. In this difference lies the whole difficulty. Can it be overcome? Let us see.

Since 1873, when the United States adopted the gold standard, many important changes in respect to silver have taken place—changes we cannot ignore. They may be briefly enumerated as follows:

1. Silver has depreciated in value, as compared with gold, over 25 per cent.†

2. European nations have for thirteen years discontinued its coinage as full legal-tender money.‡

3. The exchanges of the world are settled everywhere in gold, or, if exchanges with silver-using countries, in silver at its gold value.

4. The annual product of silver has doubled.

In view of these changed conditions, is it possible for this country, acting in monetary isolation, by an act of legislative

* VALUE OF THE SILVER IN A SILVER DOLLAR AT THE AVERAGE PRICE OF SILVER EACH YEAR, 1873-1890.

Calendar years.	Average price.	Calendar years.	Average price.
1873	$1.004	1882	$0.878
1874	.988	1883	.858
1875	.964	1884	.861
1876	.894	1885	.823
1877	.929	1886	.769
1878	.891	1887	.758
1879	.863	1888	.727
1880	.886	1889	.724
1881	.881	1890	.809

† AVERAGE COMMERCIAL PRICE OF SILVER BULLION PER FINE OUNCE EACH YEAR FROM 1872 TO 1890.

Fiscal years.	Price.	Fiscal years.	Price.
1872	$1.33445	1882	$1.13799
1873	1.29888	1883	1.11889
1874	1.27827	1884	1.11560
1875	1.24676	1885	1.09117
1876	1.19500	1886	1.03388
1877	1.17250	1887	0.98439
1878	1.18641	1888	0.95782
1879	1.11875	1889	0.93537
1880	1.14162	1890	1.04673
1881	1.12957		

‡ In 1871-73 laws were enacted in Germany by which gold was made the standard of value and silver demonetized. All silver coins which had previously been issued and received in the several states of the German Empire were called in. In order to procure the necessary gold for coinage purposes, Germany was forced to sell from time to time up to 1879 large quantities of silver from its store of melted coins, including the large amount received after the close of the Franco-Prussian War from

power, to restore and maintain the value of silver at our coining rate, $1.29 an ounce—the present commercial value being $1.03 an ounce? and what would be the probable results of such legislation?

This would depend upon:

1. The action and disposition of foreign countries in regard to silver.

2. The quantity of silver which would come to our mints.

3. The extent to which gold would be withdrawn from the treasury of the United States and from active circulation by our own people.

I. If the International Monetary Conference, held in Paris during the French Exposition in 1889, proved anything, it was that, although there are a great many people in Europe who favor bimetallism, there is scarcely a European nation that would not, if it could, follow the example of England and adopt a gold monometallic system.

Gold monometallism is, indeed, the goal toward which all European countries are tending, and to obtain the gold they need they are only awaiting a favorable opportunity to exchange their silver for it. The passage of a free-coinage act by the United

France in payment of indemnity. The effect of this legislation was the creation of a demand for gold in Germany and an increase of the supply of silver bullion or melted coins in other countries, followed by a depreciation of the price of the latter metal.

Owing to the fact that it became profitable to brokers and exchange-dealers to purchase silver in Germany and send it to the states comprising the Latin Union (France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and Greece), for coinage into silver 5-franc pieces, it was decided by the contracting parties in 1874 to limit the amount of 5-franc pieces to be coined by each. This, however, did not steady the price, and in 1878 the states of the Latin Union decided to close their mints to the coinage of full legal-tender silver, since which time this coinage has not been resumed.

The action of Germany in demonetizing silver was followed in December, 1872, by Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. These states entered into a monetary treaty, formally ratified by Denmark and Sweden in 1873 and by Norway in 1875, adopting the single gold standard and making silver subsidiary, to be coined only for change purposes.

In 1875, Holland, which had been on a silver basis from 1847, adopted the "double" standard nominally, at the anomalous ratio of 1 to 15⅝, but, in fact, prohibited the coinage of silver, thus practically going over to a gold basis.

By the law of September 9, 1876, Russia suspended the coinage of silver, except such as was necessary for trade with China.

In Austria-Hungary, while the silver standard legally prevails, gold only has been coined for individuals since 1879, except the coinage of Levant thalers, a trade silver coin.

So that it may be said that for the last thirteen years no silver coins of full debt-paying power have been struck for depositors in European mints.

States would afford that opportunity, since it would raise the price of silver temporarily to $1.29 per ounce. I say temporarily, for the ultimate effect of such legislation here would be to raise the price of gold the world over, by inducing countries that now have the double standard, or the single silver standard, to adopt the single gold standard, thus creating an increased demand for gold, and consequently causing it to appreciate in value; aggravating, in fact, the very evil complained of—the enhanced dearness of gold.

At the same time it would eventually lower the price of silver by enabling Europe to throw vast quantities of it on the American market. Europe wants gold; its ambition is to have a monetary system in which silver shall have no full legal-tender power; in which it will serve only as a divisional coin.

Let us glance at what silver Europe might throw upon the market if a sufficient inducement were offered by free coinage here.

The stock of full legal-tender silver coins—aside from all silver-change coins—in the ten principal countries of Europe is, approximately, $1,103,200,000.* Of this, the large and visible sum of $466,000,000 is stored in the vaults of nine banking-houses.†

Germany has still outstanding some $100,000,000 in old thalers, which she would be only too glad, we may assume, to sell, in order to perfect her monetary reform of 1871–73. It is only a question of time when Germany will sell her thalers, so as to make her monetary system as completely gold monometallic as England's, which she is imitating.

*APPROXIMATE STOCK OF FULL LEGAL-TENDER SILVER COIN IN EUROPE.

Countries.	Full legal-tender silver coins.	Countries.	Full legal-tender silver coins.
France	$650,000,000	Austria-Hungary	90,000,000
Germany	102,000,000	Netherlands	61,800,000
Belgium	48,400,000	Russia	22,000,000
Italy	25,800,000	Greece	1,800,000
Switzerland	11,400,000		
Spain	90,000,000	Total	$1,103,200,000

†SPECIE HOLDINGS OF THE PRINCIPAL EUROPEAN BANKS.

Banks.	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
Of England	$122,361,923	.....	$122,361,923
Of France	220,481,649	$241,952,647	462,434,296
Of Germany	132,576,439	66,288,217	198,864,656
Of Austria-Hungary	26,376,430	80,633,039	107,009,469
Of Netherlands	17,027,883	26,464,027	43,491,910
Of Belgium	13,175,236	6,587,620	19,762,856
Of Switzerland	11,853,063	4,530,833	16,383,896
Of Spain	19,782,287	24,982,416	44,764,703
Of Italy	60,000,000	[1] 15,000,000	75,000,000
Total	$623,634,910	$466,438,799	$1,090,073,709

[1] Distributed in proportion to the holdings at the end of 1886.

Austria-Hungary, which has by law the silver standard, but actually an irredeemable paper currency, is actively agitating the resumption of specie payments on the gold standard. She cannot resume on the silver standard for the reason that her silver coins are, even now, less valuable than the paper currency. There are about 166,000,000 silver florins in the Bank of Austria-Hungary, and, according to public prints, the intention is to sell 60,000,000 (about $25,000,000) of these in order to procure gold.

The Italian government has some 44,000,000 lire (or francs) in Bourbon piasters, about $8,500,000, which are looking for a market.

Roumania only a few months since sold some 25,000,000 lei (or francs)—about $5,000,000—of full legal-tender silver coins at a ridiculously low price—about $1.06 an ounce—and has 22,000,000, or about $4,400,000, more, which it is anxious to dispose of.

It has been publicly stated that only recently agents of the Netherlands were trying to dispose of its stock of silver through New York bankers.

Again, the Belgian press has recently been urging the government of that country to sell the Belgian francs, about $20,000,000, in the vaults of the Bank of France, which would have to be redeemed in gold if the Latin Union were terminated.

II. So much for stocks of European silver coin which might, and it is believed would, come to our mints under free coinage, if the price was maintained.

Let us glance at the current product of silver from the mines, which we would certainly have to deal with.

The product of silver from the mines of the world during the calendar year 1889—the last year for which statistics have been compiled—was, approximately, 124,769,000 ounces, of the value, at our coining rate, of $161,318,000.

This total embraces only such silver products as have been officially reported, or which are known from exports of silver from silver-producing countries to have been produced. How much more was produced, and is not a matter of record, it is impossible to say; but doubtless the amount was very considerable.

In South America, which is a large silver-producing region, no sort of statistics of the product of the mines is compiled, especially in Bolivia, which is the largest silver-producer of the

South American republics. So that the total recorded output of silver is, no doubt, below the actual product.

It is believed that, owing to the stimulus to mining industries by the increased price of silver and lead, which are nearly always found in combination,—a stimulus the result of recent legislation,—the output of our own mines, and probably of the mines of Mexico and South America, was increased during the last year (1890).

The product of silver in Australasia has largely increased during the last year or two, owing to the discovery of valuable silver-lead properties. In New South Wales silver was not found in any great quantities until recently, when rich fields were discovered in the "Barrier Ranges." It is safe to say that the product of silver in the "Broken Hill" district alone, for the year 1890, will aggregate 8,000,000 ounces.

So that the product of silver in the world for the calendar year 1890 will probably approximate 130,000,000 ounces, or $168,000,000 at our coining rate.

The product of silver has more than doubled since 1873, as will be seen from the following table:

PRODUCT OF SILVER IN THE WORLD DURING EACH CALENDAR YEAR, 1873-90.

Calendar years.	Fine ounces. (Troy.)	Commercial value.	U. S. coining value.
1873	63,267,000	$82,120,000	$81,800,000
1874	55,300,000	70,673,000	71,500,000
1875	62,262,000	77,578,000	80,500,000
1876	67,753,000	78,322,000	87,600,000
1877	62,648,000	75,240,000	81,000,000
1878	73,476,000	84,644,000	95,000,000
1879	74,250,000	83,383,000	96,000,000
1880	74,791,000	85,636,000	96,700,000
1881	78,890,000	89,777,000	102,000,000
1882	86,470,000	98,230,000	111,800,000
1883	89,177,000	98,986,000	115,300,000
1884	81,597,000	90,817,000	105,500,000
1885	91,652,000	97,564,000	118,500,000
1886	93,276,000	92,772,000	120,600,000
1887	96,141,000	94,048,000	124,304,000
1888	108,888,000	102,243,000	140,784,000
1889	124,769,000	116,674,000	161,318,000
1890 (estimated)	130,000,000	136,500,000	168,000,000

That the annual product of foreign as well as domestic silver would find its way to our open mints under free coinage, so long as we could maintain the price in gold, there can be little doubt. As indicative of this, it may be said that from May 1, 1890, to the close of last December—the period of congressional silver legislation—the commercial value of silver imported into the United States was $22,841,429; of silver exported (only about half of

which was domestic bars), $15,346,156; a net gain of foreign silver of $7,495,273.

Since the passage of a law increasing the purchases of silver by this government to 4,500,000 ounces a month so stimulated the price here as to invite nearly $8,000,000 worth of foreign silver, and to stop the export of domestic silver, it requires no stretch of imagination to see that if the United States should by legislation offer to pay $1.29 per ounce (the equivalent of our coining rate), without limit as to quantity, it would naturally attract to its mints the entire silver product of the world, just as long as we could maintain that gold price.

It could go nowhere else. The mints of Europe are closed to it. The mints of Mexico are open to it, but the stamp of that republic adds no value to the twenty-odd millions of pesos which are annually coined, and they go fresh from the presses of the mints into the melting-pots of India and the United States. With the exception of the annual absorption of silver by India (the great silver sink of the world) to the extent of $40,000,000,—where the surplus silver product has heretofore gone,—there is no actual demand for silver for coinage purposes by civilized nations, and the artificial price created by our legislation would naturally and certainly attract the product here in exchange for our gold, as long as that artificial price was maintained.

It is important to observe that the conversion of silver into silver dollars by free coinage *proper* would be limited to the capacity of the mints—three and half million pieces a month, working regular hours, or working night and day, say five million pieces.

The bill which passed the Senate, and is now pending in the House, hastens the effects of free coinage by providing for the *instantaneous* conversion of bullion into legal-tender forms of money.

Is it conceivable that the invitation to the owners of silver throughout the world to exchange, in this expeditious way, 371¼ grains of silver, now worth less than 80 cents, for our gold dollar, worth everywhere 100 cents, would not be heeded? But it must be borne in mind that the enhanced value of silver is but a temporary gain, and vanishes as it is sought after. How long, under such conditions, would we be able to maintain gold payments?

III. The stock of gold in the United States was, on the first of February of this year, approximately, $708,000,000. With this

immense stock, larger than that of any other country in the world except France, we have been enabled to keep in circulation, concurrently with our gold coins, 391,566,005 silver dollars, coined since 1878, or their paper representatives.

Of the stock of gold, $297,567,000 is in treasury vaults, of which $155,839,000 is held for the redemption of gold certificates outstanding, issued on deposits of gold coin with the treasury. The remainder, $410,433,000, is in banks and scattered over the country.

If we should exchange this stock of gold for a stock of silver, which would most surely and swiftly take place, were it not rendered impossible by the withdrawal of gold from the treasury and from circulation, what would we gain ?

One of two things must certainly occur : either our gold will be hoarded by banks, trust companies, and individuals, or it will go abroad to pay for the silver which will be shipped here for sale. In either event we should reach a silver basis.

What does a silver basis mean ? It means that the paying power of our money in foreign exchanges would be depreciated to the commercial value of the silver in our dollar.

We have an object-lesson in our near neighbor, Mexico. Mexico is on a silver basis, and the consequence is that the Mexican silver dollar, although it contains more silver than our dollar, has a purchasing power in foreign exchanges equal only to its value as silver bullion.

But, it is said, this country is suffering from a scarcity of money, which the free coinage of silver will relieve. This is not sustained by the facts.

The amount of money in actual circulation in the United States has increased during the last twenty years $727,000,000, a *per-capita* increase of about $5. There is more money in use to-day in the United States,* both in the aggregate and *per capita,* than ever before in the history of this country, and more than in any European country, except France, where the people

* AMOUNT OF MONEY IN ACTUAL CIRCULATION IN THE UNITED STATES FEBRUARY 1, 1891.

Gold coin and gold certificates	$565,280,785
Standard silver dollars and silver certificates	368,663,035
Subsidiary silver coin	57,723,629
Greenbacks, treasury notes, and national-bank notes	534,088,802
Total	$1,525,756,251

have not accommodated themselves to the use of checks and other substitutes for money to the same extent as in other great commercial countries.

Moreover, from a recent investigation made by the Comptroller of the Currency, it is shown that about 92 per cent. of the business of the banks is done with substitutes for money—checks, drafts, etc.—and only about 8 per cent. in cash.

The greatest fallacy in the free-coinage argument is that through the influx of large quantities of silver the volume of our circulating medium would be increased. That it would change the basis of our currency from gold to silver there can be but little doubt, but that it would increase the volume of money, or permanently increase the price of silver, is open to serious question.

The movement of the precious metals from one country to another is not regulated by statute or open mints, but is purely a business transaction. They move only when it is profitable.

Just as long as it was profitable to ship silver to the United States—that is, just as long as it would bring a higher price here than elsewhere—silver would come. But it would not come when the shipment ceased to be profitable. If our mints should be open to the free coinage of silver, the stocks of silver would move to this country solely because they could be converted, at the highest market price, into our legal-tender money, which could, in turn, be converted into gold at par; but the moment our currency reached a silver basis, when our legal-tender paper money could only be exchanged for silver dollars, the profit to the foreign bullion-owner for the interchange of his silver for our gold would cease, and silver would be imported then only as an exchange matter, just as gold is now.

If, then, silver ceased to come here because it was not profitable to ship it and receive payment in dollars whose purchasing power would only be equal to the value of the metal contained in them, which is sure to happen if we reach a silver basis, where would be the gain in the volume of our currency?

Further increases of circulation are provided for by the existing law, under which the government is required to purchase, at the market price, 54,000,000 ounces of silver a year, payment to be made in legal-tender paper money redeemable in coin. This will have the double effect of adding about $60,000,000 a year to the circulation and sustaining the price of silver, without further im-

TABLE EXHIBITING APPROXIMATELY THE STOCK OF MONEY IN THE AGGREGATE AND PER CAPITA IN THE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, THE STANDARD OF VALUE IN EACH, AND THE RATIO OF GOLD AND SILVER IN COINAGE.

COUNTRIES.	Population.	Standard.	Stock of gold.	Stock of silver.			Uncovered paper.	Per capita.				Ratio of silver to gold in coinage.†
				Full legal-tender.	Limited tender.	Total.		Gold.	Silver.	Paper.	Total.	
United States	64,000,000	Bimetallic.	$708,000,000	$391,566,000	$77,696,000	$469,262,000	¶ $434,088,000	$11.06	$7.33	$6.78	$25.17	1—15.9883
United Kingdom	38,165,000	Gold.	550,000,000	.....	100,000,000	100,000,000	64,000,000	14.41	2.62	1.57	18.60	1—14.28
France	38,250,000	‡Bimetallic.	900,000,000	650,000,000	50,000,000	700,000,000	96,000,000	23.53	18.30	2.72	44.55	1—15.5
Germany	48,000,000	Gold.	500,000,000	102,000,000	43,000,000	145,000,000	160,000,000	10 42	4 48	3.12	18.02	1—13.957
Belgium	6,100,000	‡Bimetallic.	65,000,000	48,400,000	6,600,000	55,000,000	54,000,000	10.66	9.02	8.85	28.53	1—15.5
Italy	31,000,000	‡ do.	140,000,000	25,800,000	34,200,000	60,000,000	211,000,000	4.51	1.94	6.81	13.26	1—15.5
Switzerland	3,000,000	‡ do.	15,000,000	11,400,000	3,600,000	15,000,000	14,000,000	5.00	5.00	4.67	14.67	1—15.5
Greece	2,200,000	‡ do.	2,000,000	1,800,000	2,200,000	4,000,000	14,000,000	.91	1.82	6.36	9.09	1—15.5
Spain	18,000,000	‡ do.	100,000,000	90,000,000	35,000,000	125,000,000	94,000,000	5.56	6.91	5.22	17.72	1—15.5
Portugal	5,000,000	Gold.	40,000,000	.....	10,000,000	10,000,000	6,000,000	8.00	2.00	1.20	11.20	1—14.98
Austria-Hungary	40,000,000	Silver.	40,000,000	90,000,000	.....	90,000,000	260,000,000	1.00	2.25	6.50	9.75	1—15.3
Netherlands	4,500,000	‡Bimetallic.	25,000,000	61,800,000	3,200,000	65,000,000	40,000,000	5.55	14.44	8.89	28.88	1—15.5
Scandinavian U'n.	8,600,000	Gold.	32,000,000	.....	10,000,000	10,000,000	27,000,000	3.72	1.16	3.14	8.02	1—14.08
Russia	113,000,000	Silver.	190,000,000	22,000,000	38,000,000	60,000,000	500,000,000	1.68	.53	4.42	6.63	1—15.5
Turkey	33,000,000	Gold.	50,000,000	.....	45,000,000	45,000,000	.....	1.52	1.36	.....	2 88	1—15.1
Australia	4,000,000	do.	100,000,000	.....	7,000,000	7,000,000	.....	25.00	1.75	.....	26.75	1—14.28
Egypt	7,000,000	do.	100,000,000	.....	15,000,000	15,000,000	.....	14.29	2.14	.....	16.43	1—15.61
Mexico	11,600,000	Silver.	5,000,000	50,000,000	.....	50,000,000	2,000,000	.43	4.31	.17	4.91	1—16.5
Central America	3,000,000	do.	.....	500,000	.....	500,000	2,000,000	.....	.17	.67	.84	1—15.5
South America	35,000,000	* do.	45,000,000	25,000,000	.....	25,000,000	300,000,000	1.29	.71	8.57	10.57	1—15.5
Japan	40,000,000	Bimetallic.	90,000,000	50,000,000	.....	50,000,000	56,000,000	2.25	1.25	1.40	4.90	1—16.18
India §	255,000,000	do.	.....	9 0,000,000	.....	900,000,000	28,000,000	.....	3.53	.11	3.64	1—15
China §	400,000,000	do.	.....	700,000,000	.....	700,000,000	.....	.....	1.75	.....	1.75	.....
The Straits §	.....	do.	.....	100,000,000	.....	100,000,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Canada	4,500,000	Gold.	16,000,000	.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	40,000,000	3.56	1.11	8.89	13.56	1—14.95
Cuba, Hayti, etc.	2,000,000	Bimetallic.	20,000,000	1,200,000	8 0,000	2,000,000	40,000,000	10.00	1.00	20.00	31.00	1—15.5**
			$3,733,000,000	$3,321,466,000	$486,296,000	$3,807,762,000	$2,442,088,000					

* Except Brazil, which is gold. ** Hayti. † In countries where silver is a full legal-tender the ratio is given between gold coins and full legal-tender coins. In countries where silver is only a limited tender the ratio is given between gold and limited-tender silver coins. ‡ Coinage of full legal-tender silver suspended. ¶ Greenbacks, treasury notes, and national-bank notes outstanding, less $100,000,000 gold held for redemption. § The stock of silver in India, China, and the Straits settlements is not susceptible of even approximate determination. The figures presented in the table are a mere guess based upon the movement of silver to these countries for a series of years, and agree substantially with the guess of the best European statisticians.

perilling the chances of a monetary agreement with other nations, which is the only true solution of the silver question. Free coinage upon our part, at our ratio of 16 to 1, would be an absolute barrier to such an agreement.

The suggestion of an international monetary agreement is too often looked upon as an evasion; but, we repeat, it is the only solution.

It was by the combined action of various nations in discontinuing the use of silver as money that the link was broken between silver and gold. It will be only by the combined action of nations of sufficient commercial importance to maintain a ratio that the link will be united.

We may yet entertain the hope of such concerted action. Eventually the embarrassments arising from the attempt to use one metal alone as the measure of value and the medium of exchanges may become so intolerable that commercial nations may find it to their advantage to join the United States in the remonetization of silver.

The table on the preceding page, which has been compiled from the latest official and other reliable data, is presented as an *approximate* exhibit of the stock of gold, silver, and "uncovered" paper money in the principal countries of the world, the metallic standard of each, and the legal ratio between gold and silver in coinage in each.

EDWARD OWEN LEECH.

SELF-CONTROL IN CURING INSANITY.

BY WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D., SURGEON-GENERAL, U. S. A (RETIRED).

THERE is no one whose mental development is such as to render him capable of being influenced by passion or guided by reason who has not at times felt himself impelled to the performance of acts which he knew to be wrong according to the standard of expedience or morality by which he had been accustomed to be governed. Should he have yielded to the emotional disturbance or the imperfect ideation of the moment, he has, when his feelings have been assuaged and reason has resumed its sway, become aware of the fact that he had during the whole period of his mental perturbation the power to modify his conduct or to refrain altogether from action, had he exerted his will to the requisite extent. How far this volitional control is normal or abnormal is a question extremely difficult of solution; but there is no doubt that the will is one of the most uncultivated of all the mental faculties, and that it is capable of a degree of development far in excess of that which is commonly exhibited even by persons of marked intellectual ability.

If this is true of those who are ordinarily regarded as sane, it is equally true of most of those whom science has declared to be lunatics. Of course there is in some of the insane such a degree of structural disease of the brain as absolutely to destroy many of the more important of the mental faculties, the will among them. Such persons do not come within the scope of the present discussion.

But there are others in whom no such disorganization can be presumed to exist, and yet who, when left to themselves, to be guided by their own minds, exhibit the most unbridled passions, pursue the most absurd trains of thought, and perpetrate acts which are in direct violation of all the laws of God and man. In many cases it is impossible to determine which of these are sane and which insane. There is no infallible law which is applicable alike to both classes. Neurologists and alienists decide accord-

ing to their preconceived views, pronouncing some to be of normal mental organization and some of abnormal, but giving us no test for our guidance, and often differing among themselves in regard to some one particular instance. That many, if not a majority, of these mentally-depraved persons, whether sane or insane, are capable of regulating their feelings, their ideas, and their conduct by a standard more in accordance with that by which right-minded persons are guided is a matter in regard to which I do not believe a reasonable doubt exists.

If there is anything which has been taught to us by the most advanced stage of science as applied to the anatomy, the physiology, and the pathology of the brain, it is the fact that the utmost degree of mental aberration may exist without there being the slightest change perceptible to our senses in the normal structure of the central organ of the mind. Of course there is some alteration, such, for instance, as a pernicious education may effect, or such as may be induced by indulgence in ignoble emotions, degrading trains of thought, or vicious practices; but it is so slight and perhaps so evanescent as to be entirely beyond the reach not only of our unaided senses, but of all the instruments of precision or of analytical processes that are at the present day at our disposal. The brain, therefore, of the most pronounced lunatic may not differ, so far as we can perceive, from that of one who during life had stood at the very summit of human mental development. At birth the two brains might have been identical, not only in all the elements that entered into their composition, but also in their tendencies and proclivities. One, however, started in the course of life under disadvantageous circumstances; the other had everything in its favor. One was left to its own guidance and to the influence of circumstances detrimental to its well-being; the other amid beneficial surroundings was carefully trained and developed. Would it be a matter of surprise if the possessor of the one should be an enemy of society and a perpetrator of acts of fraud and violence, and the other a leader in all honorable and virtuous purposes?

But while all this is true, it is equally certain that the reprobate and villain is susceptible of being acted upon by sufficiently stringent motives; of regulating his thoughts and conduct in accordance with a system foreign to that habitual with him, and of guiding himself through courses different from those to which he

has been accustomed. Otherwise the criminal should not be punished, no matter how inimical he may be to the welfare of the body politic, but is to be compassionated and tenderly cared for, and, at most, subjected to such restraint only as will suffice to protect society from his depredations. From this stand-point he is not to blame for a dissolute or infamous life, for he cannot help himself and is only following impulses for which he is not responsible. Efforts to reform him should not be undertaken; for why attempt to alter a mental constitution due to an abnormal brain, which is as much a part of his identity as is the color of his eyes or the contour of his face?

Undoubtedly he can be changed, and this change must necessarily be effected through an alteration in the cerebral organization from which his mind is evolved. He changes himself through the influence of motives stronger, for the time being at least, than those that originally governed him and rendered him wicked and depraved.

Many persons recognized by those familiar with the subject of mental alienation in all its phases to be insane are rendered so by yielding little by little to impulses which they know to be wrong, but which it is unpleasant or difficult to resist. Their will-power, undeveloped by proper education, becomes weaker with each act of yielding; whereas, if they had controlled themselves in the beginning, volitional strength, and not volitional debility, would have been the result. Principles not perhaps very deeply ingrafted in the first instance are cast aside; scruples arising from early education are disregarded, not without some difficulty in the beginning, for with such people, as with all others, *c'est le premier pas qui coute.* But finally a trifling emotion or a transient desire suffices, so that delusions become more or less fixed and impulses more or less powerful. Error in one or several directions, undistinguishable from truth, is established, and the will gives way without an effort at resistance. Acts of violence are committed from trifling motives; the plea of insanity is brought forward; and the perpetrator, if he does not entirely escape, suffers some light punishment, altogether inadequate to the gravity of his offence.

An instance in point is that of the lunatic who a few months since murdered one of the medical officers of the Flatbush Lunatic Asylum. The man Dougherty, as long ago as 1884, was employed

by a telegraph company at Scranton, Penn., though considered very much of a crank. He said he had invented the Dougherty motor, which he advertised and described as "a finite machine that will use the great, perpetual, unlimited, infinite power that moves, lights, and heats the universe. Planetary magnetism, the great divine law of attraction and repulsion, the principles upon which it is built, explained by the discoverer and inventor." Then he had some trouble, still being in the employment of the telegraph company, about his pay. He wrote to the president that, unless his money were forthcoming on a certain day, he would "demoralize things." The money did not arrive on the day named; so he armed himself, barricaded the doors and windows of the office, cut the wires, and held full sway for three days. At the end of this time he was overpowered and arrested, but the case was soon settled, and in a few days he was allowed to go free.

But he went on from bad to worse. He imagined himself very much in love with a distinguished actress, wrote her many letters, crossed the ocean to visit her, travelled on the trains with her, presented her with an enormous bouquet, and made her a speech full of the most exaggerated sentiment. His attentions became so annoying that finally the lady reported the case to the police, and he was arrested in the lobby of a theatre in New York. When searched, a large loaded revolver was found on him, which he said he carried to protect himself from a "crew of devils" who, he declared, were trying to steal the lady's love from him. Not until then was he adjudged insane and dangerous, and committed to a lunatic asylum, from which, however, he soon escaped by fitting a key to a door. Two weeks afterwards he suddenly appeared in the superintendent's office and, pointing a pistol at the physician's head, demanded certain articles of clothing which he had left behind. The superintendent, although he was covered by the man's pistol the entire time, acted with great coolness and presence of mind, and, summoning an attendant, directed him to bring the articles asked for. Dougherty, after getting the bundle, made a bow and walked away.

Now, up to this time there seems to have been no serious idea entertained by any one that this man was insane. It is true that he was arrested and committed to an asylum as "insane and dangerous," but this was evidently only for the purpose of pro-

tecting a lady from annoyance and of getting rid of a troublesome fellow. Certainly the superintendent of the asylum in which he had been confined did not consider him a lunatic, although he entered that gentleman's office and pointed a pistol at his head. It was not until a few days subsequently, when he again visited the office with a pistol in each hand and, without the slightest provocation, killed the assistant superintendent, that the idea seems to have been definitely formed that he was a lunatic. He shot the physician twice, instantly killing him, and then coolly walked away. Doubtless he will suffer no inconvenience other than being again confined in a lunatic asylum, to be discharged when in the opinion of the authorities he has recovered his reason.*

I venture to assert, as the result of much experience with such people as Dougherty, and many conversations with them, that at all times during the manifestation of what in the beginning was mere eccentricity of conduct, all through his violent acts and his emotional disturbance down to the perpetration of an unprovoked murder, he might have controlled himself had he been so disposed, and, in my opinion, he ought to be executed in the manner provided by law for other criminals.

Many cases in illustration of this opinion have been reported by medical writers. Without further referring to them I will cite the following, which have occurred in my own experience :

Upon one occasion a young man consulted me for symptoms indicating cerebral congestion. He had pain in his head, dizziness, and was unable to sleep. He informed me that he had been for several months constantly troubled by a force, which was inexplicable to him, to kill a friend who was employed in the same office with him. Once he had gone so far as secretly to put strychnia into a mug of ale, which he had invited the young man to drink ; but just as the intended victim was raising the vessel to his lips my visitor had, as if by accident, knocked it out of his friend's hand. Every morning he awoke with the impulse so strong upon him that he felt certain he would carry it out before the day closed ; but he had always been able to overcome it. This young man reasoned perfectly well in regard to his impulse, and very candidly admitted, and I entirely agreed with him, that,

* Since this was written Dougherty has been tried, and, in consequence of insanity, was found guilty of a minor degree of murder, and sentenced to life imprisonment. Additional proceedings have, however, been instituted, and it is probable that even this comparatively light sentence will be set aside.

if he had yielded and committed the murder, he ought to have been punished to the full extent of the law.

Undoubtedly, if this person had been encouraged to the slightest extent by the idea that he could, by reason of insanity, perpetrate murder with impunity, he would have acted in accordance with his impulse. It was, as he informed me, the fear of the consequences that had restrained him; but, meeting with no sympathy from me, he obtained permanent mastery over himself and abandoned the idea altogether.

The following extract from a letter which I received several years ago is likewise to the point:

"In the New York *Sun* of the 30th inst. I noticed the proceedings of the Medico-Legal Society, in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, on emotional insanity, etc., and I was impressed particularly with your remarks on 'Morbid Impulse.' Some two weeks since I was at work in my garden with a spade, and one of my little girl children, just three years old, came in where I was, and I was suddenly seized with an impulse to kill the child with the spade that I was at work with, and in order to prevent my doing so I had to make her leave the garden. Now, I love this child better than I do the apple of my eye, and why I was seized with that impulse I can't say. Since that time I have been feeling strange, and I am afraid to trust myself with my own family, though I know perfectly well what I am doing, and only feel actuated by these impulses. I have consulted a physician, and he laughed at me. If you can suggest any remedy for these strange impulses, I will pay you what you charge, and will consider that you have done me a favor that will *cause me to bless your name forever*. I don't consider that I am in any danger of murdering any one just yet, but the idea of such a thing is horrible, and I fear it may grow on me unless remedied."

In my reply I called the writer's attention to the admitted fact that he had his impulse under control; that he was able to reason calmly and intelligently in regard to it; that he had applied to me for advice, and that I urged him to place himself without delay under the restraint of an asylum. I further told him that if he disregarded this advice, and finally yielded to his impulse, he would be fully as guilty of murder as if he had killed through deliberate malice, and that he ought to be just as surely executed as any other murderer.

In regard to certain lunatics Dr. Carpenter * says:

"Nothing else is requisite than that they should exercise an adequate amount of self-control; but the best-directed moral treatment cannot enforce this if the patient do not himself (or herself) coöperate. Much may be effected, however, as in the education of children, by presenting adequate *motives* to self-control; and the more frequently this is exerted, the more easy does the

* "Principles of Mental Physiology," London, 1874, p. 663.

exertion become. This form of insanity is particularly common among females of naturally 'quick temper,' who, by not placing an habitual restraint upon themselves, gradually cease to retain any command over it. The writer well remembers that, when going with Dr. Conolly through one of the wards on the female side of the Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell, Dr. C. remarked to him: 'It is my belief that two-thirds of the women here have come to require restraint through the habitual indulgence of an originally bad temper.'"

And again :*

"There can be no doubt that many a man has been saved from an attack of insanity by the resolute determination of his will *not* to yield to his morbid tendencies. But if he should give way to these tendencies, and should dwell upon his morbid ideas, instead of endeavoring to escape from them, they come at last to acquire a complete mastery over him; and his will, his common-sense, and his moral sense at last succumb to their domination. . . . And so the judicious physician, in the treatment of an insane patient, whilst doing everything he can to invigorate the bodily health, to ward off sources of mental disturbance, and to divert the current of thought and feeling from a morbid into a healthful channel, will sedulously watch for every opportunity of fostering the power of self-control; will seek out the motives most likely to act upon the individual; will bring these into play upon every suitable occasion; will approve and reward its successful exercise; will sympathize with failure even when having recourse to the restraint which it has rendered necessary; will encourage every renewed exertion, and will thus give every aid he can to the reacquirement of that volitional direction which, as the bodily malady abates, is alone needed to prevent the recurrence of the disordered mental action."

That the insane are amenable to discipline every alienist knows. The whole system of management of our lunatic asylums is based upon this principle. The granting of indulgences for good conduct and the taking-away of privileges for infractions of the rules have an influence which many of the most violent of the insane distinctly feel and by which they are governed. Tell a lunatic who is in the habit of spreading his butter over the tablecloth that if he continues his disorderly conduct he shall have no more butter, and he will be very apt to desist. Whether his erroneous ideas should be combated by arguments addressed to his reason is a somewhat different matter. It has been said that it is useless to attempt to convince a lunatic that his erroneous notions are not true. Perhaps this is correct when serious structural lesions exist in the brain. The false intellectual conception is then a fixed result of the altered brain-tissue, and is just as direct a consequence of cerebral action as is a natural thought

*P. 673, *et seq*.

from a healthy brain. Still, we know that in health it is sometimes possible by argument to counteract the most firmly-rooted ideas; it is, perhaps, yet easier to do this by the aid of certain of the pleasurable emotions. And there appears to be no reason why the like result may not occasionally be produced by arguments addressed to a person with an insane mind, and by bringing into action those feelings which spring from kindness. We know, in fact, that this end is at times accomplished, and that by never for one instant admitting the truth of an insane delusion, and at suitable times—not obtrusively, but when occasion offers—urging such arguments against it as would be convincing to persons of sound minds, the lunatic comes at last to see the falsity of his ideas, and to laugh at them himself. Little by little he loses faith in his perverted reason, and, though he may take up another delusion, the last is held with much less tenacity than the first.

A great deal of the insanity of the day is, as I have said in the beginning of these remarks, the result of defective education, by which a smattering of knowledge in regard to many things is acquired, while no thing is thoroughly learned. A feeling of vanity, therefore, which is inherent in all mankind, is developed to an inordinate degree, and every child is taught to regard himself as somebody when in fact he is nobody. I cannot close these remarks more appositely than by citing a paragraph from the Philadelphia *Times*, which appeared in a number of that paper during the summer of 1877, premising that what is said in regard to criminals is equally applicable to lunatics.

"What a terrible satire upon our boasted free-school system is conveyed in the word 'educated.' Nine-tenths of the young criminals sent to the penitentiary have enjoyed school advantages, but three-fourths of them have never learnt to do an honest stroke of work. Our children have their poor little brains crammed full of all kinds of impossible knowledge, of names and dates and numbers and unintelligible rules, till there is absolutely no room left to hold any of the simple truths of honor and duty and morality, which former generations deemed more important than all the learning of the books. There is just one thing that is ever held before them—that one man is as good as another, if not a little better, and that every boy among them may expect to become President of the United States, and every girl the richest lady in the land. The result is that they leave school utterly ignorant of all that is most essential for them to know. And, outside of the schools, there is no provision for their learning anything."

WILLIAM A. HAMMOND.

A WORD ABOUT THE REAR-GUARD.

BY LIEUTENANT J. ROSE TROUP, OF THE REAR-GUARD.

"From time immemorial it has been the custom to regard the dead as free from censure and to bury their misdeeds with them in their graves. But it must be admitted that it is cruel and unjust to slander and vilify the living."—From report of Mr. Stanley's speech in New York, December 3, 1890.

IT IS in the belief that Americans, not less than the English, are fond of fair play that I place this article before the public in the United States, this being at present my only method of gaining their attention.

You have heard Mr. Stanley's account of the rear-guard of his expedition, and now I would ask you to give me a patient hearing while I lay before you as temperate and as clear a case as it is possible for one of the actors, or, perhaps I should say one of the accused, to state. I shall presume that you have some acquaintance with the various histories of the rear-guard which have been recently published, but, nevertheless, I wish to point out a few salient features.

Mr. Stanley gives his account in his book, "In Darkest Africa," and this he asserts is his official report. Bearing this fact in mind, notice that he makes no reference therein to the horrible charges that have since been made public. When he published those volumes, he knew all that he has since given to the world; yet he ignores in his official report the existence of charges of cruelty and brutality. Not only that, but he ascribes many virtues to those he has since condemned, at the same time blaming the others, against whom no such serious accusations have been brought. His change of base must be considered most carefully.

First, let us examine his statements contained in "In Darkest Africa" regarding Major Barttelot. Mark you, all these were made when he knew just as much as he now knows about the fearful charges against his subordinate. He says (vol. I., p. 6): "I possess positive proof that the Major and Mr. Jameson were

inspired by loyalty and burning with desire throughout those long months at Yambuya." After commenting on the Major's distinguished services (vol. I., p. 103) he adds: "If these facts were true, then undoubtedly he was the fittest officer for the office of commanding the rear column. Had there been a person of equal rank with him, I should certainly have delegated this charge to another, *not because of any known unfitness*, but because he was so eager to accompany the advance column." (The italics in the quotations from Mr. Stanley's book are mine.) On page 471 he writes: "Major Edmund Musgrave Barttelot, a generous, frank, and *chivalrous* young English officer"; and on the next page he adds: He "satisfies us all that in him we have a man of energy, resolution, and action, and that there is no need of anxiety respecting the conduct of the rear column. In every letter and report he is animated by the utmost loyalty and willing spirit." A little further on (p. 480) he says: "In the Major's official report, in Mr. Jameson's last sad letter, I discern a singleness of purpose, inflexible resolve, and the true fibre of loyalty, tireless energy, and faith, and a devotion which disdains all calculation of cost."

Turning over the leaves of his book, we can find nothing against Major Barttelot's character except where he is criticised for "irresolution" and failure to march out from Yambuya; a condemnation which is laid upon all the officers alike. Added to this we have Mr. Stanley's letter to Sir Walter Barttelot (dated April, 1890), in which he writes:

"I do not wonder the Major got more and more vexed, and became more and more harassed. According to his light he could rightly plead that he was doing *what he thought right*." "It is not likely that you will forget what your son's nature was any more than we will the impression he made upon us. Ardent, impetuous, outspoken, prompt as tinder to utter the thoughtless word, but generous, brave, and the beau ideal of a jockey of Mars,—fit to have ridden that fatal race into the flames of Muscovy's cannon side by side with the boldest of the Light Brigade, or to lead a forlorn hope to bid men stand when all would fly,—Major Barttelot will ever be remembered by us." "I greatly regret that I can do no more than assert my perfect belief that *every thought* that animated your son was for the well-being and success of the enterprise for which he had volunteered; and I do not think there is one man out of ten thousand living who, after resolving to discover what persuasion could effect with Tippu Tib, would have done otherwise than persevere in the attempt; and none possessing the zeal and ardor and passion for work that distinguished your son could possibly have evaded the fate which overtook him. However erring the conception of his

duty, his companions concurred in it, and he, being the responsible chief, suffered while performing what he and they considered to be his duty, . . . and I only regret that I could not have been twenty-eight days earlier, to have rescued a young fellow *whose heart I shall always believe was in the right place.* If anything in the above lines jars on your parental feelings, I pray you attribute it to the facts.* I would wish they were otherwise, but whatever they may be, as I loved your son, and admired him for many excellent qualities befitting a brave and *noble* soldier, I hope you will accept the sincere expression of sympathy for his untimely loss."

In these quotations we have nothing but praise, and, in fact, no published utterances of Mr. Stanley's previous to the appearance of Major Barttelot's diaries contain any mention of brutal characteristics—nothing but laudation of his loyalty and devotion, with many excuses for any errors of judgment made by the impetuous, noble British officer. With all this staring us in the face, —as statements made by Mr. Stanley in his official report, which should have contained the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth,—what can we do but conclude that he disbelieved the tales that had reached his ears concerning Major Barttelot's conduct? Otherwise he must now wish us to understand that his original statements regarding the Major's characteristics were inaccurate, for it is impossible to reconcile his present accusations with his former judgment, made, as he says, with full knowledge of the facts.

The world was put in possession of Mr. Stanley's opinion, and there the matter rested from July until the gag of silence was removed from the mouths of the other officers of the expedition in October. At that time appeared "Major Barttelot's Diaries and Letters," edited by his brother. Now, this volume contained some very serious charges advanced by Captain Barttelot on the strength of statements contained in his brother's diaries and on facts that had come to his knowledge. Among the accusations that he brings against Mr. Stanley we may note the following: that he deliberately left the weakest men with the rear column; that he failed to supply either white or black men with proper food; that he made some underhand agreement with Tippu Tib, placing the rear column completely at the mercy of the wily Arab; that he deliberately broke his promise to return to Yambuya, though he makes himself out as a faithful keeper of all promises, and de-

* He doubtless refers to his criticism of Major Barttelot in another part of the letter, where he blames him for not marching out, for believing and trusting Tippu Tib, etc., etc.

mands similar conduct from every one under him; that he did not use every effort to communicate with his rear-guard; that he knowingly placed them in an extremely dangerous position; that a portion of the ammunition left with them he knew to be utterly worthless; that he deserted the rear column; that he left them and their stores as a bait to entice the Arabs from his own path; and, above all, Mr. Stanley himself being fully responsible for the disasters to the rear column, that he, in order to shield himself from blame and to have nothing to detract from his own glory, throws all the responsibility upon Major Barttelot and his companions, and with monstrous malignity and ingratitude charges those who served him faithfully with "irresolution," "neglect of promises," and "indifference to written orders." This is the substance of the terrible indictment brought by Captain Barttelot, with page after page of evidence to support his statements and uphold his theories. No one can read the book without being startled by the carefully-reasoned arguments and convincing proofs leading only to one conclusion.

Yet when this is placed before Mr. Stanley, and the charges are publicly commented upon, what does he do? Does he deny the truth of Captain Barttelot's statements or of his arguments? Does he bring forward anything to prove their inaccuracy? Does he assert that Captain Barttelot's evidence and witnesses are not worthy of credence? Does he do any single thing that an ordinary man would feel bound to do in order to prove to the public that he is guiltless of all these terrible charges? Does he appreciate that some of them, such as deliberately planning the ruin of the rear-guard and actually deserting it, would force a jury to convict him of manslaughter, *if they were uncontradicted*? Does he take any steps to clear himself from accusations that affect his reputation so seriously? No indeed! He does nothing of the kind. He simply keeps silence on all these points, and, *as if it were a justification of himself*, he turns around and retorts, in substance: "See what a brute Major Barttelot was, and see what a villain Mr. Jameson was!" He holds up his hands in horror and details a long list of crimes that he has officially ignored. He gives to the public a sickening tale of shameful brutality and of deliberate murder. When asked at the outset, "What evidence have you to support this?" he replies: "A sixteen-page letter written by Mr. Troup." This was said on the eve of his departure to

America. On his arrival there he is confronted with the publication of that very sixteen-page letter, which contained no reference to the awful charges he had made, the only criticism of the Major being in regard to the food supply of the blacks.

We can hardly help imagining that Mr. Stanley was completely taken aback when he found this ground cut from beneath his feet. Under these circumstances he changes his base and asserts: "My authority was Mr. Bonny, whose diary I possess." He had already told me that my diary was *not* evidence; yet he made terrible accusations on the authority of Mr. Bonny's diary. He admits that he has the statements of only one white man, Mr. Bonny; yet with a grand air, when Mr. Bonny publishes a signed statement, he triumphantly calls attention to the fact that "Mr. Bonny's statement confirms all I have said"! One cannot help exclaiming: "Naturally enough! You tell a tale founded on assertions made to you by Mr. Bonny, and then Mr. Bonny repeats his original statements. You speak as if Mr. Bonny had a dual personality—one that asserts and another that confirms its own assertion!"

But let us examine for a moment the evidence produced to support these serious charges. Read carefully what Mr. Bonny says in his published statements that appeared in *The Times* on November 10 and 15, 1890, and the log, a large part of which is written by him, November 17, 18, and 19. I will not go into all these here, only touching upon those with which my name has been associated. Two of the events referred to by Mr. Bonny happened while I was still connected with the expedition, viz., the shooting of a Soudanese soldier and the flogging of John Henry. As I have pointed out elsewhere, Mr. Bonny's version of the story misrepresents the cause of the shooting of the Soudanese, and he never credits me with having voted against it. As regards the flogging of John Henry, I was not present when it took place. Mr. Bonny was, and he is the only living witness; but it should be added that he it was, on his own confession, who desired that flogging should be substituted for shooting. Mr. Bonny describes a third occurrence, the stabbing of Ngungu, and asserts that "Lieutenant Troup can testify to the truth of this statement." On the contrary, I can do no such thing. My only information regarding the reputed stabbing was derived from Mr. Bonny himself, who told me a similar tale to that now published; but as

Ngungu continued to visit our camp on most friendly terms and showed no signs of any such wound as Mr. Bonny describes, I can say nothing in support of this charge.

It will, therefore, be apparent that my testimony would not bear out in every detail the stories told by Mr. Bonny concerning the only events of which I had any cognizance. The other statements regarding cruelty rest almost entirely upon Mr. Bonny's evidence, though supported in some cases by the gossip of black men, and in others directly contradicted by them. Not only does he record these acts of barbarity, but he was the only person present. If, in Mr. Stanley's eyes, it is a matter for condemnation for any one to have allowed another to "go on kicking, striking, slaying, stabbing, and biting human beings," Mr. Bonny, and Mr. Bonny alone, is the person to be condemned, for neither Mr. Ward nor I was present during all these scenes. It should also be noted that Mr. Stanley does not indorse the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Bonny that Major Barttelot was insane.

Let us look at the tale about Mr. Jameson. The chief point urged against him is that he deliberately purchased the girl with the object of having her slain. The only personal evidence produced by Mr. Bonny to support this is that Mr. Jameson told him "the whole thing and made no disguise of it" (*Times*, November 14, 1890); yet even he does not actually state that Mr. Jameson said he intentionally bought the girl in order to see her eaten. Mr. Jameson's entry in his own diary, written before any charges had been made against him, does not support the view that he was aware that the handkerchiefs given actually bought the slave; but it rather indicates that he had no deliberate intention of being instrumental in causing her death. Had he acted with "malice aforethought," he would hardly have told a frank story such as Mr. Bonny has repeated. The statement that Mr. Jameson really bought the girl for the purpose of seeing her sacrificed rests, therefore, on the evidence of Assad Farran, the only witness who was with Mr. Jameson. I ask you as fair-minded men what reliance can be placed on Assad Farran's statements. He spread the report throughout the Congo Free State, but when he reached London he "declared most solemnly" before witnesses that it was entirely untrue and that he was animated by ill feelings against Mr. Jameson; a fact that is borne out by the latter's diary. Mr. Stanley also asserted on his arrival at Zanzibar that

the stories were false and incredible. Two years and more after the event Assad Farran saw Mr. Stanley at Cairo, and at the latter's instigation wrote out an extraordinary "affidavit," containing numerous details that I can prove to be absolutely and entirely false. I doubt if any one who has carefully considered the circumstances of the case will accept the words of a deliberate perjurer in support of a serious accusation against a dead man.

To suggest that there was any crime in simply witnessing such a sight is to condemn Mr. Stanley and hundreds of other explorers and scientific men, who have seen and described scenes equally horrible. To suggest that Mr. Jameson should have tried to prevent the occurrence of such an event is really absurd; the woman would have been killed, in all probability, just the same, and Mr. Jameson's life would have been sacrificed to no purpose. How could he have rushed forward on the impulse of the moment when, by his own account, he seems to have been paralyzed by the horror of the scene that took place in such an instant of time? Mr. Stanley, who has exaggerated every item to the utmost, asserts that I am a witness that Mr. Jameson was guilty of deliberately causing the murder of the girl, and founds this upon my reply to his query that I saw the sketches. The simple fact that the sketches existed is no evidence whatsoever. If it were, there would be wholesale hanging of sensational war correspondents, medical students, scientific men, and explorers, including Mr. Stanley, who would suffer more severely than any one else. No, I am far more ready to believe the word of an honest English gentleman, like Mr. Jameson, than the statements of a perjurer like Assad Farran, or the lying tales collected from the scum of the black men by Mr. Stanley's own colored valet, who was not within a thousand miles of the scene when it took place. Let us believe that the thoughtful, sympathetic Mr. Jameson was not deliberately guilty of the crime laid to his charge, until some more conclusive proof is forthcoming.

Mr. Stanley has used my name in this instance and on other occasions in an unwarrantable manner. In fact, I think it is only right that I should in this place touch in passing upon the accusations with which he has associated my name. His most serious reflection is that I was largely responsible for the failure of the rear-guard, because the whole affair might have succeeded *if I had simply tied up Major Barttelot and sent him in an open*

canoe down the river. When I pointed out to him that such conduct would have been mutiny against my superior officer and disloyalty to himself, for Major Barttelot was his representative at that time, he calmly asserts, "Mr. Troup was afraid of being shot as a mutineer," insinuating that I was cowardl in my conduct.*

Mr. Stanley in his recent lecture† has done his best to bring up sins of omission and commission on my part. But, after all, what do these personal matters really amount to? He says that I *demanded* £150, and that I skulked in my hut. Now, listen to the facts, and see how he deliberately misrepresents me. I never *demanded* any sum or outfit. If I had been demanding payment, with my knowledge and experience in Africa I would have insisted upon receiving at least £500 a year. The amount mentioned in my contract was placed there by Sir F. de Winton before anything was said about remuneration. When he saw me opening my eyes in surprise at the figures, he apologized, saying he knew that was *nothing* for my services, but the truth was this was a philanthropic expedition, and they could not pay more; but he would mention that there would be also a bonus—a commission on Emin's ivory—paid to each of the officers. I made no remark on this. The outfit was given to the other officers, and the fact of the matter is I never received the articles specified in my contract.

From these facts it may be seen how he has gone out of his way to misrepresent the matter. Why the desire for fame and glory allowed to the others should be denied me is puzzling, or even why I went because I had nothing better to do: did not all the others have nothing *better* to do, and was it not a compliment to the undertaking to consider it the best thing to accomplish? As regards my being in my hut, Mr. Stanley has reiterated his statement that I was there because of a quarrel with Major Barttelot, deliberately wording his insinuation so as to make it appear that this was the only cause that made me remain in my hut. He knows, on the contrary,

* He even points out that I could easily have overcome any resistance, as I was a heavier man than the Major. In connection with this I may here mention that after reaching England from Africa, having had a river trip and a long sea voyage to aid in building me up, I weighed only 120 pounds—much less than any of his advance column, who are supposed to have suffered severely. When I left Yambuya, my weight could scarcely have exceeded 100 pounds, while my normal weight is 150 pounds.

† New York, December 3, 1890.

that I was seriously ill—so ill that I could not lift hand or foot; so that I was unable to pen a written remonstrance when he says I should have done so, for I could not move even out of bed, much less out of my hut. In support of this I have the medical testimony of the certificate given by his own friend, Mr. Bonny, as well as the repeated statement of Major Barttelot that "Troup is dying," and a similar remark contained in Mr. Jameson's letters; and, if necessary, I can produce other witnesses who can testify to my condition. Yet Mr. Stanley again goes out of his way to say that I was simply skulking in my hut, while in reality I was lying helpless. Such is the magnanimous recognition of my services by the man for whose sake I sacrificed my health!

He also declares that I acted unworthily as a *subordinate.* His only suggestion of proof is that I failed to mutiny against my *superior* officer. I have mentioned this before, but I should like to ask him if he would by choice place a mutinous person in command. If not, then his charge that I was an unworthy subordinate falls to the ground. He brings nothing more serious personally against me, though, by some occult reasoning, he still maintains that I, with the others, wrecked the rear column by grave dereliction of duty.

To return to the accusations that have been brought against Mr. Stanley. Let us look for a moment at the evidence given by himself and his officers concerning some of these accusations.

It has been said that he left the worst of the men with the rear-guard. In proof of this we have his own words on page 103 of his first volume and on page 13 of his second, besides other incidental references. We have also the evidence of the diaries of Major Barttelot and Mr. Jameson and the statements of Mr. Ward and myself. As against this we have a vague denial reported to have been made by Mr. Stanley. Therefore it is not unreasonable to assume that this accusation has been proved against him.

He says we had plenty of food, and also stores wherewith to buy more. The details of the exceedingly small supply of European provisions have been treated of elsewhere. There were hardly forty small tins of edibles per officer to last the whole time of the expedition after reaching Yambuya. Mr. Stanley had locked these up more effectually than if he had turned a key on them, by his open accusation that the officers, including those of the ad-

vance column, had tampered with them on their way up the river. No one after that would touch a box unnecessarily, and certainly would not help himself to its contents. From his own list of other provisions left with the rear-guard we learn that there were altogether forty-six loads of rice and biscuits. Allowing that the contents of these equalled on an average fifty pounds,* there were then just 2,300 pounds. This, it must be allowed, was a very small quantity to divide among two hundred men. As it was, this was the mainstay of the officers, and, allowing a ration of one pound per diem to each of the five officers, it would have lasted just about fifteen months—a month longer than Mr. Stanley was absent. It must, however, be remembered that a large portion of this food was totally unfit to eat; a fact of which Mr. Stanley is not ignorant. The manioc, the food for our men, Mr. Stanley writes, was poisonous, because it was not carefully prepared—*the* cause, he says, of the mortality in our camp; at least so he writes in his book, but he has since declared that there were other causes of a horrible nature.

It has been suggested that we might have started plantations of our own, but though this was possible, it should be borne in mind that for the first five months we hoped every day we might leave our camp with Tippu Tib's assistance, and after that time, while still hoping for that, we also daily expected that Mr. Stanley would fulfil his promise and return to take us back with him to Wadelai. In this state of uncertainty, with the probability of a speedy move, it would have been a waste of time and energy to work plantations that might never be of use to us; and also we should have been obliged to detail a number of men from our already small force to guard the plantations day and night.

As to the allegations made by Mr. Stanley that the stores left at Yambuya were for the purpose of buying food for our men (see report of interview), nothing could be more false. In his written instructions he lays down, as the most important thing, the preservation of these stores, which were "the currency needed for transit through the regions beyond the lakes." The loss of them "would be certain ruin to us, and the advance force would need to solicit relief in its turn." If we had used these

*A full load is sixty pounds, but the weight of the cases and leakage from sacks must be deducted; so fifty pounds is a fair allowance.

for purchasing supplies, it would have been in direct disobedience to his orders.

He now declares there were two cases of medicine left for the rear-guard. If this is a fact, why did he omit to mention it in the full list of stores given at the end of his first volume of "In Darkest Africa"? No reference is there made to medicines of any kind, and I again assert that we suffered seriously for the lack of proper medicinal supplies, and Mr. Bonny's medical certificate indorses my statement. I can only surmise that, if there was medicine in camp, it was among our leader's private stores, and for touching these he has reviled us.

So much in proof of the accuracy of some of the charges of dereliction of duty made against Mr. Stanley, proving, too, that he has seriously *misrepresented facts*—to call the matter by the mildest epithet.

Now let us see what he brings against the officers of the rear-guard as a body.

"*Irresolution of the officers.*" What proof has he? and if true, what was the cause thereof? He has not pointed out very clearly what we were irresolute about, but, as far as can be gathered, he refers to our having accepted the promises of Tippu Tib and relied upon him. Let us ask, Who told us to trust him? Mr. Stanley. And who was it said he would accept the word of Tippu Tib rather than that of a white man? Mr. Stanley again.

"*Neglect of promises.*" Leaving aside his own neglect of his promise to return in November, the only promises of which we have any cognizance are those contained in our contracts. We agreed to serve him loyally and devotedly, to obey his orders, and use our utmost endeavor to bring the expedition to a successful issue. Would we have been carrying out such promises if we had marched out of Yambuya at a time when we each felt that by so doing we should not be using our best endeavors toward the success of the expedition, and should be disobeying his most explicit order to guard the stores? We acted according to our lights, and we felt convinced that, if we marched without any aid from Tippu Tib, we should only lose our men and stores in the forest, and would thus bring ruin upon the expedition.

"*Indifference to written orders.*" In connection with this Mr. Stanley has charged Mr. Ward and myself with twisting those orders ingeniously to suit our own views. Therefore I

can only leave it to the public to peruse those instructions and discover, *if possible,* the construction Mr. Stanley places upon them, viz., that we should have marched without any assistance whatsoever from Tippu Tib. I assert and maintain that in those instructions or orders—for in reading his book one is exasperated by his contradictory words as to whether these were "suggestions," "advices," or "orders"—he makes no provision whatsoever for the possibility of Tippu Tib's failure to supply us with any men. He distinctly says, "Although Tippu Tib sends *some* men," in which case we were to make marches of six miles twice over. The impossibility of even such a task has been proved by the evidence not only of the surviving officers, but of the experiences of the column when it did march. If with such assistance as they then had it was impossible to keep the loads intact, how much harder would it have been to guard the stores when they were to be carried by two hundred invalids marching back and forth through the bush! It is not worth while to go into the subject of the injustice of Mr. Stanley's expectation that we, with half the number of men he had, should succeed in transporting nearly seven hundred loads through a country where his four hundred picked men with light loads nearly failed. I have proved that injustice beyond contradiction already.

I have pointed out in my book very clearly how impossible it was to march, arguing the matter fully, supporting my statement by figures and other evidence. I have also given proofs of Mr. Stanley's failure to supply us properly with food and medicine. I have supported these, too, by uncontroverted facts. Yet he ignores all these charges and this evidence just as he does that of Captain Barttelot. He sets himself up as above criticism, and then from his pedestal looks down to condemn all the officers of the rear column, charging us indiscriminately with causing or countenancing acts of brutality or cruelty.

When Sir R. N. Fowler and the Aborigines Society condemn Mr. Stanley's actions in Africa, why does he not adopt his former line of defence, if such it can be called? He does not reply to the condemnation at all, but simply says, "See what brutes the rear-guard officers were," and adds, in his own words: "I was told that some of them caused a great deal of trouble by ill treating African women. I was told, also, that some of Major Barttelot's officers made victims of the African women, and that there

had been wild scenes and riotous revellings after the native fashion." Just as if this species of innuendo against other people, made without any authority given and without specifying the guilty parties, cleared him from such terrible charges as have been made against him.

Bear in mind that the full story of the advance column has never been told. All that has been placed before the public concerning events in the dark forest is put in the most attractive form by Mr. Stanley himself; but enough has been published to convince us that his march to reach Emin was not accomplished without sacrificing the lives of Zanzibaris, Soudanese, and natives. For this bloody track across the continent, which will close this district for a long time to more peaceful explorers, he has yet to account. He has scarcely done anything to justify himself for having marched, gun in hand, to rescue one who did not wish to be rescued.

As regards the rear-guard, Mr. Stanley has now at last admitted that he erred in placing Major Barttelot in command, and he has also admitted that he knew from the outset the character of that gentleman. There is one thing more we must ask him: that is, whether his conscience is perfectly clear when he reflects that he placed the lives of four white officers and two hundred black men in such imminent peril as he knew he would place them in if he left as their commander such a person as *Mr. Stanley now asserts he believed* Major Barttelot to be. Not for a moment do I admit the accuracy of all his charges against the Major, but on Mr. Stanley's own confession we learn that Major Barttelot was not the man to be placed in authority amid such difficulties as Mr. Stanley allowed to surround him.

Mr. Stanley has spoken of me as having accused him of different things; but I would call the attention of the public to the fact that I have only dealt with matters that he has brought against me. When he publicly asserted that I was responsible for certain acts and events, it became my duty to bring forward evidence to prove that the responsibility for these did not rest upon me, but upon him. The truth of the matter is that I have only made his accusations recoil upon his own head.

I had no desire to enter into any controversy with my late chief, but it became necessary for me to do so in order to defend my reputation from his unjust attacks upon it.

J. Rose Troup.

HAVE WE A NATIONAL LITERATURE?

BY WALT WHITMAN.

So YOU want an essay about American National Literature, (tremendous and fearful subject!) do you? Well, if you will let me put down some melanged cogitations regarding the matter, hap-hazard, and from my own points of view, I will try. Horace Greeley wrote a book named "Hints toward Reforms," and the title-line was considered the best part of all. In the present case I will give a few thoughts and suggestions, of good and ambitious intent enough anyhow—first reiterating the question right out plainly: American National Literature—is there distinctively any such thing, or can there ever be? First to me comes an almost indescribably august form, the People, with varied typical shapes and attitudes—then the divine mirror, Literature.

As things are, probably no more puzzling question ever offered itself than (going back to old Nile for a trope), What bread-seeds of printed mentality shall we cast upon America's waters, to grow and return after many days? Is there for the future authorship of the United States any better way than submission to the teeming facts, events, activities, and importations already vital through and beneath them all? I have often pondered it, and felt myself disposed to let it go at that. Indeed, are not those facts and activities and importations potent and certain to fulfil themselves all through our Commonwealth, irrespective of any attempt from individual guidance? But allowing all, and even at that, a good part of the matter being honest discussion, examination, and earnest personal presentation, we may even for sanitary exercise and contact plunge boldly into the spread of the many waves and cross-tides, as follows. Or, to change the figure, I will present my varied collation (what is our Country itself but an infinitely vast and varied collation?) in the hope that the

show itself indicates a duty getting more and more incumbent every day.

In general, civilization's totality or real representative National Literature formates itself (like language, or "the weather") not from two or three influences, however important, nor from any learned syllabus, or criticism, or what ought to be, nor from any minds or advice of toploftical quarters—and indeed not at all from the influences and ways ostensibly supposed (though they too are adopted, after a sort) — but slowly, slowly, curiously, from many more and more, deeper mixings and siftings (especially in America) and generations and years and races, and what largely appears to be chance—but is not chance at all. First of all, for future National Literature in America, New England (the specially moral and schoolmaster region, as a cynical fellow I know calls it) and the three or four great Atlantic-coast cities, highly as they to-day suppose they dominate the whole, will have to haul in their horns. *Ensemble* is the tap-root of National Literature. America is become already a huge world of peoples, rounded and orbic climates, idiocrasies, and geographies—forty-four Nations curiously and irresistibly blent and aggregated in ONE NATION, with one imperial language, and one unitary set of social and legal standards over all—and (I predict) a yet to be National Literature. (In my mind this last, if it ever comes, is to prove grander and more important for the Commonwealth than its politics and material wealth and trade, vast and indispensable as those are.)

Think a moment what must, beyond peradventure, be the real permanent sub-bases, or lack of them. Books profoundly considered show a great nation more than anything else—more than their laws or manners. (This is, of course, probably the deep-down meaning of that well-buried but ever-vital platitude, Let me sing a people's songs, and I don't care who makes their laws.) Books too reflect humanity *en masse*, and surely show them splendidly, or the reverse, and prove or celebrate their prevalent traits (these last the main things). Homer grew out of and has held the ages, and holds to-day, by the universal admiration for personal prowess, courage, rankness, *amour propre*, leadership, inherent in the whole human race. Shakespeare concentrates the brilliancy of the centuries of feudalism on the proud personalities they produced, and paints the amorous passion. The books of

the Bible stand for the final superiority of devout emotions over the rest, and of religious adoration, and of ultimate absolute justice, more powerful than haughtiest kings or millionnaires or majorities.

What the United States are working out and establishing needs imperatively the connivance of something subtler than ballots and legislators. The Goethean theory and lesson (if I may briefly state it so) of the exclusive sufficiency of artistic, scientific, literary equipment to the character, irrespective of any strong claims of the political ties of nation, state, or city, could have answered under the conventionality and pettiness of Weimar, or the Germany, or even Europe, of those times ; but it will not do for America to-day at all. We have not only to exploit our own theory above any that has preceded us, but we have entirely different, and deeper-rooted, and infinitely broader themes.

When I have had a chance to see and observe a sufficient crowd of American boys or maturer youths or well-grown men, all the States, as in my experiences in the Secession War among the soldiers, or west, east, north, or south, or my wanderings and loiterings through cities (especially New York and in Washington), I have invariably found coming to the front three prevailing personal traits, to be named here for brevity's sake under the heads Good-Nature, Decorum, and Intelligence. (I make Good-Nature first, as it deserves to be—it is a splendid resultant of all the rest, like health or fine weather.) Essentially these lead the inherent list of the high average personal born and bred qualities of the young fellows everywhere through the United States, as any sharp observer can find out for himself. Surely these make the vertebral stock of superbest and noblest nations ! May the destinies show it so forthcoming. I mainly confide the whole future of our Commonwealth to the fact of these three bases. Need I say I demand the same in the elements and spirit and fruitage of National Literature ?

Another, perhaps a born root or branch, comes under the words *Noblesse Oblige,* even for a national rule or motto. My opinion is that this foregoing phrase, and its spirit, should influence and permeate official America and its representatives in Congress, the Executive Departments, the Presidency, and the individual States—should be one of their chiefest mottoes, and be carried out practically. (I got the idea from my dear friend the

democratic Englishwoman, Mrs. Anne Gilchrist, now dead. "The beautiful words *Noblesse Oblige,*" said she to me once, "are not best for some developed gentleman or lord, but some rich and developed nation—and especially for your America.")

Then another and very grave point (for this discussion is deep, deep,—not for trifles, or pretty seemings). I am not sure but the established and old (and superb and profound and, one may say, needed as old) conception of Deity as mainly of moral constituency (goodness, purity, sinlessness, etc.) has been undermined by nineteenth-century ideas and science. What does this immense and almost abnormal development of Philanthropy mean among the moderns? One doubts if there ever will come a day when the moral laws and moral standards will be supplanted as over all: while time proceeds (I find it so myself) they will probably be intrenched deeper and expanded wider. Then the scientific and democratic and truly philosophic and poetic quality of modernism demands a Deific identity and scope superior to all limitations, and essentially including just as well the so-called evil and crime and criminals—all the malformations, the defective and abortions of the universe.

Sometimes the bulk of the common people (who are far more 'cute than the critics suppose) relish a well-hidden allusion or hint carelessly dropt, faintly indicated, and left to be disinterred or not. Some of the very old ballads have delicious morsels of this kind. Greek Aristophanes and Pindar must have abounded in them. (I sometimes fancy the old Hellenic audiences must have been as generally keen and knowing as any of their poets.) Shakespeare is full of them. Tennyson has them. It is always a capital compliment from author to reader, and worthy the peering brains of America. The mere smartness of the common folks, however, does not need encouraging, but qualities more solid and opportune.

What are now deepest wanted in the States as roots for their literature are Patriotism, Nationality, Ensemble, or the ideas of these, and the uncompromising genesis and saturation of these. Not the mere bawling and braggadocio of them, but the radical emotion-facts, the fervor and perennial fructifying spirit at fountain-head. And at the risk of being misunderstood I should dwell on and repeat that a great imaginative *literatus* for America can

never be merely good and moral in the conventional method. Puritanism and what radiates from it must always be mentioned by me with respect; then I should say, for this vast and varied Commonwealth, geographically and artistically, the puritanical standards are constipated, narrow, and non-philosophic.

In the main I adhere to my positions in "Democratic Vistas," and especially to my summing-up of American literature as far as to-day is concerned. In Scientism, the Medical Profession, Practical Inventions, and Journalism, the United States have pressed forward to the glorious front rank of advanced civilized lands, as also in the popular dissemination of printed matter (of a superficial nature perhaps, but that is an indispensable preparatory stage), and have gone in common education, so-called, far beyond any other land or age. Yet the high-pitched taunt of Margaret Fuller, forty years ago, still sounds in the air.: "It does not follow, because the United States print and read more books, magazines, and newspapers than all the rest of the world, that they really have therefore a literature." For perhaps it is not alone the free schools and newspapers, nor railroads and factories, nor all the iron, cotton, wheat, pork, and petroleum, nor the gold and silver, nor the surplus of a hundred or several hundred millions, nor the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, nor the last national census, that can put this Commonweal high or highest on the cosmical scale of history. Something else is indispensable. All that record is lofty, but there is a loftier.

The great current points are perhaps simple, after all: first, that the highest developments of the New World and Democracy, and probably the best society of the civilized world all over, are to be only reached and spinally nourished (in my notion) by a new evolutionary sense and treatment; and, secondly, that the evolution-principle, which is the greatest law through nature, and of course in these States, has now reached us markedly for and in our literature.

In other writings I have tried to show how vital to any aspiring Nationality must ever be its autochthonic song, and how for a really great people there can be no complete and glorious Name, short of emerging out of and even raised on such born expression, coming from its own soil and soul, its area, spread, idiosyncrasies, and (like showers of rain, originally rising impalpably, distilled from land and sea) duly returning there

again. Nor do I forget what we all owe to our ancestry; though perhaps we are apt to forgive and bear too much for that alone.

One part of the national American literatus's task is (and it is not an easy one) to treat the old hereditaments, legends, poems, theologies, and even customs, with fitting respect and toleration, and at the same time clearly understand and justify, and be devoted to and exploit our own day, its diffused light, freedom, responsibilities, with all it necessitates, and that our New-World circumstances and stages of development demand and make proper. For American literature we want mighty authors, *not* even Carlyle- and Heine-like, born and brought up in (and more or less essentially partaking and giving out) that vast abnormal ward or hysterical sick-chamber which in many respects Europe, with all its glories, would seem to be. The greatest feature in current poetry (in literature anyhow) is the almost total lack of first-class power, and simple, natural health, flourishing and produced at first hand, and typifying our own era. Modern verse generally lacks quite altogether the modern, and is oftener possessed in spirit with the past and feudal, dressed may-be in late fashions. For novels and plays often the plots and surfaces are contemporary—but the spirit, even the fun, is morbid and effete.

There is an essential difference between the Old and New. The poems of Asia and Europe are rooted in the long past. They celebrate man and his intellections and relativenesses as they have been. But America, in as high a strain as ever, is to sing them all as they are and are to be. (I know, of course, that the past is probably a main factor in what we are and know and must be.) At present the States are absorbed in business, money-making, politics, agriculture, the development of mines, intercommunications, and other material attents—which all shove forward and appear at their height—as, consistently with modern civilization, they must be and should be. Then even these are but the inevitable precedents and providers for home-born, transcendent, democratic literature—to be shown in superior, more heroic, more spiritual, more emotional, personalities and songs. A national literature is, of course, in one sense, a great mirror or reflector. There must be something before—something to reflect. I should say now, since the Secession War, there has been, and to-day unquestionably exists, that something.

Certainly, anyhow, the United States do not so far utter poetry, first-rate literature, or any of the so-called arts, to any lofty admiration or advantage—are not dominated or penetrated from actual inherence or plain bent to the said poetry and arts. Other work, other needs, current inventions, productions, have occupied and to-day mainly occupy them. They are very 'cute and imitative and proud—can't bear being left too glaringly away far behind the other high-class nations—and so we set up some home "poets," "artists," painters, musicians, *literati*, and so forth, all our own (thus claimed). The whole matter has gone on, and exists to-day, probably as it should have been, and should be; as, for the present, it must be. To all which we conclude, and repeat the terrible query: American National Literature—is there distinctively any such thing, or can there ever be?

WALT WHITMAN.

THE STRUGGLE IN CANADA.

BY ERASTUS WIMAN.

Sir John Macdonald, the prototype in North America of Disraeli, is, next to Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland, the most marked political figure on the continent. He has more power over a wider area than the President of the United States, and he rules more absolutely than the Chancellor of the German Empire or the Premier of Great Britain. He is the embodiment of political astuteness; and this fact, with a knowledge that he represents, in a special and peculiar sense, the wishes and desires of the imperial power of Great Britain over the wide expanse of British possessions in North America, makes him to the people of the United States an intensely important personage.

Sir John becomes all the more important when it is recalled that his efforts, and those of the great Tory party that he alone controls, have been for years directed towards lessening the intercourse between the people that together hold this continent in common. What God has joined together Sir John and his party have been trying to put asunder. That two nations, speaking the same language, occupying a contiguous territory along a border-line unparalleled in length, and deeply imbedded in each other's domain, should desire to trade with each other seems most natural. But it has suited the purpose of Sir John and his party to shape the policy of the greater half of the continent in a direction precisely opposite to a friendly relation with the most active trading nation under the sun, and to separate himself and his people from a close connection with the greatest money-making, money-spending aggregation of humanity that the world has ever seen.

The effort thus put forth has had for its purpose, in an area comprising 40 per cent. of the British Empire, the setting-up of a fiscal system that should make it a country by itself, and create a great nationality, independent, isolated, and self-contained. This

attempt has all the more significance when it is made side by side with a nation whose growth of wealth, whose magnitude of internal commerce, whose progress and prosperity, are the wonder of the world. If it is true that "comparison is at the bottom of all philosophy," the task which Sir John has set for himself to perform, and to accomplish anything like success therein before the world, seems almost beyond human achievement.

Yet up to this time the effort has been courageously and most astutely made; and were it not for the fact that it is a war upon geography, a battle against nature, it might in the end succeed. But the forces which are arrayed against dividing this continent commercially in twain have been too numerous and too strong to make the attempt successful. The desire of the people of Canada, on the one hand, to trade with their brethren across the border, and the equal desire of the people of the United States, on the other, for enlarged markets and future supplies of raw material, have set in motion a commercial movement which all the political forces in the world cannot defeat. This movement has taken on the form known as Unrestricted Reciprocity, and is a movement which has assumed proportions so universal as to deserve the description of Goldwin Smith, that "its spread among the people has been like the light of the morning pervading the universe." Sir John, in a recent most important and passionate manifesto, has been good enough to attribute the origin of this movement, and its advocacy, to him who pens these lines. He says:

> "The Liberal party has taken a new departure, and has announced its policy to be Unrestricted Reciprocity. That (as defined by its author, Mr. Wiman, in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW a few days ago) means free trade with the United States and a common tariff with the United States against the rest of the world."

Sir John has many honors, not only from Her Gracious Majesty, but from the people whom he rules and whom he serves, and he deserves them all. But not one of these rewards for high services can be more prized than that which he thus imparts in designating the undersigned as the originator of a scheme so comprehensive in its consequences, so beneficial in its operation, and so certain to become effective.

The growth of the desire for reciprocal relations between the two countries, originating only four years ago in a definite movement, has found its outcome in the terror which has struck the

Tory party. This terror finds expression in the dissolution of the Canadian Parliament a year in advance of its legal expiration. The dissolution is decided upon, not from any great public cause, to provide for no impending war, no financial disaster or other threatened casualty, but simply and solely to prevent another year of educational effort, conscious that, were it permitted, it would dispose of any claim that the Tory party had to any continuance of confidence. This unwarranted dissolution shows how well grounded is the claim that Sir John has more power over 40 per cent. of the British Empire than has the Premier of Great Britain over the whole of it. It may well be believed that Her Majesty, woman though she is, would never be guilty of using the great prerogatives of her crown to dissolve the British Parliament in order to perpetuate the power of a party, thus conspiring to defeat the wishes of her people. The Governor-General of Canada, who represents Her Majesty in her British possessions in North America, is, however, as putty in the hands of the astute manipulator that rules over these broad areas.

The dissolution of Parliament at this juncture, too, is in direct violation of the equities of the situation. The census is just due, and a reapportionment is in order. Besides this, the official lists of voters, under the direct pledge that no dissolution would occur were not revised last year, the consequence of which is that one hundred thousand young men are disfranchised. These lists having been revised only up to 1889, no young man less than twenty-three years of age can vote, because of the absence of his name from the list of voters. This vast array of thinking young men, independent and self-reliant, Sir John does not wish to exercise their judgment and independence. These, coupled with the enormous number of the rising generation who have left the Dominion for the United States in the last few years, comprise the most intelligent and the most desirable voters, from whom might be drawn large additions to the Liberal party. The policy which drives the young men from the country,—for the old men are not able to go,—and which with one stroke of the pen disfranchises a large proportion of those who remain, is in keeping with the trick which in midwinter, and on thirty days' notice, precipitates a conflict to decide a question of the most momentous importance as to the future policy of half a continent for half a century to come.

For the first time in the history of the Canadian nation the question is squarely presented as to what are to be hereafter the relations between it and the great aggregation of commonwealths that lie at its border. It is difficult to imagine any subject of more vital importance than the relations to be maintained between two such countries. Stretching side by side for almost four thousand miles; occupied by people of precisely the same language, having the same wants in natural products, and in every providential provision supplementing one another; possessing the essentials of each other's prosperity and progress, how strange does it seem, that within thirty days, with the most partial preparation, the vast question of their future commercial destiny shall be decided! Yet such appears to be the case. The two parties in Canada have at length been so placed in juxtaposition with each other as to make this question of relations between the United States and Canada the single point of issue.

The Tories have adopted what is known as the National Policy, the result of which is isolation and commercial belligerency. A high rate of duty against American manufactures; an antiquated and harsh interpretation of the fisheries treaty; a railway policy menacing American profit; a discrimination against American bottoms in Canadian waterways; a denial of bonding privileges for fish and grain, and a general policy of commercial hostility pervade the politics of the Tories. Loyalty to the British crown, and mock sentimentality as to treason and rebellion, are somehow mixed up with this apparent desire to get the better of the American people. The sentiment which animated the United Empire loyalists who left this country in the time of the Revolution, because they thought they could not live anywhere except under the British crown, permeates, to a very large extent, the Tory party. They are suspicious of a design to politically appropriate their country, and by some insidious movement extend the Republic so as to include all the British possessions in America. In these later days he is dubbed a traitor who wants to trade with his cousins across the border. Sir John Macdonald, in his recent manifesto, lashes himself into a passion of patriotic fervor by attributing to those who thus seek to trade freely designs upon the independence of Canada, and a desire to rob the British crown of its most precious jewel.

The first thought that strikes the average observer at this ac-

cusation is how fragile must be the character of the loyalty that could thus be seduced by trade and traffic. A people who are so vigorous in their denunciation of traitors, who are so unalterably pledged to British connection, who are so firm in their adherence to existing political conditions, ought to have nothing to fear from the closest contact by trade and commerce with an adjoining nation. It is a poor compliment to the free institutions of Canada, and to the strength of the attachment to British institutions which undoubtedly exists throughout the country, to think that the latter can be lessened by the most intimate trade relations with the United States. The shrieks of the loyal legions of the Tory party as to the possibility of annexation resulting from trade and commerce are most amusing, when contrasted with the relation which Great Britain herself bears to the United States. One would think that loyalty in Canada is an article so precious that it should be put in a glass case to be gazed at, rather than to be in every-day use; while loyalty in Great Britain consists in advancing the interests of the country by promoting, by every possible plan, the increase of commerce and building up the most intimate relation with the kin across the sea.

Hardly an hour goes by but in the great harbor of New York there sails up some stately ship bearing the British flag, manned by British sailors, loaded down with British goods, and which shortly returns again loaded with American products for British consumption. So closely connected and so intimate are America and Great Britain that no two nations under the sun trade so greatly with each other. Every week in the year, two millions of dollars of interest is earned on English money in the United States, to be contributed to the incomes of England. At the present rate of procedure, Great Britain will in the next half-century own half the industrial enterprises of the United States; and it would not be surprising to see eventually a million dollars a day of interest remitted to Great Britain. Notwithstanding the fact that the United States have constructed 40 per cent. of all the railways in the world, it is safe to say that fully one-third of the money invested in these roads belongs to Great Britain. There is no disloyalty in this kind of trade, and because of it there is no desire apparent on the part of the United States to change the political conditions which pervade England.

True, so far as Canada is concerned, there is a general idea

in the United States that its destiny might be that of assimilation into the Union which now binds together the great constellation of commonwealths that make up the United States. But this is a vague and inconsequent conception, which will hardly in the lifetime of this generation assume the shape of practical politics. There is a complete absence of the slightest desire on the part of the American people to capture Canada by any military prowess, to purchase her by any expenditure of money, or to shape her destiny by any legislation except that which is of a character entirely promotive of commerce. This seems hardly the case with the McKinley Bill, which appeared aimed at the Canadian Dominion, because its agricultural schedule, so severely drastic in its effects, applied only to a near-by agricultural country. But the terms of this tariff are not more severe against Canada than against the tin-plate industries of Wales, the cotton industries of Manchester, the wines of France, or the woollen and fancy-goods interests of Germany. If there were any design on the part of the United States to change the political character of the nations with whom they trade by the enactment of this tariff, it is not visible to the naked eye. As a matter of fact, the political conditions of Canada were no more in mind in the making of this change in the fiscal system than were the future political conditions of the Fiji Islanders.

But, in spite of this indifference, Sir John does not hesitate to say that the tariff was influenced by parties in the interest of reciprocal trade. He would have his constituents believe it was enforced in order to put a sort of a thumb-screw upon Canadian loyalty, to enable Americans to see how far it would yield under the adverse conditions resulting from this apparent display of hostility by this country. He forgets to mention the fact that, anterior to the McKinley Bill, the tariff of Canada, known as the Foster tariff, was most unjust to the United States, and that articles which had been on the free list, such as fruit, shrubs, seeds, and other natural products, were made to bear a heavy duty, notwithstanding a statutory offer of freedom between the two countries originally made by Canada. Indeed, the whole policy of the Tory party has been one of hostility and reprisal, and Sir John himself is the author of an expression, which has a logical sequence, that "if it was impossible to obtain a reciprocity in trade, they could secure a reciprocity in tariffs." A reciprocity of

tariffs has come with a vengeance, so far as the Canadian people are concerned; first in the Foster tariff against American manufactures entering Canada, and then in the McKinley tariff against Canadian products entering the United States. Some idea of the kind of reciprocity in tariffs that Sir John sought for is found in such charges for entrance into the United States as a duty of five cents a dozen on eggs, twenty-five cents a bushel on potatoes, twenty-five cents a bushel on apples, $4 a ton on hay, and $30 each on horses, down to the charge on any little pig that is driven across the border of $1.50 as the price of its admission into this free land.

The conflict that impends in Canada is whether these conditions of isolation and of commercial hostility shall continue to prevail. The Liberal party of Canada approach the electors with the single plank in their platform of Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States. This means, so far as Canada is concerned, an abolishment of the severe and harsh measures of the McKinley Bill, of which the items just cited are a sample. It equally means a complete obliteration of the customs line that now shuts out American manufactures from half a continent, a region whose possibilities are to be measured only by the commerce created in its southern half. The advantages flowing to Canada from such a freedom and participation in such a commerce are simply enormous. The consequences that will flow from cheapened supplies of American manufactures and an open market in the United States are almost beyond present conception. This is the prospect which the Liberals offer. On the other hand, the Tory party ask for a continuance of power to perpetuate the policy that has begotten the strained relations between the two peoples and a number of most serious complications—a policy which has resulted in an enormous exodus from the Dominion, greatly reduced values of agricultural lands, and produced a serious condition of finance, extremely burdensome, from which the Canadians will have great difficulty in extricating themselves. It would be singular, indeed, if, with two such proposals before them, there is not a decision favorable to the Liberal party and better relations between the two countries.

The boon which the United States can grant to Canada is greater than that which any country under the sun can offer to a near-by nation. Every government in Europe, including Great

Britain, would accept the offer of Unrestricted Reciprocity with an alacrity that would almost take one's breath away. Yet, so strangely involved is the question in Canada, so brief is the period for decision, so sharp has been the action of the astute politician who at present governs that vast area, that it will not be surprising, the issue being confused by proposals of Partial Reciprocity, if an adverse verdict is returned. Three times have the Liberal party been defeated on questions of far less import than that which now is presented to the Canadian people. If a fourth time they should fail to elect the majority in Parliament, on the square issue of better relations with the United States, there may well be some apprehension as to the future.

But it is impossible that two great nations, side by side with each other, having so many interests in common, and whose destiny and future are so closely interwoven, can long remain commercially hostile to each other. It may be that a continuance and prolonged dose of McKinleyism are necessary for the education of the Canadian people. It is just possible that the high duty which the Foster tariff enforces in Canada is essential to proper education. These results will all follow the defeat of the Liberal party. The fact that Sir John urges reciprocity in natural products, and tries to delude the farmers of Canada into the belief that a partial reciprocity is possible, shows how desperate is the need of the Tory party. Every one acquainted with the question knows how utterly impossible is a partial reciprocity, so far as the United States are concerned. An enlarged market for manufactures is the essential basis of the new movement for reciprocity. If manufactures are omitted, there is no ground to seek an extension into new markets; and it has been aptly said that "one might just as well attempt to build a railway to the moon as to get reciprocity from the United States with the omission of the manufactured interests." It shows how desperate are the straits to which the Tory party have been driven when they undertake to obtain what they know cannot be got, and run the risk of the disaster which will certainly follow their utter failure in the future.

Of course the free admission of American manufactures into Canada and the continuance of a duty upon English goods, as proposed by the Liberals, mean a discrimination against Great Britain. The possibility of 40 per cent. of the British Empire taxing the manufactures of the other 60 per cent., and admitting

those of a hated commercial rival free, is a circumstance of great significance and of very far-reaching importance. It is this which makes the movement in Canada appear disloyal to the mother-country. True, the Tory party has set the example, under the freedom which Great Britain nominally gives to her colonies to regulate their fiscal affairs by the necessities of their own condition. Thus, under Tory rule, Canada discriminates against British goods in favor of her own manufactures. It is pushing this liberty only to its legitimate result in the proposal of the Liberal party to admit American manufactures free of duty, in return for a free admission into the United States of Canadian products in payment for the same.

At this writing, of course, no one can tell the result of the contest now impending in Canada. The suddenness of the dissolution, the unpreparedness of the Liberal party for the contest, the unfavorable season for voters to get to the polls, are all adverse circumstances. Against this, however, is the educational process which has been going on for the last four years, and the fact that the personal and individual interests of a greater number of persons are more adversely affected in Canada by present political conditions than is the case in any other country at the present moment. This especially applies to the great class of farmers, lumbermen, fishermen, miners, and shippers, together forming the vast majority of the people of the Dominion. These men, if they vote as their interests point, will decide the question, and the victory will be overwhelmingly in favor of Unrestricted Reciprocity. At the present moment it looks as if this would be the case, and thus duplicate the political upheaval that took place in the United States in November last.

If the Tory party, however, should succeed in the election, which will now be decided within a few days, it can only be for a brief period, for already the seeds of disintegration are sown. Three or four years of such object-lessons as the McKinley Bill enforces on one side of the border, and the Canadian tariff reënacts on the other side will have their legitimate outcome. The forces thus at work towards a better relation are irresistible; and if the Liberal party are defeated at this time, the next election, which is likely to be very early in the history of the country, will tell a different tale. Great bodies move slowly; great movements take a long time to accomplish the results with which they are

pregnant; and it will not be surprising if the attempt to heal the great schism of the Anglo-Saxon race, by the assimilative results of intimate trade relations, is for a time postponed by Tory tendencies. These tendencies, but for the independence of this people, would have held this vast continent in leading-strings a hundred years ago, retarding a progress, a development, and a growth in wealth more beneficial to mankind at large than any other event in the history of the world. That Canada, occupying as she does the greater half of the continent, has a future in store for her equally great is as certain as the sun. The fulfilment of her destiny may be for the moment deferred, but cannot be defeated.

ERASTUS WIMAN.

WHY HOME RULE IS UNDESIRABLE.

BY W. E. H. LECKY, AUTHOR OF A "HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY."

SINCE the memorable occasion when Mr. Gladstone, having just gone to the country at a general election without the smallest intimation that he had changed his opinions or intentions on the question of Irish home rule, and having actually appealed to the electors to send in such a Liberal majority as would make him independent of the Parnellites, announced his conversion to the party whose votes had become essential to his majority, and attempted to place the government of Ireland in their hands, there has been no transformation scene in English politics comparable in its dramatic interest to that which has taken place since the verdict in the divorce case in which Mr. Parnell was the respondent.

The former event, as is well known, led to the most serious disruption of the Liberal party that has taken place since 1793. A minority of that party, comprising—if Mr. Gladstone himself be put aside—by far the greater part of the weighty leaders, both of its moderate and of its advanced section, broke away from the main body. Among these "dissentient Liberals" were the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Cowper, Lord Derby, Mr. Goschen, Lord Hartington, Sir Henry James, Lord Northbrook, and Lord Selborne, and it is no exaggeration to say that they carried with them the overwhelming majority of the more educated portion of the party in England, as well as nearly every Protestant Liberal in Ireland. All these strenuously maintained that in the existing condition of Ireland home rule would be merely another word for investing the National League with legislative powers; that it would inevitably place the government of Ireland in the hands of men who could not be trusted to discharge the most elementary functions of honest government; that it must reduce Ireland to a condition of utter anarchy, and that it would probably strike a fatal blow to the security of the empire.

The attempt to carry a home-rule bill, tearing the whole constitution of the empire in pieces, through a newly-elected Parliament, without the smallest authority from the constituencies, was defeated, and the question was speedily submitted to the country at an election. Mr. Gladstone had the advantage of carrying with him the organizations of the Liberal party, which was naturally the strongest party in the kingdom. He himself enjoyed a far greater personal ascendency than any other living English statesman. He was supported by the solid Irish Catholic vote in all the great English towns; and the eighty-six Parnellite members, who had hitherto been bitterly opposed to him, and who had invariably shown themselves either ostentatiously indifferent or ostentatiously hostile to the general interests of the empire, were now the most obsequious of his followers. But in spite of these advantages he was utterly defeated.

In the Parliament which had been elected at the close of 1885, and which met in January, 1886, there had been 333 Liberals, 251 Conservatives, and 86 Parnellites. In the Parliament which was elected in July, 1886, the Gladstonian Liberals had sunk to 205. The Parnellites remained 86, while the Conservatives were 303 and the Liberal Unionists 75. The combined forces of the Gladstonians and the Parnellites were confronted by a clear working majority which exceeded 110, and an alliance was established between the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists which has proved one of the most successful and has certainly been one of the most disinterested in English history. Mr. Goschen, it is true, at the desire or with the full consent of his colleagues, afterward consented, in a time of great difficulty, to place his rare financial abilities at the service of the government, and became Chancellor of the Exchequer, but the other members of the party decided to remain entirely without office; sinking their special differences with the Conservatives in the great and transcendent end of maintaining the unity of the empire, but at the same time giving a marked and steady liberal bias to the policy of the Conservative ministry.

Nearly five years have passed since the election, and no efforts have been spared by the defeated party to recover their position. Never, indeed, did an English party show such alacrity in burning what they had adored and adoring what they had burned; and there was a melancholy amusement in watching

how every characteristic step of their policy was best condemned by their own earlier words. The men who were now their closest allies, the men into whose hands they desired to place the protection of property, the maintenance of law, and the government of an integral portion of the empire, were the very men whom Mr. Gladstone had denounced and imprisoned as "preaching in Ireland the doctrine of public plunder"; pursuing a policy of "sheer rapine"; aiming at the "ruin of all who decline to obey the doctrine of the Land League"; "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the empire." Boycotting, which Mr. Gladstone had shortly before denounced as "combined intimidation exercised for the purpose of inflicting ruin and driving men to do what they do not want to do," and with murder for its ultimate sanction, was now described as mere "exclusive dealing"—something like the conduct of a Tory lady who confines her custom to tradesmen of her own party. A Crimes Act which was exclusively directed against crime or against conduct clearly provocative of crime, which was called for by the most urgent necessity, and has been justified by the most beneficial results, and which in its leading provisions is considerably less stringent than Mr. Gladstone's own Crimes Act of 1882, was represented as a monstrous invasion of the liberties of the subject; while language was used about the Irish judges and the Irish constabulary which plain men who judged words by their obvious drift and tendency could only ascribe to a deliberate intention to discredit the administration of justice in order to render the task of governing Ireland as difficult as possible.

Obstruction was not formally supported by the Gladstonian leaders, but they were accustomed to leave the House of Commons while their allies, supported by Mr. Labouchère and other prominent Radicals, pursued it with such persistence that, without being able to inflict a single defeat on the government, they succeeded in impeding all important legislation during the session which took place in the first half of 1890. At the same time all the arts of the demagogue were sedulously and unscrupuously employed to sow division in the United Kingdom. "The masses" were skilfully opposed to "the classes," and were made the objects of the most fulsome flattery. Old, smouldering jealousies between Wales and England and between Scotland and England were industriously fanned. The abolition of the Welsh Estab-

lished Church and the abolition of the Scotch Established Church were held up as prizes to the Welsh and Scotch Nonconformists if they would send in a sufficient number of home-rule members into Parliament. Every fad and crotchet was encouraged by vague, deceptive, and mischievous language, which at once raised wild hopes, stimulated agitation, and yet left the speaker substantially unpledged.

At the same time a veil of studied vagueness was thrown over the intended scheme of home rule. The bill of 1886 had been literally riddled by hostile criticism, but it was now supposed to be withdrawn, and therefore a large portion of detailed criticism fell to the ground. One amazing portion of Mr. Gladstone's scheme had been that the Irish should be absolutely unrepresented in the Imperial Parliament and totally without a voice in imperial concerns, but that they should at the same time be bound to pay a tribute which was calculated at rather more than three millions of pounds to the imperial government. Was it conceivable, it it was asked, that a parliament of Ireland, even if it had been composed of men who were far more disposed to observe contracts than those who were likely to be brought together in a home-rule Parliament, would permanently accept this position? Was it not certain that one of its first measures would be, with the full support of its constituents, to refuse its tribute as a badge of slavery? And would not the exclusion of Irish representation from the Imperial Parliament be a first step towards the severance of Ireland from the empire? Mr. Gladstone had defended this exclusion on the ground that the presence in the Imperial Parliament of Irish members to vote on imperial questions was impracticable, as it was beyond the wit of man to distinguish accurately affairs which were imperial from those which are not. He now, however, declared himself quite ready to solve the difficulty and to admit Irish members into the Parliament at Westminster, though to what extent and in what manner and on what conditions was carefully concealed. Two different orders of members elected on different principles and with different qualifications were intended to vote together in the same Irish chamber, but the absurdities of such a system were so clearly shown that it was speedily dropped.

A more important measure was a bill which was intended to come into operation concurrently with the home-rule bill for the

purpose of buying out Irish landlords by a large sum lent on imperial credit. Considering the attitude of the home-rule party towards landed property, such a measure was dictated by the plainest considerations of justice as well as policy; but it was a strange comment upon the schemes of Mr. Gladstone that such a measure was required in order to prevent the proposed legislature from commencing its legislative career by a wholesale plunder of settled, established, legal property. It was not, however, a popular thing to lend a vast sum on imperial credit to a country which Mr. Gladstone's legislation was making a foreign country and was bringing, as most experienced men thought, very near to separation; and accordingly, although Mr. Gladstone, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Morley had used strong language about some such policy being an obligation of honor towards the landed gentry of Ireland, it speedily dropped out of the Gladstonian programme, and its authors used all their powers to discredit the purchase measures of their successors. What Mr. Gladstone's real intentions on this matter were is difficult to say. He took care to inform the constituencies that he no longer considered himself bound by his Purchase Bill. If we may trust the recent revelations by Mr. Parnell of the conversations at Hawarden, Mr. Gladstone's final decision was, in the event of his obtaining a majority, to introduce a bill somewhat similar to that of 1886, but at the same time to put no pressure on his followers to carry it. In this way his conscience might be satisfied, without the smallest danger of the measure becoming law. It was a design which was truly characteristic of its author.

It was constantly urged by the Unionist members that Mr. Gladstone, when calling on the constituencies to return a home-rule majority, was at least bound to give some clear statement of the manner in which he intended to deal with these great questions. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, however, refused to comply, and there can be no doubt that their reticence greatly assisted them. It was impossible to argue against the details of an unknown scheme; it was difficult to prove the impracticability of a policy which was but half-disclosed; and under the shadow of a convenient obscurity many divergent opinions could be combined. The partisans of simple robbery who would place the land of the country without restriction in the hands of the authors of the "no-rent manifesto" and of the "plan of campaign" were en-

couraged by knowing that the Land-Purchase Act was abandoned, and that Mr. Gladstone was doing everything in his power to obstruct the policy of purchase which was adopted by his successors, while many moderate men succeeded in persuading themselves that some limited scheme could be struck out which would prevent home rule from being a mere plan of plunder and a civil war. Lord Rosebery had a political future before him, and was certainly not a fanatic. Lord Spencer had pledged himself very strongly to deal honestly with Irish landlords, and his character carried with it some, though greatly diminished, weight. Mr. Morley had used language of the same kind, and, however violent might be his opinions, there was at least a well-founded confidence in his sincerity and honor.

All these circumstances operated in favor of the Gladstonian party, and the question whether and how far they were gaining ground is a very difficult one. One prediction which was very confidently made in 1886 has been signally falsified. It was said that Liberal Unionism as a separate body would prove impossible; that the ties and attractions of old party connection, the disadvantages attaching to a comparatively isolated position in Parliament and in the constituencies, and the notorious difficulty of maintaining a close alliance between two originally discordant parties, one of them with and the other without office, would together bring about a speedy dissolution or disintegration of the Unionist alliance. This prediction, at least, has hitherto proved wholly erroneous. No alliance in English history has worked with a more perfect, a more uniform, a more unembarrassed harmony; and although the Liberal Unionists in Parliament have had their deserters, they have not been more than four or five.

With the educated classes also it may, I think, be safely affirmed that home rule has made no progress. No one who knows England will doubt that the overwhelming majority of educated Englishmen are fully convinced of its extreme danger, and of the extreme immorality of the means by which it has been advocated; and if the old middle-class constituencies had been unaltered, it would have been impossible. The true danger comes from other quarters. Vast masses of uninstructed electors had been brought into the constituencies by a recent reform bill. They, for the most part, knew little and cared little about the Irish question; they were told that every question in which they were interested

must be adjourned till home rule was carried, and the most powerful means had been taken to seduce them. Discouragement at past failures, simple weariness of the question, and the vain hope that it would be at an end if home rule were granted, might induce many to vote for unqualified concession, and among the most ignorant voters, who care little or nothing for political questions and parties, there is always a tendency to change votes so as to give each party its turn. In ordinary times such a tendency is scarcely an evil, but it becomes a great danger when one party has pledged itself to measures for the dismemberment of the empire.

It is undoubtedly true that the bye-elections since the last general election have, on the whole, gone against the government. The full strength of the case may be stated in a single sentence. The net result of the bye-elections has been a gain to the opposition of fifteen seats, counting thirty on a division; and this, with the addition of the small defection from the Liberal Unionists in Parliament, has reduced the government majority in the House of Commons to about eighty.

Prophecy has borne a very large part in the recent speeches of leaders of the Gladstonian party, and it has been their system to welcome every triumph at a bye-election in ecstatic strains, as if it were a national reversal of the verdict of 1886. Much, however, may be said to qualify this view. It is one of the most universal and best-recognized facts in English politics that it is the tendency of bye-elections to go against a government; and this was especially to be expected after such a gigantic and wholly abnormal displacement of political power as occurred in the election of 1886. Every government must offend large classes, commit mistakes, encounter difficulties, incur unpopularities; and at bye-elections personal, minor, and transient questions tell much more powerfully than in the enthusiasm of a general election. The loss of fifteen seats in four years and a half in a Parliament of 670 members was in no degree extraordinary; and even if the opposition were wholly homogeneous, a majority of eighty would still leave the government extremely powerful. Very few English governments since the Reform Bill of 1832 have been so unshaken after four and a half years of combat. Of the bye-elections several were demonstrably won by causes that were entirely unconnected with home rule; several were won by very small majorities, which would

probably be destroyed at a general election; and the two strongest elements of attraction on the side of the opposition are essentially transitory. One is the amazing personal ascendency exercised over great classes of electors by a man of eighty-one. The other is the inestimable advantage of having no defined plan of home rule to defend. As soon as the opposition were compelled to bring forward a definite measure, differences were certain to arise, and the enormous difficulties of the question would be felt.

For what are the inherent difficulties of the problem to be encountered? In the first place, as I have lately reminded the readers of this REVIEW, it is desired to establish home rule in Ireland in opposition to the passionate resistance of a third of the population, that third comprising an overwhelming preponderance of the elements which in every healthy country would be the guiding influences of the nation. Almost the whole body of the Protestants, whether they be Episcopalians or Presbyterians or Methodists; nearly all the leaders and organizers of industry; the whole body of the Catholic landed gentry; the immense majority of men of all creeds who have risen to prominence in any lay profession; the bankers; the large shopkeepers and merchants; the directors of railways; the men who have created and chiefly worked the great linen manufacture, which is the principal manufacturing industry of Ireland; Belfast, which alone among Irish towns has risen to be a worthy competitor of the great centres of English industry; the counties in Ulster which in wealth, industry, and loyalty rank incomparably the foremost in Ireland,—all these great interests or sections of Irish life look on the rule of any parliament that could now be set up in Dublin as absolute ruin, as the greatest calamity that could befall them. On this side, too, are the vast and growing organization and the fierce, yet disciplined, passion of the Ulster Orangemen, who have pledged themselves to resist home rule to the very last, and who, if it were ever established, might once more play a most formidable part in Irish history.

A remarkable letter written by a fellow of Trinity College,* and published shortly after Mr. Gladstone announced his conversion to home rule, clearly shows the effect which that conversion at once had upon Irish credit. There was an immediate fall of all the more important securities. In three months the fall in

* The Rev. John Stubbs, D. D., March 15, 1886.

ten of what had always been deemed the most important and secure investment funds in Ireland amounted to no less than £4,111,500, or nearly 19½ per cent. If home rule were carried, it is perfectly certain that its first result would be a fatal shock to Irish credit and a great emigration of capital and industry; and it is no less certain that it must be accompanied or speedily followed by stringent coercive legislation for the subjection of Ulster. There would be the gravest danger of an armed resistance by the Orangemen, and at least of a general strike against taxation in the north, and British troops would soon be required to place the most loyal, industrious, and hitherto law-abiding population of Ireland under the rule of rebels and outside the protection of the Imperial Parliament.

And to whom would the guardianship of Irish government then pass? There can be no greater folly in politics than to set up a governing machine without considering into whose hands it would fall and in what spirit it would work; and there is no greater crime that a public man can commit than to place the government of a nation in the hands of dishonest and disloyal men. A long, patient, and most impartial judicial inquiry, conducted by some of the ablest judges in England, and supported by overwhelming evidence, has established beyond al reasonable doubt the character, aims, and methods of the men by whom the home-rule movement has been organized and directed, and who in a home-rule parliament would inevitably be the virtual rulers of Ireland. It has shown that at least eight of the most conspicuous leaders entered upon the movement for the express purpose of producing the complete severance of Ireland from the British Empire; and that the whole movement has been in the closest connection with a conspiracy which was not only animated by avowed and inveterate hatred of the British Empire, but was also directly responsible for those hideous dynamite outrages upon unoffending citizens which form one of the blackest pages in the history of the nineteenth century. "A true revolutionary movement in Ireland," Mr. Parnell once said, "should, in my opinion, partake both of a constitutional and an illegal character. It should be both an open and a secret organization, using the constitution for its own purposes, but also taking advantage of its secret combination." "While our objects lie far beyond what may be obtained by agitation," said a confiden-

tial circular of the Clan-na-Gael conspiracy, "a national parliament is an object which we are bound to obtain by any means offered. The achievement of a national parliament gives us a footing upon Irish soil; it gives us the agencies and instrumentalities of a government *de facto* at the very commencement of the Irish struggle. It places the government of the land in the hands of our friends and brothers. It removes the Castle's rings and gives us what we may well express as the plant of an armed revolution. From this stand-point the restoration of Parliament is part of our programme."*

This calculation is a perfectly just one. To any one who has any real knowledge of Irish history few things can be at once more grotesque and more audacious than the appeals which are sometimes made to the merits of the old Protestant and intensely loyal Parliament of the eighteenth century, which consisted mainly of the more important landlords of the country, as an argument for such a parliament as could now be set up. Is it conceivable that the integrity of the empire could subsist if all the vast powers which must necessarily reside in an Irish parliament were under the direction of old Fenian conspirators and of men who had been paid by the paymasters of murderers? If such a state of things could endure in times of peace and prosperity, could it last through the agonies of some great and perhaps disastrous European war, when the very existence of the empire was menaced, when all its resources were strained to the utmost? Is it not absolutely certain that differences must frequently arise between the two legislatures, and in what spirit would they be treated? For years it has been a main object of the present leaders of the home-rule party to stimulate among great sections of the Irish people a constant, unreasoning hatred of England and the English government, to teach them to regard every incident in foreign politics with favor exactly in proportion as it was likely to prove injurious to the interests of the empire. Can any reasonable man suppose that this spirit would at once cease? Even if the original agitators underwent some semi-miraculous process of political conversion, would not others inevitably arise to displace them by playing on the same popular passions? Any restrictions that were imposed on the local parliament would at once form a pretext for conflict; and what would be likely to happen if the

* Report of the special commission, 1888, pp. 18, 116, 117.

parliament supported by the people pronounced those restrictions to be null and void, and if there were no means of enforcing them except a civil war ?

This is, however, by no means the full force of the case. It is one of the characteristic features of the present conspiracy that the leaders, having found it impossible to arouse the mass of the Irish farmers in a purely Fenian or national struggle, resolved to convert the movement into an agrarian struggle by making it one for the ruin and expulsion of the landlords of Ireland. The true and main motive of this movement was not agrarian, but political. It was desired to enlist in the movement a powerful class who had shown themselves half-hearted, and it was desired to ruin or expel another class who were the most powerful supporters of the Union and the connection. In the report of the special commission the evidence substantiating this charge has been arrayed with a fulness that leaves nothing to desire, and the history of this policy may be clearly traced to the writings of Lalor and Mitchel. It was favored by a period of keen agricultural depression, and it was supported by large American subscriptions.

One part of this campaign consisted in a skilfully-organized and widespread conspiracy to defraud creditors and repudiate contracts. Tenants were instructed to settle for themselves what rent they would pay, and, if that sum was refused, to lodge it with trustees who were to employ it in resisting the creditor. They were at the same time taught that rent was mere robbery ; that the prairie value of land at the utmost was all to which its owner was entitled ; that rents would be reduced again and again with each successive triumph of the home-rule party ; that the total abolition of the landlords of the country was the object to be aimed at, and that when it was attained the independence of Ireland would be won. The Pope has recently authoritatively condemned the " plan of campaign " as plainly immoral, and it is difficult to see how the most fervent Protestant can fail to agree with him.

Mr. Gladstone once declared that a body of men " have arisen in Ireland who are not ashamed to preach in Ireland the doctrines of public plunder"; and he added : " If you go forth upon a mission to demoralize a people by teaching them to make the property of their neighbors the object of their covetous desire, it does not require superhuman gifts to find a certain number of follow-

ers and adherents for a doctrine such as that." It was, however, clearly seen by the leaders of the movement that these measures would fail unless they were supported by a system of organized intimidation to prevent honest men from paying their debts and farmers from taking the vacant farms, and to bring ruin and every form of wretchedness on all persons who refused to obey the orders of the Land League. This system has been judicially pronounced by the special commissioners to be a "criminal conspiracy," and they have described it, in language which is certainly not beyond the truth, as an "elaborate and all-pervading tyranny." It has produced many murders, and countless outrages which are only a degree less horrible than murder. It pursues the poor man with a cold and calculated cruelty in every business of life, deprives him of the very necessaries of existence, follows him with the finger of scorn even into the house of God, drives the child out of the school, withholds medicines from the dying and sometimes coffins from the dead, mutilates hideously the harmless cattle that are browsing on an evicted farm, greets with jeers and ferocious merriment the widow and the orphans of the murdered man.

If the reader suspects that there is the smallest strain of exaggeration in this picture, he should examine the vast mass of sworn evidence which has been brought before the special commission, and he will then be able to understand the true character of a tyranny as barbarous and as elaborate as any that has been witnessed in modern days. If he will next turn to the sworn reports of the speeches of the leaders of the League, he will have little difficulty in concluding that all this mass of cruelty, tyranny, and fraud is the direct and inevitable consequence of their language and of their counsels. He will then, perhaps, understand the feeling with which respectable Irishmen look on those English politicians who have taken such men as their allies, and upon those American politicians who are accustomed to honor such men as "patriots."

I shall not pursue this subject further, nor can I attempt here to discuss fully the agrarian condition of Ireland and its bearing on the present agitation. The subject is one of great importance, but it would require an article to itself; and I have already, I fear, trespassed too much on the hospitality of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. I would only ask the American reader whether any serious and honest government could place the

whole landed property of a country at the disposal of men holding these principles and pursuing this policy. I may here be permitted to repeat a few lines which I wrote on this subject in the beginning of 1886.

"Irrespectively of the enormous sums of English money that have been invested either in the proprietorship of Irish soil or in mortgages upon it, the obligation of honor as well as of interest which rests upon the English government is of the most overwhelming kind. There is, in the first place, the general duty of every government to protect property which has grown up under its rule. There is, in the next place, the notorious fact that a chief cause of the unpopularity of Irish landlords is their attachment to the English connection, and that the agrarian agitation is well known to have been begun by the Fenian or Separatist party, chiefly because without holding out some prospect of direct pecuniary advantage they could not enlist the farmers fully in their cause. There is, in the third place, the fact that about £52,000,000 has, in the lifetime of a single generation, been invested under the Encumbered-Estates Act in the purchase of Irish land, at the invitation of the government, and that all that land is held under a distinct Parliamentary title. There is, in the fourth place, the fact that Parliament has just established a new court for the express purpose of regulating the conditions of Irish property, and has exacted large sacrifices from the Irish landlords for what was supposed to be the general benefit of the country. If obligations of honor so strong, so clear, and so accumulated are neglected, no property held under the guarantee of the English government can be permanently secure."

A few words may here be inserted about the present position of Irish tenants—a subject which has, I believe, been scandalously misrepresented in America. The past agrarian history of Ireland undoubtedly contains many dark and shameful pages, though it can be easily proved that in the memory of living men the hardships which have been endured by Irish tenants have, in the enormous majority of cases, not been due to the oppression of any class or individuals in Ireland, but to the irresistible pressure of economical causes—to a great famine falling upon an immensely excessive population, and to the conversion of arable land into pasture, which, under the conditions of Irish soil and climate, was absolutely inevitable as soon as England opened her ports to foreign corn and American corn came into the market.

There were, however, undoubtedly defects in the law, especially in the matter of the protection of improvements made by tenants, and it is the great merit of the Land Act of 1870 that it very fully met this want. Since then, however, much additional legislation—some of it, in my opinion,

of very doubtful justice and expediency—has been carried in favor of the Irish agricultural tenant, and it is not too much to say that it has placed him in a position unique in the civilized globe. Although he may have contracted to hold his tenancy by the year or for a fixed number of years, he is now entitled to remain forever on his farm so long as he pays his rent and fulfils certain easy statutory obligations. His rent is fixed, not by contract or by market value, but by an independent judicial body. He has a right before and after eviction to sell the goodwill of his farm, for which he frequently obtains a larger sum than could be obtained for the freehold. He is entitled to full compensation for all permanent improvements; and a system of purchase has been carried, and is about to be largely extended, under which the government lends him the whole sum that is required to buy his farm, on such terms that, by paying for forty-nine years an annual sum which is considerably less than his actual judicial rent, he will become the owner of his tenancy. In this manner every tenant can, with the consent of his landlord, convert a judicial rent of £50 a year into a terminable payment to the government of £35 or £40.

These are only the leading provisions of a legislation to which I believe no adequate parallel can be found in the statute-books of any other country. It is perfectly true that the owner in Ireland, as in all other countries, can ultimately take possession of his property if the legal conditions under which it is held are persistently violated; but even this last right of eviction is restricted and guarded in Ireland in a manner which is wholly unknown in any other portion of the empire. Not only is the defaulting tenant credited with the value of his improvements and enabled to sell the good will of his farm. It is also provided that he cannot be evicted for non-payment of rent unless he is an entire year in arrear; and even then, if his rent is less than £100 a year, he has six months more given him during which he may redeem his tenancy. As a matter of fact, in the great majority of cases evictions only take place when the judicial rents have been several years in arrear and after large offers by the landlord have been made and refused; and it will be usually found that when in these cases there has been real distress, the chief burden has not been rent, but loans which have been raised at extravagant interest from local usurers and shopkeepers.

I shall not venture to maintain that in the infinite variety of human circumstances absolutely no case of harsh eviction can even now take place in Ireland ; but it may be safely asserted that for one such case there are hundreds in London and in New York. In one respect, it is true, many of these Irish evicted tenants are deeply to be pitied, for many who are perfectly solvent have been most reluctantly compelled to give up their farms by the odious tyranny I have described. But it is not to beat down such a tyranny that subscriptions are asked for in America.

It is true, however, that in a large part of the west of Ireland great chronic poverty prevails. The soil there is chiefly rock or morass ; and the immense rainfall, which is the consequence of mountains bordering on a vast ocean, renders it impossible that it can ever be made agriculturally productive. In Scotland there is a large extent of land under the same conditions, but there the agricultural population has, for the most part, long since migrated to Canada or the United States, and the land is either turned into large sheep-walks or employed for sporting purposes, which at least bring into it much money and much profitable employment. Nothing of the kind exists or was ever contemplated in the west of Ireland, but there are tens of thousands of small cottiers holding portions of land too barren and too scant to support them in common decency through the year. They do not, however, depend solely on the land. Some are fishermen, but the furious swell of the unbroken Atlantic, the want of boats of sufficient magnitude to breast it, and the difficulty of finding a market for the fish have greatly restricted this industry. The kelp manufacture, which once largely assisted these poverty-stricken cottiers, has almost ceased, and their chief resource has long been the harvest work in England. Unhappily this, too, has failed them. Agricultural depression, the spread of pasture, and the spread of agricultural machinery in England have deprived them of a great portion of their scanty earnings.

All the best observers agree that in these parts of Ireland the question of rent is of little importance. The rents of these small cottiers are generally £4 a year or under ; they are very irregularly paid ; and even if they were wholly swept away, the situation of the population would not be materially improved. For this part of the Irish question it must be clear to every impartial

observer that the only radical cure is emigration, but to this the party of the agitators is bitterly opposed. Short of emigration, however, something may be done, and it has been one of the great merits of Mr. Balfour and the present government that they have grappled with the problem more resolutely than any of their predecessors. The light railways which are now being vigorously pushed on by the government in the poorest parts of Ireland, and the provisions for the encouragement of fisheries and agriculture which have been introduced—largely, I believe, at the suggestion of Mr. Tuke—into the Land-Purchase Bill now before Parliament, will do much to palliate, though they cannot wholly cure, the evil. The recent reception of Mr. Balfour in Donegal shows clearly that, in spite of calumny and agitation, the good work he is doing for these poor cottiers is clearly understood.

These remedial measures, however, as well as the system of land-purchase from which so much is to be expected, depend entirely upon the application to the development of Irish resources of the unrivalled credit of the empire. Of this inestimable benefit Ireland would be at once deprived by the triumph of home rule. Every man of business can estimate the probable credit of a government set up in violent opposition to the most industrious and prosperous portions of the nation, and conducted by professional agitators who have for years been making the systematic violation of contracts and the systematic defiance of law their engines of political propagandism. The pyramid of Irish credit is not likely to rise very high, if its foundations are laid in widespread fraudulent bankruptcy. It is quite true that there have been great revolutions in which appeals to cupidity and attacks upon property have borne a considerable part. In the great French Revolution these elements had a large, though never a dominant, place, but the results have not been encouraging, and M. Taine has recently shown, in an admirable volume, how it was only the long, stern despotism of Napoleon that restored the shattered credit of the nation. In the American Revolution also there was a party which advocated the repudiation of private debts as a means of political action; but in the American struggle such methods only bore a very small place, and it is to the eternal honor of John Adams that he most strenuously rebuked them.

But in the Irish home-rule movement attacks upon contract and debt, and appeals to the cupidity of large classes, have formed the very mainspring of the machine. The most constant boast, the most effective argument, of the leaders has been their success in breaking down contracts, ruining those who depended on them, reducing or abolishing rents. Is it credible that any sound economical or political edifice could be raised on such a basis? Are Irish landlords the only class with whom contracts can be made and broken? In any possible home-rule system the local parliament must be bound to England by contracts of the most vital character, relating to the defence of the empire and the contribution of Ireland to the national debt. What chance would there be in times of difficulty and danger of such contracts being observed if the administration of Ireland was in the hands of the authors of the "no-rent manifesto" and of "the plan of campaign," and if they had the spirit of Fenianism behind them? How can industry flourish, or capital increase, or prosperity spread, in a country where such a spirit is in the ascendant, and where the people are successfully taught to look upon politics chiefly as an instrument of plunder? What order, what liberty, can be expected in Ireland if the maintenance of law is intrusted to systematic law-breakers, and the security of individual freedom to the very men who invented and supported the tyranny of the Land League?

These considerations have long been urged by many who are very sensible of the profound differences between England and Ireland, and whose natural leanings are all in the direction of an extension of local government as far as such an extension is compatible with an honest and loyal administration of affairs. They believe, however, that no greater catastrophe could befall either Ireland or the empire than the triumph of the men who have been conducting this agitation; that no home-rule scheme such as Mr. Gladstone devised could possibly be a permanent settlement, and that it is difficult to exaggerate the evil which the agitation has already inflicted upon Ireland. Happily, the singular success of the present administration in restoring the ascendency of the law has done much to revive peace, confidence, and individual freedom in Ireland; and whatever may be the economical effect of the conversion of a great portion of the tenantry of Ireland into proprietors, it can scarcely

fail to strengthen the Conservative elements of the country by greatly multiplying the number of those who are directly interested in the defence of private property. The process, however, must be a slow and difficult one, and the difficulty has been immensely aggravated by the fact that almost for the first time in English history there is an opposition in the House of Commons which can never be relied on to support the Queen's government in maintaining law and defending those who administer it, and which has completely discarded, on Irish questions, not only the old settled policy of the Liberal party, but also the principles and policy on which they had themselves acted within the present decade.

It is impossible, however, to deny that the whole aspect and prospects of home rule have been completely changed by very recent events. The undefended divorce case in last November, in which Mr. Parnell was a respondent, for the first time completely dispelled the illusions which the great body of the English Nonconformists appear to have formed about the character of that very remarkable man, who has for many years governed the home-rule movement with the most complete despotism, and upon whom its course in the immediate future seemed mainly to depend. There is probably no other country in Europe in which such an explosion of feeling as took place on this occasion could have been produced by such a cause. It was evidently perfectly genuine and spontaneous, and it sprang from the most respectable of sentiments; but it is not perhaps surprising that it should have greatly bewildered foreign nations, and that it should have inspired some cool observers at home with melancholy reflections about the kind of influences by which modern politics can be swayed.

When Mr. Gladstone, at the age of seventy-five, and after more than fifty years of active political life, suddenly announced the complete reversal of the policy about Ireland which had hitherto been uniformly pursued by his party and by himself, the great body of the English Nonconformists blindly followed him. They were unshaken by all the revelations of the special commission. They were prepared to place the government of their loyal fellow-countrymen in the hands of a man who had been convicted of treasonable conspiracy; of aggravated duplicity; of a course of conduct directly productive of perhaps as large an amount of fraud, tyranny, and outrage as any movement of the

nineteenth century: it was only when he was proved guilty of a breach of the seventh commandment, which was totally unconnected with his public life, that the scales fell from their eyes, and they declared that they would abandon the home-rule cause if he remained at its head. The vehemence of the explosion was probably not anticipated by any class of politicians. When the divorce case was known to be pending, and only five days before it came to trial, Mr. Morley considered it a matter of so little political moment that he sounded Mr. Parnell about his willingness to accept the office of Chief Secretary of Ireland in a Gladstonian administration. The Irish members, on their side, disdainfully disregarded the Nonconformist protest. They unanimously reëlected Mr. Parnell their chairman; at a great and most enthusiastic meeting in Dublin, in which Mr. Justin McCarthy and Mr. Healy took a leading part, they announced their unbroken allegiance to him, and at the time when they took these decisive steps not a murmur of dissent was heard from the Irish bishops.

But meanwhile the Nonconformist protests were pouring in, and Mr. Gladstone was not blind to their significance. On the 24th of November he wrote the famous letter which broke up the home-rule party by insisting that Mr. Parnell should resign the leadership of the Irish party. The expressions of the letter were carefully weighed. There was a warm eulogy of Mr. Parnell's past career. The writer urged his request solely on the ground of political expediency, and not at all on the ground of public morals; and his words only implied, and were generally believed to point to, a mere temporary retirement until the inconvenient storm had passed. He had arrived, he said, "at a certain conclusion with regard to the continuance at the present moment of Mr. Parnell's leadership of the Irish party." "Notwithstanding the splendid services rendered by Mr. Parnell to the country, his continuance at the present moment in the leadership would be productive of consequences disastrous in the highest degree to the cause of Ireland." It would make Mr. Gladstone's own "retention of the leadership of the Liberal party . . . almost a nullity."

The sequel is well known. Mr. Parnell not only refused to retire, but at once appealed to that Fenian and anti-English sentiment which was supposed to be extinct. For years the Gladstonian politicians had been perpetually boasting of the "union

of hearts" they had created, and constantly appealing both in public and in private to the "strong conservative instincts" of Mr. Parnell as the sheet-anchor of their cause, the best guarantee of the safe working of home rule. Few things in modern politics have been more amusing than the bewildered dismay with which they read the manifesto to the Irish people in which Mr. Parnell held them up as "the English wolves now howling for his destruction"; denounced the "insolent" attempt of an English party to assume a right of veto upon the Irish leadership; declared that it was no moral conviction, but simply the Parliamentary coercion exercised by the Irish party, that had "forced upon the English people the necessity of granting home rule to Ireland"; and assured the people, on the strength of a confidential conversation held by him with Mr. Gladstone, that the proposals and intentions of the English statesman were totally inadequate to solve the question that was pending between England and Ireland.

Mr. Parnell did not carry with him a majority of his colleagues. The bishops, after a silence of a fortnight, tardily discovered that it was contrary to public morality that they should follow a leader who had been in the divorce court; and the pent-up hatreds and jealousies in the home-rule party, which during Mr. Parnell's long autocracy had been prudently suppressed, flamed forth without restraint. In England the Gladstonian papers vied with each other in abusing Mr. Parnell as vehemently as they had praised him during the four preceding years, as vehemently as they had denounced him before the election of 1885; and his defeat in the County of Kilkenny showed the power of his adversaries. But, notwithstanding this, Mr. Parnell carried with him nearly thirty members of his party; he carried with him the central body of the National League in Dublin; he carried with him the strong popular feeling in the chief Catholic towns in Ireland, and in spite of Patrick Ford and Patrick Egan in America, and of Mr. Davitt in Ireland, he carried with him almost the whole strength of the Fenian sentiment of the country. It became evident in the Kilkenny election that the struggle which had begun was one between the power of the Fenians and the power of the priests; and the furious passions, the ungovernable hatreds, the total disregard for individual liberty, that at once appeared in the midst of a party which was in

principle agreed, clearly showed what was likely to be the state of Ireland if all its discordant elements were unchained in the struggles of a democratic home rule. No man of common-sense who watched the scene could, at least, have the smallest doubt of the facility with which, in the event of any collision between an Irish parliament and an English government, the anti-English feeling in Ireland could be aroused. It is also worthy of notice that Mr. Parnell lost no time in making new appeals to the cupidity of the farmers, by holding out prospects of again breaking and reducing judicial rents if they would support him. This, indeed, has become the chief stock in trade of the Irish agitators.

But Mr. Parnell did more than divide the party. He also tore away the deceptive veil of vagueness which had been thrown over home rule. If, like all other men, he failed in extracting any unambiguous and straightforward statement from Mr. Gladstone, he at least succeeded in pledging both sections of the home-rule party to the minimum they would accept from the English government. It was now shown beyond dispute that the Home-Rule Bill of 1886 would have proved totally inadequate, and he obtained a pledge from all sections of the home-rule party in Ireland that they would accept no measure which did not give them the complete control of the constabulary and of the land of the country. The meaning of these two points is very clear. The first stipulation would place in the hands of an executive which would probably consist mainly of former Fenian conspirators, and of men who had been subsidized by the Clan-na-Gael society, an admirably-disciplined, semi-military force of about 13,000 men, and capable of an indefinite increase. It would give them the whole practical administration of the law, leaving it to them to decide how far and in what directions property should be protected and crime should be punished. It would also place the prospects of every man in a force whose loyalty and faithful discharge of difficult duties during the past years have been beyond all praise, at the mercy of men who had been pronounced by a recent judicial decision guilty of "a criminal conspiracy"; guilty of disseminating newspapers inciting not only to sedition, but to atrocious crime; guilty of themselves establishing "a system of intimidation and coercion" which led to crime and outrage, and "persisting in it with knowledge of its effect." The second stipulation was simply to place the whole land

of the country at the disposal of men who had made (to repeat Mr. Gladstone's well-known phrase) the "advocacy of public plunder" their main instrument of political propagandism.

It is undoubtedly true—though not many years since it would have been deemed incredible—that English politicians will now be found ready to advocate these concessions, but I do not believe that any British Parliament will be induced to make them. The pressure of obvious self-interest will, no doubt, bring about some kind of reunion of the shattered home-rule party, and by the time these lines appear in print it is very likely to be accomplished. But it is not probable that the lessons of recent events will be forgotten, and they have profoundly altered the political prospect. Great numbers of very honest men had supported home rule through sentiment; through misplaced hero-worship; through party discipline; through ignorance of the true state of Ireland, or through the common error of judging politics by abstract principles and formulæ, without taking any pains to ascertain how in particular instances they were likely to work. Such men had no wish to rob any one or to oppress any one, and they imagined that an honest and orderly government could be established on a home-rule basis which would conciliate the Irish people and settle the Irish question. The events of the last months have gone far to undeceive them, and to show them the abyss toward which they were impelling both Ireland and the empire.

To another class the lesson of the election of 1886 and of the recent explosion has perhaps not been less salutary. A real check has been given to the gambling for a disloyal Irish vote which has of late years most seriously lowered the level of political morality in England. Many acute men have come to see that in resting on that vote they have been leaning on a broken reed; that there is an independent element of honesty and patriotism in the country which, if it is once fairly roused, will baffle all their calculations; and that it is quite possible for politicians to sacrifice their honor without serving their interests. Perhaps it is not only on one side of the Atlantic that such a lesson was required.

W. E. H. Lecky.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF GENERAL SHERMAN.

THE following letters by General W. T. Sherman have not hitherto been published, and will have an unusual interest at the present time.

The first, written to General Garfield as to the loyalty of General Thomas, is, in its completeness, characteristic of the man. It gives a clear reason, too, for the apparent, not real, wavering of more than one man at the beginning of the Rebellion, when utter chaos stared every one in the face, and when, as under Buchanan, it seemed a question whether loyalty meant standing by the nation or standing by the State. Wavering ceased the moment a new President declared secession to be treason, and that the Union was to be fought for. Whatever Generals Grant, Sherman, and others may have thought of Thomas's proverbial *slowness*, his *loyalty* no man ever dared question in their presence.

HEADQ'R'S ARMIES OF THE U. S.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 4, 1870.

General GARFIELD, *Hiram, O.*

DEAR GARFIELD: I have your letter of August 1, and will get General Whipple to make up a list of the officers who were with Thomas at Carlisle in 1860-61, and will enclose it with this, noting the address of those who are still living and are accessible. I attach great importance to whatever address you may deliver, because it will in time become *history*, and few men live who knew Thomas in his innermost character, to correct mistakes, if any. I have seen the letter published by Fitzhugh Lee, sustaining his assertion that at the outset of our civil war Thomas leaned to the South. I understand the state of his mind at that dreadful crisis, and see how a stranger might misconstrue him. At the time to which Fitzhugh Lee alludes the Buchanan administration was in power, and had admitted that the federal government could not coerce a sovereign State, and his cabinet did all they could to make army officers feel insecure in their offices.

The Northern politicians, as a rule, had been unfriendly to the army; and when the election of Lincoln and Hamlin was complete, they (the officers) naturally felt uneasy as to their future, and cast about for employment. Several of them, I among the number, were employed at the military colleges of the South, and it was natural that Thomas should look to his friend and (our) classmate Gilham, then employed at Frank Smith's military school at Lexington, Va. Thomas also entertained, as you must know, that intense mistrust of politicians to which the old army was bred, and feared the whole complication of 1860 would result in some political

compromise or settlement, if not in a mutual agreement to separate, in which case it is possible he would have been forced for a support to have cast his lot with the Southern part. It is more than probable that, at the mess-table at Carlisle, Thomas may have given vent to some such feelings and opinions, then natural and proper enough. But as soon as Mr. Lincoln was installed in office, and manifested the deep feeling of love for all parts of the country, deprecating civil war, but giving the keynote that the Union should be maintained even if it had to be fought for, and that forcible secession was treason, then all national men, Thomas among them, brushed away the subtleties of the hour, saw clearly his duty, and proclaimed it, not by *mere words*, but by riding in full uniform at the head of his regiment and brigade, *invading without a murmur his native State*, and commanding his men to put down forcible resistance by the musket. As you can recall the conflict of opinion which preceded the actual conflict of arms, I feel certain you can so paint it that not a shadow of suspicion will rest on his fair fame.

Yours, W. T. SHERMAN.

One of the historic scenes of the great war is described in the following letter of General Sherman. It is the meeting of Grant and Sherman with President Lincoln on board the "Ocean Queen" at City Point, just before the close of the war, and quite close to the tragic event that ended in the President's death. It is, possibly, the only council of the kind held during the whole war. Certain it is that at no other time during the contest did the distinguished commanders meet the President together.

It was from this interview that Sherman went to receive the surrender of Johnston's army, and it is now confidently believed that, had Lincoln lived to see the event, Sherman's first terms with Johnston would have been approved. Lincoln's wish was for perfect magnanimity towards the South—a magnanimity that has been practised by his successors in fact, even when the principles of Sherman and of Lincoln were in theory condemned.

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 28, 1872.
Thanksgiving Day.

Hon. J. N. ARNOLD, *Chicago, Ill.*

MY DEAR SIR: . . . We arrived [at City Point] during the afternoon of March 27 [1865], and I found General Grant and staff occupying a neat set of log huts on a bluff overlooking the James River. The General's family was with him. We had quite a long and friendly talk, when he remarked that the President, Mr. Lincoln, was near by, in a steamer lying at the dock, and he proposed that we should call at once. We did so, and found Mr. Lincoln on board the "Ocean Queen." We had met in the early part of the war, and he recognized me, and received me with a warmth of manner and expression that was most grateful. We then sat some time in the after-cabin, and Mr. Lincoln made many inquires about the events which attended the march from Savannah to Goldsboro, and seemed to enjoy the numerous stories about "our bummers," of which he had heard much.

When in lively conversation, his face brightened wonderfully, but if the conversation flagged, his face assumed a sad and sorrowful expression.

General Grant and I explained to him that my next move from Goldsboro would bring my army—increased to 80,000 men by Schofield's and

Terry's reënforcements—in close communication with General Grant's army, then investing Lee in Richmond, and that, unless Lee could effect his escape and make junction with Johnston in North Carolina, he would soon be shut up in Richmond, with no possibility of supply, and would have to surrender. Mr. Lincoln was extremely interested in this view of the case, and when we explained that Lee's only chance was to escape, join Johnston, and, being then between me in North Carolina and Grant in Virginia, he could choose which to fight. Mr. Lincoln seemed unusually impressed with this, but General Grant explained that at the very moment of our conversation General Sheridan was passing his cavalry across James River from the north to the south; that he would with this cavalry so extend his left below Petersburg as to reach the South Shore Road, and that, if Lee should "let go" his fortified lines, he, Grant, would follow him so close that he could not possibly fall on me alone in North Carolina. I, in like manner, expressed the fullest confidence that my army in N. Carolina was willing to cope with Lee and Johnston combined till Grant could come up, but we both agreed that one more bloody battle was likely to occur before the close of the war.

Mr. Lincoln repeatedly inquired as to General Schofield's ability in my absence, and seemed anxious that I should return to N. Carolina, and more than once exclaimed: "Must more blood be shed? Cannot this last bloody battle be avoided?" We explained that we had to presume that General Lee was a real general; that he must see that Johnston alone was no barrier to my progress; and that, if my army of 80,000 veterans should reach Burkesville, he in Richmond was lost, and that we were forced to believe he would not await that inevitable conclusion, but make one more desperate effort.

I think we were with Mr. Lincoln an hour or more, and then returned to General Grant's quarters, where Mrs. Grant had prepared for us some coffee or tea. During this meal Mrs. Grant inquired if we had seen Mrs. Lincoln. I answered, No; I did not know she was on board. "Now," said Mrs. Grant, "you are a pretty pair," etc., and went on to explain that we had been guilty of a piece of unpardonable rudeness. But the General said: "Never mind, we will repeat the visit to-morrow, and can then see Mrs. Lincoln."

The next morning a good many officers called to see me, among them Generals Meade and Ord, also Admiral Porter. The latter inquired as to the "Russia," in which I had come up from Morehead City, and explained that she was a "slow tub," and he would send me back in the steamer "Bat," Captain Barnes, U. S. Navy, because she was very fleet, and could make seventeen knots an hour, etc. Of course I did not object, and fixed that afternoon to start back.

Meantime we had to repeat our call on Mr. Lincoln on board the "Ocean Queen," then anchored out in the stream at some distance from the wharf. Admiral Porter went along, and we took a tug at the wharf, which conveyed us off to the "Ocean Queen." Mr. Lincoln met us all in the same hearty manner as on the previous occasion, and this time we did not forget Mrs. Lincoln. General Grant inquired for her, and the President explained that she was not well, but he stepped to the stateroom, and returned to us, asking us to excuse her. We all took seats in the after-cabin, and the conversation became general. I explained to Mr. Lincoln that Admiral Porter had given me the "Bat," a very fast vessel, to carry me back to Newbern, and that I was ready to start back then. It seemed to relieve him, as he

was afraid that something might go wrong at Goldsboro in my absence. I had no such fears, and the most perfect confidence in General Schofield, and doubt not I said as much.

I ought not and must not attempt to recall the words of that consultation. Of course none of us then foresaw the tragic end of the principal figure of that group, so near at hand; and none of us saw the exact manner in which the war would close; but I know that I felt, and believe the others did, that the end of the war was near.

The imminent danger was that Lee, seeing the meshes closing surely around him, would not remain passive, but would make one more desperate effort, and General Grant was providing for it by getting General Sheridan's cavalry well to his left flank so as to watch the first symptoms, and to bring the rebel army to bay till the infantry could come up. Meantime I asked two weeks' delay and the "*statu quo*," when we would have our wagons loaded, and would start from Goldsboro for Burkesville *via* Raleigh. Though I cannot attempt to recall the words spoken by any one of the persons present on that occasion, I know we talked generally about what was to be done when Lee's and Johnston's armies were beaten and dispersed. On this point Mr. Lincoln was very full. He said that he had long thought of it; that he hoped the end could be reached without more bloodshed, but in any event he wanted us to get the deluded men of the rebel armies disarmed and back to their homes; that he contemplated no revenge, no harsh measures, but quite the contrary; and that their sufferings and hardships in the war would make them the more submissive to law.

I cannot say that Mr. Lincoln or anybody else used this language at the time, but I know I left his presence with the conviction that he had in his mind, or that his cabinet had, some plan of settlement ready for application the moment Lee and Johnston were defeated.

In Chicago about June or July of that year, when all the facts were fresh in my mind, I told them to George P. A. Healy, the artist, who was casting about for a subject for an historical painting, and he adopted this interview. Mr. Lincoln was then dead, but Healy had a portrait, which he himself had made at Springfield some five or six years before. With this portrait, some existing photographs, and the strong resemblance in form of Mr. Swett, of Chicago, to Mr. Lincoln he made the picture of Mr. Lincoln seen in this group. For General Grant, Admiral Porter, and myself he had actual sittings, and I am satisfied the four portraits in this group of Healy's are the best extant. The original picture, life-size, is, I believe, now in Chicago, the property of Mr. McCaig; but Healy afterwards, in Rome, painted ten smaller copies, about eighteen by twenty-four inches, one of which I now have, and it is now within view. I think the likeness of Mr. Lincoln by far the best of the many I have seen elsewhere, and those of General Grant, Admiral Porter, and myself equally good and faithful. I think Admiral Porter gave Healy a written description of our relative positions in that interview, also the dimensions, shape, and furniture of the cabin of the "Ocean Queen"; but the rainbow is Healy's—typical, of course, of the coming peace. In this picture I seem to be talking, the others attentively listening. Whether Healy made this combination from Admiral Porter's letter or not, I cannot say; but I thought that he caught the idea from what I told him had occurred when saying "that if Lee would only remain in Richmond till I could reach Burkesville we would have him between our thumb and fingers," suiting the action to the word.

It matters little what Healy meant by his historic group, but it is certain that we four sat pretty much as represented, and were engaged in an important conversation during the forenoon of March 28, 1865, and that we parted never to meet again. . . .

With great respect, yours truly,

W. T. SHERMAN, General.

AN INTERNATIONAL MONEY UNIT.

AFTER the cosmopolitan globe-trotter has muddled his brains by reckoning daily travelling expenses in condors, milreis, pesos, gourdes, doubloons, piastres, sols, kroner, yen, taels, rupees, mahbubs, and florins, he reaches sunny Italy's shores or the isles of Greece with a sigh of relief. He has still to make acquaintance with a new coin, the lira or drachma, as the case may be, but it is the equivalent of the franc and interchangeable with it; and the franc is the monetary unit of Switzerland, France, and Belgium. He can travel from the Mediterranean to the German Ocean without any further worry about money, and when he settles down to studying gulden, dubbeltje and stuivers while crossing the flat marshes that stretch interminably between Antwerp and Rotterdam he wonders why there cannot be a common coin standard for all countries, as well as for five.

Dear to our hearts is our dollar; five times, at least, as dear as the Frenchman's franc; and never would we give it up. Dear to John Bull is his golden "sovereign," as well as his living sovereign of too solid flesh. Any attempt to harmonize the nominal units of the different currencies—to bring pounds, dollars, florins, and francs to a common value—will fail miserably. Fortunately this is not necessary, if the basis of a common monetary unit be made of comparatively small value. The franc, already the unit of five considerable countries, and approximated in value more or less closely by the Spanish peseta, German mark, British shilling, Danish crown, and Yankee quarter, offers, perhaps, the best basis for such an agreement. Let us suppose that an international convention, arbitrarily fixing a certain standard of weight and fineness of metal, both for silver coinage and gold, should agree that all these coins of most common use should conform to that standard, and should be current in all the countries subscribing to the agreement. Our quarter, slightly decreased in value, would then become the American representative of the common coin, and interchangeable with the shilling, franc, crown Danish, and the coinage of the French-Swiss convention. Our dollar would be four units; our half-eagle twenty units, and the equivalent of the sovereign, Napoleon, and twenty-mark piece. The senseless minor British coins, the florin, crown, and half-crown, would bear their present relation to the lighter shilling. The Dutch florin would be two units, the Portuguese milreis four, the ruble two, the Mexican dollar three or possibly four. No nation would need to learn new names or discard familiar ones, which is always a difficult process, as the American fondness for the word "shilling" long after the coin's departure testifies. Minor coinage could well remain as it is. Pence, cents, centimes, and pfennige would trouble no one if all could be referred to a common unit.

The tourists of the earth spend every year from $300,000,000 to $500,000,000 in wandering in strange lands; and at least 1 per cent. goes to the money-changer. Commercial intercourse would be facilitated, as well as the woes of the tourist lightened, by the existence of a coin bearing different names

in different countries, but always uniform in size, weight, and value, and always receivable for debts at its full worth.

By the adoption of such a common coin we in America would gain something and lose nothing, even in home transactions. Our stay-at-homes, ever in a large, if relatively decreasing, majority, who now are spared the anguish of reckoning in pounds, francs, marks, and florins in a single week, would be relieved of the by no means small inconvenience caused by Canadian coins of precisely equal value with our own, yet which can sometimes be "passed" and sometimes not. It is absurd that a Canadian dollar or quarter should not be as good in New York as in Ottawa, when but a simple agreement is necessary to make it so. Any impairment of the validity of contracts could be avoided, if our gold and silver coins were decreased in size, by legislation providing that all obligations incurred under the old law should be payable according to the old value of the coins. Many of our people have long been clamoring for a "smaller dollar." Here is the proper way to get it. Perhaps their instinct is right in the matter. Ours is about the only country which can stand so large a monetary unit. The shilling is the real unit in English transactions, as the expression "three and six" proves. The nations which enjoy a small unit, like the franc, have many advantages over those with a larger unit like the mark or florin.

The financier, the politician, the gold-bug, the silver-king, would discover objections, some very serious, and obstacles, many very real, to an international measure of value. I am not trying to appropriate the viewpoint of either. But the plain citizen who has listened aghast to the babble of forty discordant mints will agree that it is so desirable that no number of obstacles ought to stand in the way.

JOHN L. HEATON.

SHALL WE ENDOW OUR AUTHORS?

THE hardships, vexations, and disappointments of the literary calling have often been made known to the public. From the days of the "impransus" Johnson, struggling through fifty years of poverty, down to those of Hood coining jests to keep the wolf from his door, and the late J. G. Wood leaving his family in destitution after a life of unceasing toil, we have heard the same "old, old story" of the unrequited toil of authors; of the daily hand-to-hand and foot-to-foot struggle with adversity for the means of living by men who in other callings might have enjoyed a competence and ease, if not "riches fineless." If, in some respects, the position of the literary man has improved since the days of Grub Street and lordly patronage, yet facts of daily occurrence show, it is said, that the author's millenium is still many ages distant. So far are poets from feeding on nectar and dwelling amid rose-leaves and perfumes, while publishers, hat in hand, kneel by the side of their Sybaritic couches and beseech them for new volumes, that they are lucky if they can keep soul and body together. The fate of not a few authors is prefigured in the experience of one who, on going out of a provision shop where he had done his humble marketing, found that his bacon was wrapped up in a sheet of one of his own productions, and his cheese in a leaf of another. When Hazlitt was asked if he wished his son to follow his own calling, "Oh! God forbid it!" was the quick and impatient reply. "Throw yourself from the steep Tarpeian rock, slap-dash headlong upon iron spikes,' said Charles Lamb, "rather than become the slave of the booksellers!"

While authorship is often so poorly remunerated, it is, at the same time, the most exhausting of all kinds of mental labor. We are aware that there are a very few writers who think differently—whose views of literary labor are wholly rose-colored. Colonel T. W. Higginson declares, in an essay in the New York *Independent*, that he has never written anything which imposed on him at the time the feeling of drudgery. Few other professional writers—probably not one in a thousand—can boast of such a felicity. Of all the rest, giants or dwarfs, it may be safely asserted that, if there are moments of rapture in their lives which an angel might envy, there are moments, too, of despair which an outcast spirit might beg to be delivered from. It is for this reason that, with rare exceptions, indolence has been the natural habit of imaginative writers in every age. They have almost universally shrunk with instinctive dread from the work of formulating their ideas by thought; much more from that of passing them through the crucible of the ink-bottle—work which is reputed play, but which is, in fact, a battle every moment, between flesh and spirit. Dr. Johnson was, in this respect, a representative of authors in all ages and countries. Though he had abundant resources, and wrote rapidly when he had once broken the ice, yet he himself testifies that composition is usually an effort of slow diligence, to which an author is dragged by necessity, and from which the attention is every moment starting to pleasanter pursuits.

In view of the trials we have enumerated, but especially of the inadequate pecuniary compensation of literary toil, there are authors who, instead of being content that literature, like every other calling, should reap only its natural rewards, would have it endowed. They would have a public fund established for the support of deserving writers who derive an insufficient support from the sale of their works. In a paper on "Authors and Society," read recently before a club in this city, this measure was earnestly advocated. Among the considerations urged in its support is the fact that authors who are capable of far higher things are too often compelled to do hack-work, at once distasteful and inglorious, to support themselves and their families. Only by the severest and most exacting task-work of this kind can they win leisure for the nobler tasks which they love, and in the performance of which they can be most serviceable to society. Again, it is urged that to every nation's literature there must be many worthy contributions which will yield little or no pecuniary profit to author or publisher. There are productions which heavily tax thought, learning, and research, and from which the world derives priceless benefit, but at which no man toils with the hope of getting from their sale even a day-laborer's wages. Who has forgotten the fate of Hume's metaphysical works—works which changed the current of metaphysical thought, but found only here and there a reader, while his superficial history, now half-forgotten, yielded him £5,200 in copyright? Gibbon received, it is true, £6,000 for his great monumental history, the "Decline and Fall," which first bridged the gulf between the old world and the new; yet he toiled at his colossal task in defiance of pecuniary considerations; and the sum he received, he asserts, was only just enough to cover the value of the books which he had to buy for consultation. In our own day, have we not seen Herbert Spencer year after year heroically toiling at his great philosophical works, without the slightest expectation of a support from their sale?

Not only is there no pecuniary profit in those solid scientific and other works which are destined to illumine for a generation or more the minds

of a few men overtopping their fellow-mortals, and through these few to send a slowly-broadening light down through successive ages of culture, but the same thing is true of many lighter works—works of pure literature, of deliciously overburdened souls speaking to our souls, such as the poems of Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Keats, and the essays of De Quincey, Lamb, Hazlitt, and Hawthorne, which form for many of us so much of the charm of life. We know how long these exquisite productions were neglected by the public—our own shy and sensitive countryman being, as he has told us, for twenty years the most obscure man in America—and that, had their authors depended for a living upon the sale of their works, they must inevitably have starved. Yet such men are driven by the instinct and impulse of genius to toil at their thankless tasks. No divine monition compels a man to keep on making coats or hats, or selling cotton or wheat, if the business does not "pay." But the world wants the "Lyrical Ballads," and "Hyperion," and "The Princess," and Elia's "Essays," and the "Twice-Told Tales"; and the men who can produce such things feel that this is their God-given calling, and that they should be enabled to follow it without anxiety for their bread and butter.

In spite of these arguments, we think that to the scheme in question there are many and fatal objections. One of the chief is the extreme difficulty of distributing the public bounty judiciously and fairly. Supposing a fund established for the support or relief of deserving but neglected authors: who are to be its distributers? and how are they to determine who should be its recipients? In what scales are they to weigh literary productions so as to ascertain their value? By what anthropometer are they to test a writer's genius? Is there anything about which the most acute and intelligent men more widely differ than in their estimates of books and authors? Does not the history of literature abound with proofs that, if Homer sometimes nods, Aristarchus is oftener found napping? that, if works of genius are rare, just judgments of them and their authors are rarer still? Again, is there not reason to fear that in the dispensation of a literary fund personal interest and favoritism will have an influence? Will not the most pushing and self-asserting writers be most likely to receive aid, while the shy and retiring, but more meritorious, ones will be overlooked? It has been a standing complaint against the literary man that he is indolent, impulsive, fitful, and improvident; that he knows better how to earn money than how to spend or save it. He will buy a costly picture, it is said, when his butcher's or baker's bill is unpaid; will give his wife a piano when she needs a dress or a sewing-machine, and buy his children a rocking-horse when they want stockings. Will not these imprudences be aggravated if, whenever he feels the sting of want, he can look to a public fund for support? We believe that the best literary workers will prefer to stand on their own legs rather than on public crutches. Disguise it as we may, there is something humiliating (except in the case of chronic illness) in the thought that one is housed and fed under a literary "poor law." It will be a sad day for literature when it becomes not a profession, but a trade. In the hour when its rewards are dazzling enough and sure enough to tempt men to enter the lists for the sake of the reward, especially the pecuniary one,—to live by their art, instead of for their art,—it will undergo rapid deterioration.

If an author is forced by the necessity of bread to drudge at work of a lower kind than that which he aspires to perform, is his hardship exceptional? Does not the same evil fall to the lot of other professional men?

Do we not all have an inner life of the mind, for which we are forever yearning amid our toils, and in which we would spend all our time, did not the iron necessities of the outer call us in another direction? The curse of the literary profession is that, requiring no special preliminary training and no capital for its pursuit,—only a few quires of paper, a steel pen, and a bottle of ink,—it is recruited by all the vagrant talent of the world, and is consequently overstocked. When there is not enough employment for all, some must starve. An overstocked profession has been compared to a crew trying to save themselves by a raft scarcely large enough to carry half of them; and, again, to the inmates of the Black Hole at Calcutta, where all who could not get near the aperture in the wall were suffocated.

As to those great works which make epochs in a nation's life, and which have to wait long and weary years for appreciators, is not the same hardship the lot of all other professions as well as of literature? Does not the same thing occur in art, in science, in regard to mechanical inventions, and even, many times, in practical enterprises? How can the value of such phenomenal literary works be appreciated in dollars or doubloons? They are inestimable, and the remuneration for writing them, if remuneration be desired, must be sought, like that for the discovery of gravitation or the invention of anæsthetics, in the esteem and gratitude of mankind, and in the consciousness of having conferred an inestimable benefit upon one's fellow-beings.

Finally, we remark that the best literary work in all ages and countries, the weightiest as well as the most brilliant writing, has been done by men who were not what Byron satirizes as "fellows in foolscap uniform, turned up with ink"—that is, authors by profession; a fact which shows that literature has no need of public support. The great writers of Greece and Rome, of Italy and France, of England in the reigns of Elizabeth, the Charleses, Queen Anne, and the Georges, as we could show by hundreds of names that crowd to the point of our pen, were not generally literary men, as we now understand the term, but men of action, trained in business. Such writers have one great advantage over those who write for a living. Not only are their minds at ease, undistracted by any alien anxiety regarding rent, fire, clothing, and food, but the hours thus rescued from their callings, and looked forward to as an escape from money-scales and stocks, from horsehair and bombazine or drugs,—in short, as a change and a recreation,—become inexpressibly delightful; and they, consequently, lose no time in dawdling, but plunge at once into work and make every blow tell. Gifford, the old Quarterly Reviewer, who had had a vivid experience of the pangs and drudgery of writing for a living, once observed—and Coleridge has expressed the sentiment no less strongly—that "a single hour of composition won from the business of the day is worth more than the whole day's toil of him who works at the trade of literature: in the one case the spirit comes joyfully to refresh itself, like a hart to the water-brooks; in the other it pursues its miserable way, panting and jaded, with the dogs and hunger of necessity behind."

WILLIAM MATHEWS.

THE COST OF CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

A MOST valuable commentary upon Speaker Reed's able article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for last July, upon the subject of "Contested Elections," is furnished by the recent statement that the cost of the election contests in the House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress would

probably exceed $100,000. Under the law $2,000 is allowed to each member and contestant to defray the expenses of a contest or of defending the right to a seat; but more and more it is evident that this sum comes far short of covering the legitimate expenses incurred. By special appropriations Congress has often added to the amount allotted by law, until at last it is apparent that the cost of determining whether certain men or certain other men are entitled to occupy seats in the House of Representatives is becoming appalling.

In the article referred to, Mr. Reed pointed out that in the "somewhat celebrated case" of Governor Curtin and Mr. Yocum each party to the contest received $8,000, "and that sum did not pay their expenses within thousands of dollars." That was in the Forty-sixth Congress, during which the sum total paid to contestants and "contestees" was not less than $59,567. In the next Congress a still larger amount was expended for this purpose—$71,285, twenty-four men receiving the sum allowed by law and two members $3,500 apiece. The Speaker proceeded to show that during the last eight Congresses (not counting the present one) $318,000 has been paid for contests in the House, making an average of about $40,000 in each Congress.

The Congress which is about to expire will easily break the record if it turns out that the cost of its election contests exceeds $100,000, as seems likely at the present writing to be the case.

Commenting upon the large figures with which he had been dealing, Speaker Reed said significantly: "Large as is this expenditure, it is not large enough in reality, *if the present system is to be maintained* [the italics are mine]; for the restriction to $2,000 is very hard upon contestants of limited means. If they enter upon a contest, especially in the midst of unfriendly officials, as is the case in some districts, no one can tell where the expense may end. In fact, it may be doubted if the restriction was not suggested and put on with that view, though it is very certain that the Congress which passed the law did not appreciate what it was doing."

The question why the public treasury should bear any of the expenses of election contests which concern only certain individuals naturally arises; and on that point Mr. Reed had a luminous and convincing word to say. "It is precisely because it so much concerns the people to determine who is to rightly represent them that even money becomes of no consequence." "So much, indeed, is the public concerned that it has always been deemed worth while to pay the expenses of both sides so that the truth may be brought out. If, then, we are to pay at all, we must pay all it costs. *And if it costs too much, we ought to devise some plan to lessen the cost.*"

A sounder proposition was never stated in words. That it does cost too much cannot be doubted by any intelligent observer. Not only is the money cost great, but a large share of the time of the House is consumed over election contests. Speaker Reed's contention in the article from which these extracts have been made* was that the proper tribunals for the disposition of election contests are the courts of the United States. The argument in favor of that policy is quite unanswerable. Great Britain adopted it more than twenty years ago, and there has never been a serious suggestion that a return to the old system would be advisable. The case was strongly put in a special message sent to the New York Legislature nearly a year ago by

* NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, vol. 151, pp. 115, 116.

Governor Hill. There was some partisian denunciation of Mr. Hill for his "new departure," but no answer was offered to his main proposition that contested-election cases should go before the courts for adjudication and settlement. The subject is now before the New York Legislature in the form of a concurrent resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution whereby "the Legislature may provide by law for judicial proceedings in the courts of the State to determine questions relating to contested seats in either house, and that judgment in such a proceeding shall be conclusive as to the election and qualifications of the person in whose favor it is rendered."

Under the present method it is almost inevitable that contested cases are decided more from partisan considerations than strictly according to the evidence. It is true that one of the contests in the present House of Representatives was decided in favor of the Democrat who held the seat that was contested; but a single case does not prove that the Committee on Elections was a non-partisan body. Where one party has only a narrow majority, it is only human nature for it to attempt to increase that majority if a reasonable pretext for doing so can be found in contested elections. Public confidence in the fairness and impartiality of our courts has never been shaken, and no one can doubt that in their hands contested-election cases would be decided with substantial justice, and with as little reference as possible to partisan concerns.

However, my main point is the necessity of putting an end to the heavy bills of expenses which are piling themselves up in connection with cases of this character. If the total has reached $100,000 now, who knows that it may not soon reach $200,000? "*If it costs too much, we ought to devise some plan to lessen the cost.*" It does cost too much, and the machinery for lessening the cost is ready to hand. The subject is one that demands early and the most serious consideration from Congress. Speaker Reed will be in the minority after March 4. He can scarcely do his country a greater service than by agitating this question and bringing about, if possible, a reform in the present costly, cumbrous, unsatisfactory, and partisan method of dealing with election contests in the House of Representatives.

JULIAN PROCTOR.

IS OUR NATION DEFENCELESS?

IF THE people of the United States were to be divided according to their ideas concerning public defence, they might be generally grouped into four classes, thus: (1) those who never think about it; (2) those who dismiss it with a notion that the country never need have another war; (3) those who think that the United States can fight the world at a day's notice; (4) those who see how utterly unprepared we are. Three of these classes are living in a fool's paradise, in spite of the repeated warnings of soldiers, who, while they are in no sense alarmists, are still alarmed at the apathy and hostility with which their prudent counsels have been treated. A glimmer of the truth regarding the navy seems growing to a light, and, although the Pacific coast is entirely neglected, a few inadequate appropriations have been made for the defence of a small part of the Atlantic seaboard, and provision has been made for a few modern guns.

But the land forces, the men who should always be in training, the army and militia, are practically neglected. The army is wretchedly small; the

militia has had no general law enacted for it since 1792, and is dependent upon such legislation as the several States may see fit to enact.

Peace has prevailed for more than twenty-five years. The veterans of the last war are passing away. Many of their sons have gone beyond the age when a man is most fit for soldiering. The generation which would be called upon to fight if war came now is entirely untrained. The country does not possess a modern book of tactics. Yet it is not unusual to hear men who ought to know better declare that "the United States, if pushed to extremity, would spring to arms and create an army almost in a day, as it did in 1861." This is nonsense, the result of bravado and ignorance. Neither this nation nor any other ever created on the spur of the moment an army or navy worthy of the name. At the close of the War of the Rebellion the armies of both the North and South were as good for their time as the world ever saw, and, in some respects, looking to the material of which they were chiefly composed, they were superior to any armies that had ever existed; but they had become so only after long training and hard fighting. At first they were little better than armed mobs, each as bad as its adversary. They grew together, fighting each other stubbornly, yet often indecisively, because, as the training of one side advanced, so did that of the other, until at the close of the conflict they were really formidable. They deserved to the full the measure of praise awarded to them by one of England's most distinguished military writers, Colonel Charles Chesney, who, after Europe had witnessed the Franco-German War, penned these words:

> "There is a disposition to regard the American generals and the troops they led as altogether inferior to regular soldiers. This prejudice was born out of the blunders and want of coherence exhibited by undisciplined volunteers at the outset—faults amply atoned for by the stubborn courage displayed on both sides throughout the rest of the struggle; while, if a man's claims to be regarded as a veteran are to be measured by the amount of actual fighting he has gone through, the most seasoned soldiers of Europe are but as conscripts compared with the survivors of that conflict."

If a text were wanted for a sermon on the vanity of buncombe, it might well be taken in Colonel Chesney's phrase, "the blunders and want of coherence exhibited by undisciplined volunteers at the outset." His words denote the danger that will inevitably threaten the United States if a war should come under anything like the present condition of affairs.

Our army has but a nominal strength of 25,000 men. It is scattered over a vast territory in small detachments, and were it to be concentrated,—a task requiring time,— its parts would be for a still longer time strange to each other and consequently incoherent. It would then be better, of course, than hastily-organized volunteers, but it would be for a period inferior to troops that had been accustomed to manœuvre in large bodies.

The militia in the several States varies greatly. Some States, so far as the infantry arm is concerned, have what may fairly be called compact little armies, but these are the exception rather than the rule; and even in the States thus prepared the instruction of their forces is quite elementary, outside of a fair knowledge of camp duty under the most favorable peace conditions, where the men live almost as well as though quartered in first-class hotels.

In case of war, the President may call out the militia for a limited time—too limited to make the call an effective element of active operations. Hence the law of the land provides for the organization of volunteers, who may be called into service for a term of three years if necessary, and it is upon these volunteers that the chief dependence of the country must rest. They cannot

be called out until the last moment, and they must be trained before they can be of any use. The problem, therefore, which ought to attract attention is, how to provide the means for making these volunteers into effective troops in the shortest possible time.

As the academy at West Point is the school for officers of the army, so the army and militia are the schools for officers of the volunteers. Thus the army and militia have each a two-fold function—*i. e.*, each is a force, and each is a school for the elements of additional force. Each should be maintained with both these functions constantly in view.

The army not only is too small, but, under the present system of recruiting it in the large cities, it is composed of a lower order of men than it should be obliged to accept. If it could be enlarged to twice its present size, say to 50,000 men, quartered in and recruited from the States of the Union upon some such basis as the apportionment of congressional representation, so that the regiments would become identified to a certain extent with the locality of their stations, there can be no doubt that the character of its members would be raised in proportion to its increase in strength.

One reason why the people take so little interest in the army is because they rarely see any portion of it worthy of notice; but whole regiments, or at least respectable detachments, with men locally recruited, near their homes, contented, and therefore less liable to desertion than they are now, would not only attract attention so as to arouse their pride as soldiers, but would excite an interest politically in their very existence, while as examples to the militia they would exert a most beneficial influence.

Such a plan would help the militia as much as it would help the army. Each needs the help of the other. The army needs the political interest of the militia to make Congress enact a law to increase the army and locate it among the States, while the militia needs the help of the army in harmonizing the present military statutes of the States into a national militia law. Any attempt at making such a law by conventions of militia officers, or through the political representatives of the States, will result as heretofore—in nothing; but after the army has been quartered among the States, upon the plan herein indicated, for a period long enough for careful observation and comparison,—say three years,—a convention of army officers could easily prepare a scheme for a proper statute.

Thus the interests of army and militia are identical; and this community of interest ought to result in the training of a citizen soldier better prepared than his predecessor of 1861 to organize the regiments of volunteers upon whom, in case war comes, the country must rely.

General Schofield, now commanding the army, modestly suggested in his report for 1890 that it be increased to 30,000 men. Such a force is too small for the present needs of the country, notwithstanding the buncombe of newspapers about the dread of standing armies and the power of short-term militia men in war, as instanced in the following extract from an editorial in one of the leading daily papers of the country, commenting upon General Schofield's report:

"While it is, perhaps, to be expected that the improvements in army regulations and discipline brought about in the past year may improve the general average of enlisted men and give the country a more efficient standing army than it has had hitherto, it is not to be hoped that the service will be brought to such a strength as will completely satisfy General Schofield. The whole feeling of the citizens and voters of the United States is far more strongly against a large standing army than most army officers are apt to realize, and it must be confessed that there is much in the history of the past to strengthen and confirm that feeling.

"At all events, the United States already has in its national guard a body of men of whom it may well feel proud, and who will in part, if not wholly, take the place of a standing army in any time of emergency. The national guards of this and many other States are organizations on which the country can depend for its defence from invasion. At each annual encampment the high general tone and splendid character of the troops become more and more marked, until they are, in some respects, ahead of the army itself. Certainly they are not one whit behind it in courage or loyalty."

It is difficult for any one acquainted with the defenceless condition of the country to read patiently vaporings like this, and it is discouraging to think that any part of the people, however small, may be thereby led to consider a wretchedly small force of 30,000 men too large a standing army for this great nation, or to harbor a delusion that our militia can successfully withstand trained regular soldiers; but the editorial just quoted pales before another, published a few weeks earlier in a newspaper whose circulation is one of the largest in the Union. It is so remarkable that it is worth quoting entire. It is headed "A Waste of Money," and is as follows:

"While it is interesting to learn that the government has taken the first steps toward spending $7,500,000 upon the defences of Boston Harbor, and has also outlined plans for similar and perhaps larger expenditures at other seaports, it may be pertinent to ask if these outlays are in any way in accordance either with commonsense or with the professed peaceful policy of our government. If the citizens of Boston were given by the national government $7,500,000 to be devoted to works of public utility and amusement, the benefit that could thus be permanently secured would be incalculably great. This sum might be invested so as to bring in an annual income of from $250,000 to $300,000 a year, and if this income were spent in free excursions to school-children and others, great entertainments in our public squares, or in giving premiums for the erection and maintenance of model tenement-houses, or a part of it in carrying on certain scientific investigations for the benefit of the people, an immense amount of service could be done. As it is, this money is to be spent from time to time in the erection of what are now to a large degree, and will in the future be still more, needless works of military defence. We are now a people of nearly 65,000,000, and at the close of the present century will have more than 80,000,000 of inhabitants. Our wealth for all practical purposes is unlimited. There is no nation that can invade us, and, thanks to the international policy that we have pursued from the first, we have no reason to quarrel with foreign countries. For the last quarter of a century our harbors have been defenceless, with the chances of attack far greater than they will be in the future. More than this, if a foreign attack was to be expected, the teachings of modern science in the use of high explosives and electricity would, in all probability, long before the time of danger came, enable us to provide ourselves with defences that no enemy would dare to encounter. The expenditure, therefore, except as a means of relieving the treasury of money, and in this way of spending the surplus, is almost entirely uncalled for. It is a pity that where so much good money is going to waste some really good deserving public use cannot be made of it."

It it high time for delusions and misrepresentations and arrant nonsense like these articles to cease. The people are not all fools, nor can the bulk of them be in sympathy with utterances so manifestly against reason and experience. War does not wait for the planting of foundries, yards, factories, and arsenals, and the making of ships, guns, armor, explosives, and scientific appliances, nor for the training of armies. Hostilities once declared, the unprepared weakling must go to the wall. Judicious appropriations for the public defence are the premiums for the life insurance of a nation. War ransoms are no part of true political economy. Let us give "millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute."

THOMAS F. EDMANDS.

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WEALTH AND ITS OBLIGATIONS.

BY HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL GIBBONS.

1. *Wealth*
   By Andrew Carnegie. NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, June, 1889.
2. *Mr. Carnegie's Gospel of Wealth.*
   By the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone. *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1890.
3. *Irresponsible Wealth.*
   By His Eminence Cardinal Manning.
   The Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler (Chief Rabbi).
   The Rev. Hugh Price Hughes. *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1890.

RARELY in current literature has a discussion been conducted of more interest to thinking men than that recently entered upon by the distinguished gentlemen whose names appear at the head of this paper. I say discussion, because the views of Mr. Carnegie were a surprise and a challenge. His profession of faith, formulated presumably on this side of the Atlantic, was, after the lapse of some months, approved in the main by the greatest financier of England, applauded heartily by England's foremost ecclesiastic,—not alone a prince of the church, but a prince by every right and title among men,—and reënforced in its main features by an eminent adherent of the Jewish faith.

But the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, with a vigor and a humor all his own, hardly condescends to debate the question raised by Mr. Carnegie. He trains his guns upon Mr. Carnegie and calls into serious question his very *locus standi*. The gravity of the discussion and the number of sad and disheartening facts elicited cause us to welcome with a sense of glad relief the

light and humorous features which crop out. Between the first- and last-named writer the great question of the tariff yawns—a wide abyss. However cordially they may stretch hands across the Atlantic in agreement as to the needs and the claims of the poor, the one is a pronounced Protectionist, the other a Free-Trader equally pronounced. The former stands before us the many-times millionaire ; the latter the champion of the poor, the warm-hearted, if most fierce and vehement, advocate of the claims of labor. Mr. Carnegie stoutly maintains the justice and reason of existing economic conditions and, by implication, the sound statesmanship of the McKinley Bill ; the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, although professing for the great ironmaster a profound personal respect as for a man who sets a splendid example to the unhappy class to which he belongs, affirms that, without being in the least responsible for his unfortunate circumstances, he is "an anti-Christian phenomenon, a social monstrosity, and a grave political peril. Thanks to unrestricted competition and the tariff, he has pocketed much more than his equitable share of the joint product of labor and capital. If he thinks that he has made this great pile, so to speak, off his own bat, let him set up business on a solitary island and see how much he can net annually without the coöperation of his twenty thousand men and the ceaseless bounties of the vanishing Republican majority in Congress." Written and published a few short weeks after the political upheaval of November, these words ring out defiantly from the citadel of free trade.

It would be manifestly unbecoming in me to hazard a solution of the questions in issue between Mr. Carnegie and his opponent. To do so would be to embark upon the great sea of the tariff question, perhaps to be engulfed in the treacherous depths of the dismal science. But of one thing we may all rest assured ; that party which is, upon the great question, in the right will most certainly in the end prevail. The school is too potent a factor, our newspapers are too numerous, the masses too intelligent, to accept any halfway or uneven solution of this great economic principle. As surely as the sun shall rise to-morrow the sovereign people will ascertain in the long run whether Mr. Carnegie, benevolent and large-hearted and public-spirited as he is justly regarded, is a "normal process," "an imperative necessity," "an essential condition," of modern society. The question of the tariff is not

merely a question of party supremacy or of an advantage of one country over another or over several others; in its results it reaches far out and deep down to the very foundations of our social fabric. No man or few men can sound its depths or work it out to its ultimate and minute consequences; but every voter should, as a strict and solemn public duty, test it and probe and weigh it, in as far as his opportunities may permit, and thus cast his ballot intelligently. A republic of millions of voters may err for a time; the political pendulum may for a season unevenly and inequitably swing; but there is always here the biennial opportunity to modify or qualify one's views. Thus that body politic is safest where free citizens go to the polls impelled by laboriously acquired and hence intelligent conviction.

Committing, then, with every confidence, this great preliminary question—without in the least desiring to offer a personal opinion—to the statesmen, publicists, and voters of the republic, I may be permitted to undertake the more modest task of stating as briefly as may be the Catholic view of wealth and its administration, devoting a little special attention, first, to the obligation of giving; secondly, to its extent as a precept; and, lastly, to the manner in which that duty is fulfilled in the case of the Catholics of these United States.

And, first, as to the existence of the obligation. The church claims to be the fulfilment and the completion of the Judaic dispensation. She asserts, with the great apostle of the Gentiles, that all the rites, ordinances, and precepts of that dispensation were but the shadow of the substance to come. With astonishing fidelity she reproduces all the main and many of the minute features of that law, but heightened, brightened, intensified into sharper and bolder outline. Whatever is good there is here better; whatever in shadow of old is now in the fulness of substance. Grace doth now more abound, and with it the charity which constraineth us. If, then, as the Rev. Hermann Adler so well and clearly shows, the law of charity assumed the form of tithes, and among the Jews it was enacted into specific legislation, we should naturally expect that an obligation so reflecting the love of God in and towards man should reach a higher and nobler development in these days of Christianity. And, as a matter of fact, the individual Christian or the body of Christians who cannot

stand this test may well seriously doubt of the sincerity of his or their professions of faith.

Those familiar with the daily lives and sentiments of the laboring classes know what a stumbling-block to their faith is pious penuriousness, the charity that begins and ends at home. They cannot reconcile godliness and greed. For most other forms of human weakness there is tolerance, even at times compassion; but for the man who acknowledges our common fatherhood and brotherhood, with his hands tightly closed upon his purse-string, there is a fierce contempt, "curses not loud, but deep." It may safely be affirmed that one sanctimonious miserly millionaire in a community works more deadly harm to Christianity than a dozen isolated cases of burglary or drunkenness. In Europe, we are told by competent authorities, the desperation of the poor is fast driving men into atheism.* My distinguished townsman, Professor Ely, in a most suggestive lecture, inquires into the alienation of wage-workers from Christianity, proving that in most denominations such alienation undoubtedly exists.†

In this view it is most melancholy to consider the estimates of such thoroughly-informed public men as Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Manning upon the shrinkage of private charity going on contemporaneously with the enormous increase of wealth in England.

"How poor a figure," says the ex-Premier, "would all the known and estimated givings by these classes, as a body, be found to exhibit in comparison with the sixty or seventy millions [three hundred or three hundred and fifty millions of dollars] which form only the tithe of their aggregate income!

"That there are shortcomings, and that these shortcomings are large and even enormous, is directly testified by the general experience of the agents and managers of eleemosynary undertakings, whose incessant or frequent complaint it is that givers are but a class or section of the community, and that the clutch and gripe of most possessors over their money is hardly ever relaxed."

In the United States this condition of things does not, in my judgment, exist to the same alarming extent. Among Catholics here, while there are doubtless instances of avarice and of utter forgetfulness of the law of fraternal charity, yet, taking

* "Christian Science," by the Rev. M. Kaufmann, M. A.

† "Social Aspects of Christianity," by Richard T. Ely, Ph. D., Essay V.

them as a body, I make no doubt they fulfil the whole law in the broad Christian manner so eloquently expounded by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Those who give more than is required of them by any law far outnumber those who give less. They are not, as a class, wealthy. They count among their number few millionaires. The great majority rely for livelihood upon the labor of the brain or of the hands, on the tillage of the farm, the sale of their produce; and yet a glance at the list of annual collections with their amounts at once convinces us that the law of charity still standing on the divine statute-book has not been by them rendered obsolete. They have the heart and the spirit of sacrifice to give their tithes, and often more than their tithes, unto the Lord.

In the archdiocese of Baltimore, as in all other dioceses of this country, the temples in which they worship are almost invariably erected by their voluntary contributions, unless, as has happened occasionally, one individual or one family undertakes the whole expense. When the church is erected, those who can afford to do so pay a yearly rental, averaging, say, fifty dollars each family—the average offertory collection being about half that sum. In addition to all this, there are in most parts of the country extraordinary collections for such purposes as the support of orphan asylums, the Indian and negro missions in the United States, the reclaiming of children in industrial schools, the supply by Dorcas societies of clothing to needy applicants, the personal visitation of the sick or destitute by that most beneficent body known as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Year in and year out the appeal from the pulpit is made, and for the most part cheerfully responded to.

In a recent work* I attempted a summary sketch of the benevolent institutions founded and fostered by Christianity in modern times. Should my readers desire to pursue the subject more in detail, I beg to commend to their attention the "Catholic Ecclesiastical Directory" of the United States. In that volume, issued annually, will be found the aims, the work, and the *personnel* of charitable institutions astonishing in their number and bewildering in their variety. It is not rhetorical exaggeration, but the naked truth, to say that the church provides homes for those yet on the threshold of life and furnishes retreats for those

* "Our Christian Heritage," Chapter XXVIII.

on the threshold of death. She has asylums in which the aged, both men and women, find at one and the same time a refuge in their declining days from the storms of life and a novitiate to prepare them for eternity. She rocks her children in the cradle of infancy; she soothes them to rest on the couch of death.

She begins with the orphan asylum; follows up the erring girl till a safe retreat is provided in the House of the Good Shepherd; takes the incorrigible boy and in an industrial school or protectorate teaches him a useful trade; seeks out destitute fathers and mothers, with their helpless children, and without noise or parade extends the needed aid; provides unstintingly for elementary Catholic training, even after the enforced payment of the school tax to the State or municipal treasury; ministers freely to higher intellectual cravings in the college, and in these latter days, aided by the princely offerings of her children, lays down the lines of a great university and goes forward in her sublime task of imparting the highest and holiest in culture and morals to her more gifted sons.

In the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia—I speak of these because I happen to be officially connected with them—there are under Catholic auspices, and in a total Catholic population of a quarter of a million, two foundling asylums, two asylums for colored children, and ten for white orphans, housing and educating fifteen hundred little ones, all of whom are admitted regardless of creed, together with six hospitals and a large number of reformatory institutions. In the more populous centres, such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago, the statistics of Catholic benevolence swell in the ratio of the population. The maintenance and support of these institutions would be a manifest impossibility but for reasons to which I shall advert later on.

And here a number of objections may be urged. Mr. Carnegie boldly asserts the probability that nineteen-twentieths of the so-called charity of to-day is unwisely spent—"so spent, indeed, as to produce the very evils which it proposes to mitigate or cure." Surely this is a statement which he will, upon fuller experience and reflection, cheerfully retract. No matter what efforts may be made by philanthropists and social economists for the removal of poverty, we must make up our minds that poverty in one shape or another will always exist among us. The words of Christ will

be ever verified—"The poor ye have always with you." As well attempt to legislate vice out of existence as to legislate poverty and suffering out of the world. London is to-day the richest city in the world; it is also the poorest. Berlin, with a population of a million and a half, has 200,000 living from hand to mouth and verging on destitution. It is in accordance with the economy of Divine Providence that men should exist in unequal conditions in society, in order to the exercise of benevolent virtues. Moreover, sickness and death will come upon the bread-winner, and wife and child have their whole support suddenly snatched away. Disasters like those of Johnstown and the recent shocking losses of life in Pennsylvania mines will leave hundreds of widows and orphans no alternative but charity.

There remains an objection which it is instructive to notice, inasmuch as its answer will present the Catholic Church in a light which, I submit, differentiates her from all other Christian bodies. It is urged, then, that Catholics by no means enjoy a monopoly of Christian benevolence. Millions of dollars are annually contributed by those who decline to yield to that church submission. Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Quakers, Jews, and all other denominations of Christians or non-Christians have, too, their hospitals, asylums, industrial homes. Innumerable hearts feel the pang of pity for woe, and countless willing hands are stretched forth to soothe the suffering. Far be it from me to belittle the work of these noble men and women. They command and receive the profound respect of all.

Baltimore was last year honored by its selection for the seventeenth annual convention of the National Conference of Charities, and I shall long remember the pleasure and the privilege I enjoyed in attending the closing session and in listening to the *résumé* of the work of benevolence, absolutely unsectarian and extending to almost every State in this Union. Such work is an honor to our nation. But in its every ramification it might have been the result of good, feeling hearts, the outcome of purely natural religion; and I apprehend that its members would not insist on any larger claim. Nor do I deny that there may be, and are, *individual* instances where labor and devotion far beyond what may be represented by money are lavishly and lovingly bestowed.

In the Catholic Church, however, we observe, as a rule and as a

well-considered system, an immense advance of effort. She encourages her children to give, not their wealth alone, but *themselves*. In her communion we find brought down into every-day, nineteenth-century life, and as a well-recognized system, the utter sacrifice and life consecration of one's self to one's fellow-creatures. Need I appeal for confirmation to facts which are apparent to all? Consider the army of Sisters of Charity within the limits of the United States; add to these the Sisters of Mercy, the Sisters of Notre Dame, of the Good Shepherd, the Little Sisters of the Poor, of the Bon Secours, and the other numerous bands of women who serve for life without pecuniary reward. Add to these the male members of the religious orders. Add, again, the immense number of brothers who conduct our educational, industrial, and reformatory institutions. These, turning their backs upon home and friends and all that life holds dear, devote themselves to the Christ-like task of healing poor humanity's sores.

The immense organization of St. Vincent de Paul, which has its average of a dozen or so working members in most parishes in the land, has not one salaried officer among the number who make it up. It is within the truth to say that in this country many thousands of men and women give themselves up to the work of God, showing forth in their lives the undying freshness and energy of Christ's example and precept. With these his words do not pass away! In the present year the desire of sacrifice of self, after our Divine Master's example, appears to have touched more hearts than is common. The noble epidemic of high resolves and high deeds would seem to be spreading. The very day on which these lines are written, a lady in Mr. Carnegie's adopted State, one "with glowing health and boundless wealth," gives up, not alone her vast fortune to the betterment of the condition of the Indian and the colored race, but—what is far more heroic—gives up *herself!* And many others we all know who, with less to abandon of worldly wealth, surrender themselves to lives of poverty and toil with a self-renunciation no less complete.

In the olden days of strife and bloodshed women moved between opposing lines of battle, endeavoring to bring about peace Ofttimes they were allied by blood and interest to the combatants on either side. If we may believe those who stand upon the watch-towers and scan the signs of the times, a tempest of war, to

which all former wars were holiday tournaments, looms big upon the horizon and threatens to whelm the world in horrors. Wealth and poverty, they say, stand more and more apart and glare across the widening chasm more fiercely. "While the wicked are proud, the poor man is set on fire!" Capital and labor, after severe skirmishes with varying success, are arming for the supreme conflict.

And these I have mentioned, with the credentials of self-renunciation, pass between the lines, averring on one side that superfluous wealth is a curse and a snare, that honest labor has its rights; on the other, that some in the providence of God must labor, that toil is honorable and consecrated by Christ's example; and to both sides crying out that Christ's reign, if they acknowledge his leadership, is primarily and essentially a reign of peace. How imminent the struggle may be no man can affirm precisely, but signs there are which may well fill us with disquiet. The rich are daily becoming richer, the poor poorer; luxury, high living, and the pride of life are on the increase. The thirst for wealth becomes daily more insatiable; the cries of the distressed more sharp and loud and poignant.

The economic conditions in the United States are fast approaching those of England. The homes of the poor are more marked by destitution and squalor; the light of heaven is being closed out from miserable tenement room and attic; flesh and blood are becoming more cheap, and bread more dear; the well-being of the car-horse is more solicitously watched than that of the driver. Small wonder that strong men, maddened by the tears of wife and cries of starving children, band themselves together, and sometimes resort to deeds of violence.

It is high time, then, that Gladstone, Manning, and Hughes, in England, should with grave anxiety review the situation and sound a note of warning. Most opportunely, here, does a millionaire like Mr. Carnegie declare it to be the duty of a man of wealth, first, to set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and, after doing so, to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds which he is called upon to administer; the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren.

What, then, is the duty of all good men to avert the crisis?

The answer is simple and all-embracing. Back to Christ, his example and his teaching! This is the looking backward available and practicable to all. There is enough, and more than enough, within the pages of the four gospels to disarm at once this array of class against class. The sacred pages teem with warnings to the rich. They are the words of eternal truth. About their meaning there is little substantial difference of opinion among Christians of all shades. The bane of our times is that the voice is no longer to many a living voice, in the rush and the clamor of money-getting; the sacred characters are overlaid and well-nigh obliterated by the daily-gathering dust of worldliness. Yet the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes is right in affirming that in the Bible the spirit of wealth and of greed is oftener inveighed against than the crime of adultery or drunkenness.

In the evening of careers of unexampled brilliancy and distinguished public service, two of England's greatest men, seer-like, lift hands and voices of warning. The conditions which have come upon that land are, it is to be feared, fast assuming shape and consistency here. Let, then, the leaders of opinion and the directors of conscience in this great republic strive earnestly and fearlessly, by example and precept, to avert the coming strife.

Above all, like the French workmen of the Val-de-Bois and that great Christian socialist le Comte de Mun, let employers and employed come together in amity, with a view to mutual understanding. Let them state their mutual grievances and ascertain their mutual demands, and, temperate Christian counsels reigning, the result will be lasting peace.

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.

PAUPERISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY PROFESSOR RICHARD T. ELY, OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

THE chief of the Salvation Army has written a book which marks an epoch in the history of thought on social subjects in the nineteenth century. It has stirred the minds and hearts of millions on three continents, and touches men on every continent, for there is no great part of the world not reached by this remarkable man. Although no student of social science may be able to accept its theories and recommendations as a whole without serious qualification, it is a trumpet-blast calling men to action on behalf of the poorest and most degraded classes in modern society. Carelessness and indifference to others have sought shelter behind walls of lies built up by the devil's optimism, which denies evils to escape responsibility. But these walls begin to tumble about those who thought themselves secure in their shadow. Hundreds of men have been earning plaudits for ministering to the self-satisfied complacency of the fortunate classes, but the word of an honest man, whose life corresponds with his teaching, produces an effect which overthrows years of evil work on their part. A man has spoken.

General Booth calls the most unfortunate class in the community for which he pleads the "submerged tenth," and, roughly speaking, it is an accurate designation in the modern civilized world. This class is divided into three parts, or three sub-classes, namely, the defective, the delinquent, and the dependent. Statistics regarding the numbers in these three sub-classes are everywhere meagre and unsatisfactory, but they are sufficient to indicate a rough accuracy in the term the "submerged tenth."

It is the purpose of the present article to deal chiefly with one of these sub-classes, that of the dependents or paupers, and to treat of this part of the great submerged tenth as it exists in the

United States, making a few references to paupers in other countries.

While we may deplore the lack of careful statistical information concerning pauperism in this and other countries, there are certain facts which we do know. First of all is this fact: there exists in the United States an immense mass of pauperism. No one knows either how great this mass is, or whether it is relatively, or even absolutely, larger than in former times. Several States in the Union, as New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, publish statistics concerning the defective, delinquent, and dependent classes, but many of the States gather no statistics at all, or very inadequate ones. Such statistics as we have cannot well be brought together and compared, because they have not been collected in the same year in different States, nor have they been collected according to similar methods. The word pauper in one State means one thing, and in another State something else. For example, dependent children are in one place classed among the paupers, and in another place they are put in a category by themselves.

The only authority competent to gather the facts which we ought to know for the whole country is the federal government, and it has attempted to do something in the various censuses. The census reports, however, have been heretofore incomplete and unsatisfactory, and during last year the praiseworthy attempt to gather most important social information has been at least partially frustrated by the senseless opposition of the newspapers. Mr. Frederick H. Wines, a high authority, was the special agent of the Tenth Census appointed to gather the statistics concerning the submerged tenth, and he reported altogether about half a million. This, however, is an underestimate. Only a little over 21,000 outdoor paupers were reported, whereas a single city undoubtedly has a larger number receiving public relief outside of public institutions. It is admitted in the report that "the attempt to secure anything like a complete or adequate enumeration of them in the present census was a failure." "The present census" means the census of 1880.

At the sixteenth Conference of Charities and Correction, in Omaha, in 1889, the committee on reports from States expressed the opinion that it was safe to estimate the number of persons in the United States receiving outdoor relief at an aver-

age of 250,000 during the year, including at least 600,000 different persons. This same committee, including Messrs. F. B. Sanborn and H. H. Hart, did not regard 110,000 persons as an overestimate of the population of the almshouses of the country. Five States of the Union alone report nearly half that number. These are New York, with 19,500 inmates of almshouses; Pennsylvania, with 13,500; Massachusetts, with 9,000; Ohio, with 8,000; and Illinois, with 5,000. These States, however, do not include much over one-third of the population of the country. Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, the able and devoted secretary of the New York Charity-Organization Society, has estimated that three millions of people in the United States were wholly or partially supported by alms during a recent year, and that the support received by this number was equal to the total support of half a million paupers during the entire year. This estimate is based upon such facts as he had been able to gather, and even a guess from one situated as he is has some weight.

Reliable statistics make this estimate of three millions for the United States not at all improbable. Three millions of paupers would comprise less than 5 per cent. of the population, or one in twenty, whereas in Cologne, in Germany, in 1781, one in four of the population was a pauper. In England, in 1863, $5\frac{3}{16}$ per cent. of the population consisted of paupers. Turning to the United States, we find that over 10 per cent. of the people of Buffalo, N. Y., received alms in 1876. The Buffalo estimate includes merely the recipients of city alms, and there must have been a large additional number of recipients of private alms. There are always many recipients of private and secret alms in every community, and this unknown number must be added to the number of known paupers if we are to have a correct view of pauperism in the United States. All that we can do is to say from the facts which come under our individual observation that the total number of those who receive private and secret charitable aid must be very large. Every careful observer with an extensive acquaintance knows many persons in every social class either wholly or partially supported by private charity. They are persons who truly belong to the dependent classes, unable to maintain themselves in the world of competition, but who never figure in reports of any society or public charitable institution.

There are many ways of arriving at this estimate of three

millions in the United States. We may first, in order to be careful not to overestimate the pauperism of the United States, suppose our population to be sixty millions, instead of sixty-two and a quarter millions, as it really is. We may next divide the percentage of pauper population of Buffalo by one-half, giving us 5 per cent. If it be granted that this is a conservative estimate, we will have still three millions of paupers. An experienced worker among the dependent and delinquent classes in New York estimated five years ago that there were 220,000 alms-receivers in that city. Critics who question the reliability of the figures wish to cut them down one-half, but even that would have left nearly 10 per cent. of the population, giving New York twice its proper share, if the estimate of three millions for the country be correct. *The State Charities Record,* the organ of the State Charities-Aid Association of New York, states that during the year ending October, 1888, nearly half a million people in the State of New York received public aid, which would give us at the same ratio for the entire country over five millions, as New York contains less than one-tenth of the population. This New York estimate, however, does not include the inmates of jails, work-houses, etc., and those who receive charitable aid from other sources. It is stated that, if these were added, we should have at least three-quarters of a million in New York State dependent upon charity, showing that for the State of New York General Booth's expression, the "submerged tenth," is far from being an exaggeration.

The number of paupers varies greatly from year to year, according to the general prosperity of the country and other causes, and even within the same year, according to the season. The estimate of three millions cannot be regarded as an extravagant one for the United States during hard times. We have, then, that number of persons who at some time or another are compelled to ask support which they will not or cannot obtain for themselves. If we should cut down this number to half a million, it would be sufficient to cause distress to every lover of his kind, and to justify inquiry into the nature of pauperism, its causes and its cure.

Numerous estimates have been made of the direct and indirect cost of pauperism to this country. The direct pauper expenditures of the United States may be placed at twenty-five millions of dollars at least; indeed, this must be an underestimate, for

New York State alone expends for charitable purposes through its various institutions over thirteen millions of dollars. If we place the average number of persons in the country supported by charity at five hundred thousand, and estimate the loss of productive power for each one of these at $100 per year, we shall have an indirect loss of fifty millions of dollars to be added to the direct expenditures. One hundred millions of dollars a year must be regarded as a conservative estimate of the total direct and indirect pecuniary loss to the country on account of pauperism. A far more serious loss, however, is the loss in manhood and womanhood.

In contrast to this first fact of the great mass of pauperism, we have the second equally indisputable fact that it is for the most part a curable disease. Wherever there has been any earnest and intelligent attempt to remedy the evil, the success has been equal to all the most sanguine could anticipate. I have read accounts of many such attempts to lessen pauperism, and everything that I have read has confirmed in my mind the belief that it is a curable evil. A few illustrations out of a great number at hand must suffice for present purposes. The Elberfeld system of charitable relief is well known. About 1850 an earnest attempt was made in that city to deal with the question of pauperism. At that time the number of inhabitants was 50,000 ; in 1880 it was 90,000 ; but the number of friendly visitors required had not increased. The number needing help fell from 2,948 in the year 1853 to 1,287 in 1876, or from 57 in the thousand of population to between 15 and 16 in the thousand. The city of Leipsic introduced the Elberfeld system in 1881, and in a single year the number of paupers fell off two thousand. Even England seems to have met with some success in dealing with pauperism, for the paupers comprised $5\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. of the population in 1863, $4\frac{6}{10}$ in 1871, and only 3 per cent. in 1882.

The experience of Buffalo, in this country, has been as instructive as it is gratifying. During the first ten years of the existence of the Buffalo Charity-Organization Society, namely, from 1877 to 1887, the pauperism of the city decreased, so far as statistics indicate, at least 50 per cent. Of 763 families dealt with by that society in 1878–79, Mr. Rosenau, the secretary, was able to state that, so far as he knew, 458 families had never been applicants for charity since 1879, and only 81 were met with in

1887. Mr. Rosenau further said that, if the citizens of Buffalo would furnish the society with funds and workers, the close of 1897 would see the city practically free from pauperism, and, he hoped, with very little abject poverty within her limits. Mr. Kellogg, of the New York Society, in his fifth annual report, claims that of 4,280 cases treated during the preceding year, 697 became self-supporting by securing employment for them, by training them in industry, or by starting them in business. During the same year 1,508 cases treated during the first year of the society's existence were reëxamined, and over 20 per cent. of these cases were *known to continue self-supporting*. Of course some of the others treated during the first year who could not be traced continued self-supporting.

There is reason to believe that there are adult paupers who can never be rendered entirely independent and self-supporting. Some of these are willing to work, but have simply not been furnished with qualities requisite for success in the competitive world of to-day, or their latent faculties, which might once have been developed, have been allowed to remain unused so long that their present development is practically impossible. These require permanent treatment in establishments adapted to them, where such powers as they have can be utilized for their own good and the benefit of society. With some others the trouble is not so much mental or physical as moral, and these require permanent treatment, severe but kind, in separate establishments. The first of these permanently-helpless classes belongs to a certain extent to the imbeciles, while the second belongs rather to the criminal class. Both of these classes, however, are few in number, and all others can be redeemed. Nearly all children belong to the redeemable portion of humanity. This second fact states, then, this proposition: pauperism as now known may be considered a needless evil; in other words, in modern society there are sufficient resources to cure it if men would but apply them.

The third indisputable fact observed is that only slight effort is put forth by the community at large to cure the evil of pauperism. Mr. Rosenau has shown that only one in 713 persons in thirty-two cities where there are charity-organization societies which reported, contributed to their funds. These cities represented a population of about seven and a quarter millions, and the

number of contributors was only a little over ten thousand. When we put this in contrast with the church membership of the country, which comprises something like one-third of the population, or, if we count only adult members, one-fourth, we are reminded of the conclusion reached by Mr. Frederic Harrison and others that for social regeneration Christianity is a failure. Of course many cannot contribute money, but there is equal complaint of a lack of persons who are willing to contribute their time and sympathy as friendly visitors. Those who have read Tolstoï's book, "What to Do," will find there described the experience of every sincere friend of humanity who has attempted to secure genuine coöperation among the fortunate classes to help elevate the less fortunate classes out of their economic, physical, and moral wretchedness; namely, general but vague expressions of interest, with a final refusal of the aid needed. As in the parable of the New Testament, they all begin to make excuses.

Tolstoï, far away in Russia, has discovered what the workers among the poor in our own country have found out, that the poor can be relieved by individual treatment. As in Russia, so here, the number of those in a position to render the needed help far exceeds the number of those who require assistance. "A remarkable man named Sutaieff" comes to Tolstoï and tells him that he has been making a mistake in giving kopeks to beggars, and intimates that the problem of dealing with pauperism is not so great after all. "You are not aware, I dare say," replies the writer of the book, "that there are in Moscow about twenty thousand cold and hungry, and then think of those in St. Petersburg and other towns!" Sutaieff smiled and replied: "Twenty thousand; and how many families are there in Russia alone? Would they amount to a million?" He then goes on to say that, if each family would do its part, the resources of the people would be more than sufficient to meet the needs of the situation. The number of people in the United States who call themselves Christians is certainly five times the number of those who require help, while the most that is wanted is one friendly visitor to each pauper. The successful Elberfeld system requires only one friendly visitor to four needy families. If we are not prepared, with Mr. Frederic Harrison, to turn away from the proud pretensions of Christianity as illusory, we may certainly reproach those who call themselves Christians with the fact that

their conduct is not in accord with their proud professions, even if we remember all the activity of the churches which is connected neither with charity-organization societies nor any outside organizations.

Because Christ said, "The poor ye have with you always," some have wanted to find in that an excuse for their own neglect of conduct prescribed by the fundamental principles of Christianity. To begin with, they have become accustomed to quote Christ incorrectly and make him say, "The poor ye shall always have with you," which he never said; and, in the second place, they have drawn false conclusions from what he did say, whether it referred to the present or future. We have crime always with us. Is that any reason why we should not do all in our power to lessen crime? Pauperism is a moral and physical evil, and we ought to do all in our power to remedy it. We have the scribes and Pharisees always with us, those who pervert Scripture and make it an excuse for their own shortcomings; but this does not render it less desirable to reduce this odious class to its lowest limits.

What are the causes of pauperism? These causes are many, and they cannot be stated in any single sentence. The most general statement possible is that the causes of poverty are heredity and environment, producing weak physical, mental, and moral constitutions. If sociological investigations have made one thing clearer than another, it is that paupers are a class into which one is often born, and from which, when born into it, one can be rescued, as a rule, only by a change of environment. These investigations show likewise that paupers are a class of inferior men. Inquiry was made at the Prison Association two years ago as to the chief cause of crime, and every expert in criminal studies was reported to have replied, "Bad homes and heredity." The same reply may be given as to the causes of pauperism. Four different careful studies of the causes of pauperism have been made, two in New York State, one in Indiana, and one in Berlin.

The first which I have in mind was made by Mr. Richard L. Dugdale, and was called "The Jukes." The ancestor of the Jukes is called "Margaret, the mother of criminals." Mr. Dugdale estimated that 1,200 of this family in seventy-five years cost the community directly and indirectly not less than a million and a quarter of dollars.

The second study was made in New York State under the direction of the Legislature by the State Board of Charities. The investigation occupied the secretary of this board and various assistants for nearly two years, and the antecedents of every inmate of the poorhouses of the State were examined. Mrs. C. R. Lowell, who has been so active in the charities of New York State, and who has achieved a well-merited reputation, read a report on the results of this investigation. She describes typical women. The description of two cases may be quoted, and they will serve for all.

"In the Herkimer County poorhouse a single woman, aged sixty-four years, twenty of which have been spent in the poorhouse; has had six illegitimate children, four of whom have been paupers."

"In the Montgomery County poorhouse a woman twenty years of age, illegitimate, uneducated and vagrant; has two children in the house, aged respectively three years and six months, both illegitimate, and the latter born in the institution; recently married an intemperate, crippled man, formerly a pauper."

Mrs. Lowell says: "These mothers are women who began life as their own children have begun it—inheriting strong passions and weak wills, born and bred in the poorhouse, taught to be wicked before they could speak plain, all the strong evil in their natures strengthened by their surroundings, and the weak good trampled out of life."

The third study to which I referred is that made by Mr. Oscar McCulloch, and is called "The Tribe of Ishmael." Mr. McCulloch, who is a clergyman in Indianapolis, found the poor and degraded in that part of the country closely connected by ties of blood and marriage. This band of paupers and criminals takes its name from one Ben Ishmael, who can be traced as far back as 1790, when he was living in Kentucky. The descendants of this family have intermarried with thirty other families. In the first generation we know the history of 3, in the second of 84, in the third of 283, in the fourth of 640, in the fifth of 679, and in the sixth of 57. We have a total of 1,750 individuals, with but scant records previous to 1840. Among these we find 121 prostitutes. Several murders can be traced to the Tribe of Ishmael. Thieving and larceny are common among them, and they are nearly all beggars. Looking back into the history of the family of Ben Ishmael, we find that three of his grandchildren married three sisters from a pauper family. Death is frequent among them, and they are physically unable to endure hard work or bad climate. They break down early and go to the poorhouse or hospital. About 75 per cent. of the cases treated in the City Hospital

of Indianapolis are from this class, if we leave out of consideration acute cases and cases from outside the city. A confirmation of the frequent relationship among the unfortunate classes is given in the eighteenth annual report of the trustees of the Children's Home of Washington County, Ohio. It appeared from investigations that during the two preceding years over 66 per cent. of the number who had been inmates of the home from Washington County were related by blood or marriage.

The fourth of the studies is that made by city missionaries in Berlin a few years ago, and reported by Court Pastor Stöcker. The ancestors of this criminal and pauper family were two sisters, of whom the older died in 1825. Their posterity numbers 834 persons. The criminalists are able to trace the history of 709 with tolerable accuracy. Among these there were 106 illegitimate children, 164 prostitutes, 17 pimps, 142 beggars, 64 inmates of poorhouses, and 76 guilty of serious crimes, who together had passed 116 years in prison. It is estimated that this single family cost the state over half a million dollars.

It is worthy of note in this connection that the members of the Tribe of Ishmael are, as a rule, temperate, and total abstainers are often found among the worst classes.

Mr. Dugdale bases these "tentative" conclusions upon his study:

"1. Pauperism is an indication of weakness of some kind, either youth, disease, old age, injury, or, for women, childbirth.

"2. Hereditary pauperism rests chiefly upon disease in some form, tends to terminate in extinction, and may be called the sociological aspect of physical degeneration.

"3. The debility and diseases which enter most largely into its production are the result of sexual licentiousness.

"4. The logical induction seems to be that environment is the ultimate controlling factor in determining careers, placing heredity itself as an organized result of invariable environment."

Heredity and environment are ultimate causes. The other causes, which are generally the only ones noticed by the casual observer, are the immediate causes of poverty. Those who are weak in body and mind yield to unfavorable circumstances, not having sufficient power to enable them to overcome all the obstacles of life. The number of paupers is always greater in winter than in summer, and is always much larger in what are called "hard times" than in flush times, all showing a certain power to

resist temptation and to fight for a living, but an inadequate power.

There are those, undoubtedly, whose pauperism can be traced neither to heredity nor unfavorable environment, but they are comparatively few. Well-brought-up children of morally and physically sound parents seldom become paupers.

Perhaps the most careful analysis of the causes of pauperism has been made by Professor Amos G. Warner, of the University of Nebraska. He presents the following analysis of the more immediate or proximate causes of poverty:

ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

Subjective.

- **Characteristics.**
  1. Undervitalization and indolence.
  2. Lubricity.
  3. Specific disease.
  4. Lack of judgment.
  5. Unhealthy appetites.
- **Habits producing and produced by the above.**
  1. Shiftlessness.
  2. Self-abuse and sexual excess.
  3. Abuse of stimulants and narcotics.
  4. Unhealthy diet.
  5. Disregard of family ties.

Objective.

1. Indequate natural resources.
2. Bad climatic conditions.
3. Defective sanitation, etc.
4. Evil associations and surroundings.
5. Defective legislation and defective judicial and punitive machinery.
6. Misdirected or inadequate education.
7. **Bad industrial conditions.**
   a. Variations in value of money.
   b. Changes in trade.
   c. Excessive or ill-managed taxation.
   d. Emergencies unprovided for.
   e. Undue power of class over class.
   f. Immobility of labor.
8. Unwise philanthropy.

According to all careful investigations, intemperance plays a minor, although an important, role, the returns under this head depending largely upon the prejudices of the person making the investigation. One Prussian table of causes of destitution attributes less than 2 per cent. to intemperance. The tenth report of the Buffalo Charity-Organization Society shows that during the period of its existence over 11 per cent. of the cases of pauperism were traced by its secretary to intemperance. In London Mr. Charles Booth—not General Booth—attributes from 13 to 14 per cent. of the cases to intemperance. There are others who attribute a much larger percentage of pauperism to intemperance,

but nearly if not quite always a minority. Lack of employment, or involuntary idleness, is a more prominent cause of pauperism, and undoubtedly many cases of intemperance may be traced back to a period of involuntary idleness. The number of unemployed in England and Wales has been placed at six millions, and in the United States at over one million, and an extremely small percentage is due to strikes or lockouts. Child-labor, which has assumed terrible proportions in recent years, and the employment of women must be placed among the causes of poverty, both of them tending to break up the home. Industrial crises are a chief cause of modern pauperism, it having been observed in every modern nation that the number of tramps and paupers increases immensely during a period of industrial depression. Many men, while seeking work during these periods, fall hopelessly into vagabondage and pauperism, and those dependent upon them are thrown upon the public.

What has been said about causes of pauperism makes it easy to understand the nature of the remedies required. It is necessary to go back of the phenomena which lie on the surface to underlying causes. Things which are not seen are of more importance than things which are seen. I have said that the two chief causes of pauperism are heredity and environment, and the question arises, How change these for the better? Fortunately the more powerful is environment, and that is the more easily controlled. The remedy is to break up these pauper and criminal bands, and at the earliest age to remove the children from their poisonous atmosphere. Wherever an attempt has been made to improve the children of the lowest classes by placing them in wholesome environment, the results have been eminently satisfactory. Not all, but a large majority, grow up to be independent, self-respecting, and respected citizens. Less may be done for adults who have once become thoroughly identified with the "lost and lapsed classes," but even for most of these much can be accomplished by bringing wholesome influences to bear. The class regarded as most hopeless of all is that of fallen women, but the Salvation Army's "Slum Sisterhood," consisting of young women of character who go among the most degraded, have secured success even among these. The secret is to go among these people of the submerged tenth as Christ went among men, sharing their sorrows and helping them with the personal contact

of superior natures. Self-sacrifice, enjoined by true Christianity, is the neglected social force which solves social problems.

Germany has a large number of "Laborers' Colonies" for the dependent classes, and these colonies have succeeded well, on the whole. It seems clear that there is a class which must be kept permanently isolated in asylums and subjected to kind but firm discipline. They are called by General Booth the "morally incurable," and include those who "will not work and will not obey." These are to be regarded, from the stand-point of competitive society, as social refuse, but they are not entirely useless on that account. Their own good requires strong government, which will utilize whatever powers they possess, and only in case improvement is seen in individuals among them should greater liberty be allowed to these relatively more hopeful cases. It is felt by all specialists in sociology that these hopelessly lost and lapsed should not be allowed to propagate their kind.

The analysis of applicants for relief made by American charity-organization societies shows that the number of poor and worthy people is much larger than one would gather from superficial newspaper articles. Nearly 28,000 cases were analyzed, with this result:

Worthy of continuous relief	10.3 per cent.
Worthy of temporary relief	26.6 " "
Needing relief in the form of work	40.4 " "
Unworthy of relief	22.7 " "

It is difficult to say who ought to be called unworthy of relief, but evidently those are placed in that category whose trouble is above everything else moral, and among these are some who ought most of all to excite our compassion.

Turning now to more specific remedies, we may instance two which have been tried and failed. One is miscellaneous almsgiving, which has been a social curse, producing the very evil which we want to cure. Every time money is given on the street to a beggar without inquiry harm is done. The other remedy which has been tried is still advocated by some, and that is tract-distribution and preaching. Social reformers have long said that conditions must first be changed before we can work upon the individual by appeals to his moral nature. Social reformers have been much abused for emphasizing external circumstances, but they seem at last to have carried conviction to those actually at work

among the poor. The late Mr. Charles Loring Brace, who worked successfully among the poor of New York city, although himself a religious man, warned us against the effort to cure the worst evils of the slums of cities by technical religious means. Mr. Brace speaks of a too great confidence in "the old technical methods, such as distributing tracts, holding prayer-meetings, and scattering Bibles," and assures us that "the neglected and ruffian classes are in no way affected directly by such influences as these." But if the testimony of a layman is doubted, we may quote the Rev. Mr. Barnett, rector of St. Jude's, in London, who tells us that "the social reformer must go alongside the Christian missionary." The Methodists have generally as much confidence as any denomination in these technically religious methods, but the well-known Methodist minister, the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, of London, says: "I have had almost as much experience of evangelistic work as any man in this country, and I have never been able to bring any one who was actually starving to Christ." Let us hear the chief of the Salvation Army, who certainly does not underrate religious exhortation. General Booth says:

"I have had some experience on this subject, and have been making observations with respect to it ever since the day I made my first attempt to reach these starving, hungry crowds,—just over forty-five years ago,—and I am quite satisfied that these multitudes will not be saved in their present circumstances. All the clergymen, home missionaries, tract-distributors, sick-visitors, and every one else who cares about the salvation of the poor, may make up their minds as to that. The poor must be helped out of their present social miseries."

Some specific remedies must, on account of lack of space, be merely mentioned. A prominent cause of misery in all cities is found to be early and thoughtless marriages. A public sentiment must be formed on this subject. The results are weak and feeble children, and often ultimate discouragement and pauperism on the part of parents unable to carry the burdens which they have taken upon themselves. A further development of charity-organization societies will be helpful. Friendly societies and trades-unions should be encouraged in every way, and the example of a few educated and cultured people not of the wage-earning class, who have joined societies like the Knights of Labor, ought to be more generally followed. The close association with one's fellows in these societies is most helpful, and this keeps their members from pauperism. Very few paupers are members of any trades-

union. When in a time of great distress a large fund was raised in London for distribution, in one district one thousand men applied for help before one mechanic came, and among all the applicants there was only one member of a trades-union.

The chief agency of reform, however, must be sought in the helpful coöperation of citizens with public authorities, particularly with those of the city. Private societies have made a failure of efforts to improve social conditions. The Elberfeld system, so often quoted, means precisely this coöperation of private effort with municipal authorities. This organization of charities is a municipal one, which drafts into its service the best citizens as friendly visitors in such numbers that there is one to every four poor families.

Finally, every social improvement tends to diminish the number of paupers, and the question of pauperism thus involves the whole of social science. Remedies are of two kinds, positive and preventive; namely, those which seek to cure the evil and those which aim to prevent its coming into existence. The number of our almshouses, asylums, and charitable institutions of all sorts, of which we boast so much, is really our shame. They show that we are but half-Christians. As we progress in real Christianity, preventive measures will be more and more emphasized. They will include, among other things, improved education of every grade, better factory legislation, including employers'-liability acts, means for the development of the physical man, like gymnasiums, playgrounds, and parks, increased facilities for making small savings, like postal savings-banks, and more highly-developed sanitary legislation and administration. We may hope to see the time when the practice of Christians will to such an extent conform to their proud professions that the slums of cities will disappear and be replaced by wholesome dwellings, permitting in these quarters once more to spring up that old and beneficent institution—The Home.

RICHARD T. ELY.

THE EXAMPLE OF A GREAT LIFE.

BY THE EDITOR.

ONE bitterly cold day in March, 1881, Mr. Peter Cooper stopped by appointment to take me to see certain improvements he was making in the Cooper Union building. When we arrived at our destination, we found the elevator boy absent from his post, and, at Mr. Cooper's suggestion that he might have gone to dinner, I started in quest of the delinquent. On my return from a fruitless search Mr. Cooper was visibly annoyed. The building was high; we were bound for the topmost story, and there remained no other means of ascent than by the stairway. At last he looked at me dubiously. "Don't you think you can manage it?" he asked.

"The question is not about myself, Mr. Cooper, but about you," I answered (he being over ninety and I less than a third of that age). "Oh!" he exclaimed, as if much relieved; "I, on the contrary, was thinking of you; I am all right." And he proceeded to mount the steps with ease, if not with agility.

The incident was typical of the man, illustrating a kindliness, a forgetfulness of self, that in this case was almost capable of bringing a smile to the lips of unreflecting people; but it was this forgetfulness of self, this abnegation of the privileges of old age on his own part, this ever-present sympathy with the young, that, on his decease, two years afterwards, drew the multitudes of New York with uncovered heads along the very road we had come, that draped in sadness our cities, and that tolled the bells in mourning spires as Peter Cooper's mortal remains were borne to the grave.

It was these qualities that also gathered together the great mass of people on the evening of the 12th inst.* to honor the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth.

* February 12, 1891.

Peter Cooper's life stretches over a period fraught with greater changes than any the world has ever seen, or will probably ever see again compressed within the same number of years. His life is a span between the Machine Age and the remnants of the Feudal Age that lingered even in the New World.

In every sense he was the epitome of his time, of its hopefulness, of its inventiveness, of its dawning charity, and of its greater love of men.

Mr. Cooper, in short, was in perfect harmony with his age, and this is the only way to explain the success with which he exercised his varied gifts and his diversified talents. The excuse for my little sketch of him at this time is not only the fact of its being now the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth, but that his career has special significance in connection with the discussion on the obligations of wealth to which THE REVIEW is opening its pages.

I shall quote from a considerable number of his letters and papers, and I shall repeat bits of conversation which, owing to my near relationship, it was my good fortune to enjoy with him, apologizing for the repetition of any circumstances that may be already known to the reader.

On the subject of ancestry, which I suppose is the natural preface to my remarks, Mr. Cooper held positive views. "I have always considered the conduct of one's ancestors to be as important as the tendencies one inherits through them," he said. "For their acts may serve as examples to be followed or as warnings of what must be avoided. The acts of my ancestors, at all events, served as both. They set me a glowing example of patriotism and devotion to humanity, and they supplied me a warning against business carelessness and getting into debt."

The statement was strictly accurate. His grandfather, John Campbell, served gallantly in the Revolution, and further, as Deputy Quartermaster-General, advanced eleven hundred guineas in gold to the cause. He neglected, however, to take security for the loan, which was never repaid till 1833, when by special act of Congress restitution was made to his heirs, though that was long after the money could have helped his grandson in his struggles with the world. John Campbell lost his life from the effects of yellow-fever, having refused to leave his post as alderman in New York during the scourge of 1795.

"I received from my father," continued Mr. Cooper, "the same example and warning. He fought for his country as a patriot, but forgot that hospitality could only be supported by an ample fortune. For he built a store and a church at Peekskill, only to find that the visiting clergy ate up the profits of the store, while the church, being consigned to religion, naturally failed to make up the deficit, or" (with a smile I well remember) "stored the payments too high in the next world to be of any use in this."

"Mr. Cooper, is there such a thing as luck?" I once asked him.

"There is. The greatest piece of luck I ever had was investing the first surplus money I earned in a lottery ticket."

"And you won?"

"No, I lost; but I gained this experience: that the wheel of fortune is only turned by common-sense applied to common events."

With these principles to start with, it was natural that Mr. Cooper should advance rapidly. Beginning his career with a carriage-builder, he invented, before his apprenticeship had expired, an improved process for mortising the hubs of wheels, which as late as 1879 was still the method by which every wheel in this country was mortised. Indeed, inventions played a large part in his early life.

Mr. Robert Fulton came to see one of these, and he certainly extended little encouragement to the youthful genius at a time it was sorely needed. It was a model for driving a ferry-boat by compressed air, and, according to Mr. Cooper, the distinguished visitor looked at it superciliously and then turned away without a word. "I was only an apprentice boy at that time, and he could see no good in it; but I have carried the wreck of that model about with me all my life."

He sold his next patent—a machine for shearing the nap from cloth—to Mr. Vassar. What a singular coincidence, this early meeting between the founders of Vassar College and the Cooper Institute! Mr. Cooper had reserved certain rights in his machine for himself, and during the War of 1812 these paid handsomely It may surprise some to learn that Mr. Cooper, in addition to his other avocations, served for a short time as a soldier, though it could hardly have been during his military career that

the following incident occurred: "Late one afternoon I left a farm-house, where I had gone to visit some friends, and started on foot to return to a small village where I was stopping. I knew that I was in the neighborhood of the enemy, but I had no idea I was so close to their lines until I heard across a wooded valley, along which the road ran, the sound of shots. Then I saw the smoke, as of a skirmish, rising over the trees, and a moment afterwards I heard quite distinctly the cheers for King George intermingled with those of our men."

The war was followed by a long and serious commercial depression. An invention about this time—probably the indirect result of his marriage—was certainly in harmony with the now pacific condition of the country, and the immediate sale it met with proved the adaptability of the inventor's genius. It was a self-rocking cradle for a baby, with a swinging arrangement over it to keep off the flies, and the further combination of a musical box to lull the infant to sleep. A Yankee pedler to whom he happened to show it was so overcome by admiration that in the height of his enthusiasm he offered him his wagon, his horse, and everything the vehicle contained, promising to forward a hurdy-gurdy as a last instalment when he reached home.

"On that we concluded the bargain," said Mr. Cooper, "as the hurdy-gurdy was a fair offset to the musical box. I had heard one play before on board a ship, and I thought it the sweetest music I had ever heard. It so attracted the passengers that the boy player received from them quite a contribution."

This simplicity of character was one of Mr. Cooper's most pronounced traits. It is the simplicity of the child, and it has been said that no real genius can be without it.

His next invention was of a more ambitious character. Before the completion of the Erie Canal he conceived the idea that the water which supplied the locks and the other elevated waters along the canal could be utilized to move the canal-boats by means of an endless chain driven by a water-wheel. To test the theory, he drove a mile of posts, two hundred feet apart, along the bank of the East River. To these a double tier of rollers was attached to carry an endless wire chain, which in this case was driven by a tide-wheel. Governor Clinton and Colonel Nicholas Fish, with his son, the then youthful Hamilton, who was to develop into a distinguished Secretary of State, attended

the first trial. A small boat was hitched to the chain, the guests were invited on board, the water-wheel was started, and the round trip of two miles was made in eleven minutes.

Governor Clinton paid $800 for the option to purchase the privilege for the canal. It was not used, however. The reasons were curious. It seems that Governor Clinton, in securing the right of way for the canal, had held out to the farmers, whose lands lay adjacent to its course, the prospect of large sales of produce for the mules that would be required for towing the boats. The endless chain worked without oats. Thus, as Mr. Seth Low observed in his address the other evening at the centennial anniversary of Mr. Cooper's birth, the endless chain was discarded because mules voted. Fifty years afterward the president of the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company hit upon the same scheme for getting his boats through the locks. He tried it—it worked well—he rushed to Washington to secure a patent, only to find that Peter Cooper had anticipated him by fifty years.

This invention marked a turning-point in Mr. Cooper's career. His first advancement in material prosperity dates from about this time. He went into the grocery business, then into the manufacture of glue, and improved processes gave him the market.

Indeed, Mr. Cooper's life well exemplifies the versatility and the progressive, indefatigable spirit of American youth. He never took a new step until it promised to lead him further on the road to success. Stealing precious moments from his hours of toil for inventions; devoting his evenings to study and improvement; economizing in all things with a horror of debt and a love of conscientious work, he carried with him always a recollection of his own early disadvantages, and struggled for wealth in order that his wealth might make success easier for other men. "My only recollection," he often said, "of being at school was at Peekskill, where I attended three or four quarters, part of the time, probably one-half of it, being half-day school."

He was now in a position to interest himself in the great questions of the day. The uprising of the Greeks touched a sympathetic chord in the hearts of Americans, and in speaking of that event he said: "The excitement was very great, and I partook of the common fervor. I met Mr. Clay, who was advocating the cause in Congress, at the Astor House, and heard him speak. He was a very inspiring man. For a person who

had so heartfelt a horror and detestation of war, I became very much excited at the time."

Besides subscribing to the fitting-out of a ship for the relief of the Greeks, Mr. Cooper proceeded to build and equip a torpedo-boat as a further contribution to the enterprise. Unfortunately, before the result of an accident connected with one of its trials could be repaired, the ship sailed, and the torpedo-boat was consigned to the glue factory, which subsequently caught fire, and was destroyed along with its incongruous occupant.

Mr. Cooper's inventiveness partook of the nature of prophetic insight. Steam locomotion on water was to extend to locomotion by steam on land and was to revolutionize society, and although locomotives had been introduced in England, and, I believe, one or two small models had been exhibited here,* his was the first built here that was put to practical use in the United States. It was partially made by his own hand, and was intended for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which had been originally planned for a horse railroad.

The particular fact that Mr. Cooper wished to demonstrate was that a locomotive could pass around curves of a very small radius, which were a special feature of this road. His experiment was eminently satisfactory. The patent for his machinery was dated April 28, 1828. It was signed by the President, John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay, Secretary of State. On account of its diminutive size, the engine was christened the Tom Thumb. An amusing incident took place on one of its trial trips and is worthy of repetition, if for no other reason than as an illustration of a condition of affairs long since past. For it seems that the owners of stage coaches in the vicinity of Baltimore looked with anything but approval on Mr. Cooper's efforts and rightly predicted that their business would suffer if his teapot, as they called it, succeeded. Therefore they resolved to set the matter at rest once and forever, and to demonstrate in a convincing manner the inferiority of steam to horse power. Selecting one of their finest and fleetest steeds, they had him hitched to a light conveyance and waited for the engine at a favorable point of the road

* See W. H. Brown's "History of the First Locomotives in America," published by D. Appleton & Co., 1874.

that skirted the track. Then when the little "teapot," with Mr. Cooper directing it (for he was usually his own engineer), approached, the race began. The engine hissed, the horse puffed, and the crowd yelled, according to a paper of the day. First the horse gained, then the engine; then the horse forged ahead, and again the engine. Finally the horse fell further and further behind, when the Tom Thumb, indulging in a premature whistle of exultation, strained its mechanism in a way to cause a considerable escape of steam.

"Though I tried to prevent the escape with my own hand," explains Mr. Cooper, "the horse began to creep up on me. Finally, I had to stop to repair the accident; and though I nearly caught up again, I did not do so quite. I felt a little chagrined, but I thought in time the engine would be avenged." The accuracy of this prophecy can hardly be disputed. The Tom Thumb, having fulfilled its mission, was replaced by other and more improved machines, and was put away until its resurrection nearly half a century afterwards, when along with its parent it was an honored guest at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the city of Baltimore.

Mr. Cooper was an enterprising man of business, too. "The progress of the world is forged in iron," he said, and to meet the demands for iron which he foresaw railroads were destined to create, he entered into the iron business with fervor, building a rolling-mill in New York, opening mines at Ringwood, and starting into life the large iron industries of Trenton, Phillipsburg, and Durham. With steam to convey the bodies of men, must not electricity convey their thoughts? And steam locomotion an acknowledged fact, he set to work to unite Europe and America with an electric cable. With the coöperation of Mr. Cyrus Field, Mr. Moses Taylor, Mr. Wilson G. Hunt, and Mr. Marshall O. Roberts, the New York, Newfoundland, and London Telegraph Company was founded, of which Mr. Cooper was made president. The first meeting was held at the Clarendon Hotel, and as a result Mr. Field and a Mr. White were sent to Newfoundland to obtain the proper charters. The difficulties that confronted the company from its first inception have been too frequently told to bear repetition now. Suffice it to say that, after frequent failures and the disbursement of large sums of money, a cable starting from Ireland and one from this side were united in mid-ocean.

This transmitted some four or five hundred messages, but the current grew fainter and fainter, and finally stopped completely.

Many people held that it was only a pretence that messages had been sent. It happened, however, that the British government was about to transport a considerable force of men from Canada to China in the war with the Chinese, and that one of the cablegrams that had been received stated that peace had been declared. The sailing of the troop ships was therefore delayed. When the news was confirmed by letter, the doubts of the public were removed on the score of the reliability of the messages. But the cable was broken, and as a commercial venture the enterprise seemed doomed to failure. Two years elapsed and again Mr. Field was sent out to England. He was laughed at; no sensible man would listen to his proposals. He succeeded, however, in "electrifying" an old Quaker gentleman into subscribing four hundred thousand dollars. In fourteen days afterwards the balance of the funds was raised and in due time a new cable laid down. "Then we went to work," says Mr. Cooper, "to find the first one, which we finally succeeded in doing, and, joining the broken ends together, we had two complete cables across the ocean."

"I was often thousands of dollars out of pocket trying to keep this thing going," said Mr. Cooper, "but after the cable became a success the stock rose up to $90 per share." Indeed, Mr. Cooper's wealth was largely augmented through his connection with the Atlantic cable. Thus fortune only frowned on him to make her smile the sweeter.

And now the war draws on. Mr. Cooper had always recommended that the government should endeavor to prevent the crisis that was approaching by the purchase of the slaves, and when South Carolina seceded he hurried to Washington with a delegation of distinguished citizens to learn the views of the President on the situation. It seems Mr. Buchanan kept the deputation waiting, and, when he finally presented himself, sat down without saying a word. After a pause, Mr. A. A. Low, one of the party, informed him of the object of the mission in a very eloquent and able manner, to which the President replied that he had no power in the matter.*

* I am not able to verify the exact phase of the matter to which Mr. Cooper refers, but I believe it related to the garrisoning of certain forts in the South.

Though advocating peace, the moment Sumter was fired upon Mr. Cooper threw himself with characteristic fervor into the war movement. In the mass-meeting a few days after the capture of that fortress he thus addressed his fellow-citizens :

"Shall it [slavery] succeed ? You say not, and I unite with you in your decision. We cannot allow it to succeed. We should spend our lives, our property, and leave the land itself a desert before such an institution should triumph over the free people of this country. I know, my friends, that will be the feeling when the people wake up to the importance of this crisis. Let us, therefore, unite to sustain the government by every means in our power, to arm and equip in the shortest possible time an army of the best men that can be found in the country."

Mr. Cooper's claims to fame are numerous. As first chairman of the Citizens' Association, he worked valiantly in behalf of municipal reform. He served on the Board of Aldermen, as his grandfather had done before him, when the position was one which it was the ambition of honorable men to secure. He was at the head of the Board of Education, and permitted the use of his name as a candidate for the Presidency, to give the most striking proof of his fidelity to the views on the currency which he had so long advocated.

The great work of his life, however, and one that throws the rest into shadow, I have reserved for the last. He builds the Cooper Institute. Other charities have cost more money, others have been conducted on a more lavish scale, but it is doubtful whether any other has so successfully accomplished the noble purpose which its founder had in view, namely, to help youth to help themselves.

Nor did he wait until he was affluent to make a beginning. He purchased the ground for its site lot by lot, and laid by dollar by dollar for its construction.

The way he came to hit upon the idea can best be told in his own words. "While serving as assistant alderman, I became acquainted with a gentleman who, having just returned from France, informed me that while in Paris he visited the Polytechnic School and the schools of arts and trades, founded by the first Napoleon. What interested me most in his description was the manner of teaching and the wonderful appliances for illustrating the various branches of instruction. I was deeply impressed when

he told me that there were hundreds of poor young men who lived on a crust of bread from day to day in order to get the benefit of the course of lectures which they could attend without charge.

"I recalled the time when there was no night-school in New York or any means by which a poor boy could acquire knowledge except in the ordinary schools, which required both time and money. I then formed a resolute determination that, if I could ever get the means, I would build an institution and throw its doors open at night as well as in the day, that the young people of this city might enjoy the advantages of knowledge, which would enable them to improve their condition and fit them for all the varied and useful purposes of life. To give them this was the motive power of all my earnest efforts in carrying on and extending my business. It also inspired my wife as well as myself with the necessity of the greatest economy; for, from the time I formed the plan of setting up such a school of learning to the completion of the Union, she gave it her warmest sympathy and aid, of which I shall never fail to speak with the sincerest gratitude."

The president of Columbia College, the other evening, in his address on Mr. Cooper, made—if I correctly understood him—a very good point when he said that the philanthropist must have appreciated the increasing wearisomeness of labor through its manifold divisions, and that he hoped to counteract this by giving the working classes a knowledge of art, and through it a means of making life beautiful. In his scheme the beautiful and the useful certainly went hand in hand; and if ever—which God forbid!—that building should be razed to the ground, within the corner-stone will be found a parchment containing these words:

"The great object that I desire to accomplish by the erection of this institution is to open the avenues of scientific knowledge to the youth of our city and country, and so unfold the volume of nature that the young may see the beauties of creation, enjoy its blessing, and learn to love the author from whom cometh every good and perfect gift."

Mr. Cooper was so identified with the earlier traditions of New York that I can hardly avoid a brief mention of his recollections.

They are indeed extremely interesting. He had seen with his own eyes the remnants of the *chevaux de frise* erected on Duane

Street to keep off the Indians, as well as the old wooden fortification on the Battery, around which the *élite* of the city resided. "I well remember standing near St. Paul's Church and seeing Washington's funeral pass by," he has often said. "The peculiar way in which his boots were reversed in the stirrups of the charger that followed the hearse made a great impression on me." "Where the Register's Office is now was the old jail. It was in those times literally filled with debtors." "The country can never appreciate," continued Mr. Cooper in this connection, "what it owes to Silas M. Stillman when he got a law passed which abolished imprisonment for debt. Thus we set the world an example which Europe was quick to follow."

Speaking about debtors, Mr. Cooper once told me of a man who, after making a bad failure, settled up his affairs by taking the benefit of the new bankrupt act. Moving into the country, this gentleman found consolation for his past misfortunes in going from house to house in his neighborhood, warning the inhabitants to flee from the wrath to come, asking whether each and every one of his neighbors had made their peace with God, and whether they were prepared to die, taking great pains generally to inquire into the spiritual and moral condition of everybody. On the bankrupt's approaching a holy, but slightly cynical, patriarch of the neighborhood, and inquiring with much concern as to his spiritual condition, he was met with the reply: "I believe that my Heavenly Father will keep strict account of my good deeds and of my bad deeds, and if it should happen that my bad deeds should outnumber my good deeds, I suppose I will have to take the benefit of the act."

While on the subject of crime and its punishment, I remember Mr. Cooper leaving his son's house one day, and, on my following him down the steps to assist him to his carriage, he proposed that I should walk with him into Washington Square, directly opposite. Pointing with his stick to the flower-lined fountain, he spoke of the changed spirit that had come over society, going on to state that very near, if not on, the exact place where that fountain stood he remembered seeing a man hung for theft.

"The recollection has chased me through life like a nightmare," he exclaimed, "and whenever I look up I see him hanging, his head bent over on one side. There he remained for several hours, with the jeering crowd about him. Right over

there," and he retraced his steps to the northeast corner of Fifth Avenue and the park, "once occurred a scene that aroused in the unfeeling people that witnessed it even greater merriment. Two negroes were sentenced to be flogged, and the man in charge of them, thinking to save himself the trouble of inflicting the double punishment, hit upon the ingenious device of making each one flog the other. At first, as may be supposed, the punishment was light; the culprits mutually agreed to spare each other as much as possible. At last, however, one hit a little harder than he intended; the other retaliated, and each, becoming angry, laid on his blows in a manner that made the punishment greater than the severest taskmaster could well have inflicted. Young as I was, I tried to stop the proceedings, but without success.

"Though Washington Square was at that time the Potter's Field of New York, punishments also occasionally took place here, as things were loosely managed in those days."

Mr. Cooper was always genial, talking about New York and its people, its old residences and its customs, now departed, in a way most interesting to hear.

"Do you know," he once asked me, "the origin of the word Manhattan? When the first vessel arrived here, the Indians on the island were invited to a collation prepared for them on shipboard; and, it would seem, they imbibed too freely. Afterwards they alluded to their feast as a Manhattan, meaning, I suppose"—and here the old gentleman laughed heartily—"what is called now an awful spree. I am not certain of the genuineness of the story," he went on, "as this was one of the few scenes too far back in the past for me to have witnessed."

Again: "My grandfather once had a neighbor who made a special study of astrology, and who, on being asked the cause of a sudden depression of spirits, replied that he had just discovered that his three sons had been born under planets signifying for the three the following melancholy fates:

"That one was destined to become a mendicant, the next a thief, and the third a murderer.

"My ancestor pondered deeply over these gloomy prognostics. At last he thus spoke: 'I think I can give you a suggestion that will enable your sons to lead respectable lives in spite of the augury. The one that is to become poor, make a minister of him, for pov-

erty is the heritage of the church. The one that's to become a robber, make a lawyer of him, and his talents may still be turned to profit. While as for the one that's to become a homicide, I fear I will have to advise your making a doctor of him, for that is the only profession where his propensities will never be questioned.' "

His gift in repeating these little stories, I think, was unique, and it lasted down to the close of his life. In one so aged it was invested with a certain indescribable pathos, displaying as it did a supreme simplicity and unselfishness that at the gateway of eternity could think of giving others pleasure.

At a dinner in his honor on the ninety-first anniversary of his birth his spirits were as genial as ever. At the close he thus replied to the congratulations of his friends :

"In looking back, I can see that my career has been divided into three eras :

"During the first thirty years I was engaged in getting a start in life.

"During the second I was occupied in getting means for carrying out the modest plans which I had long formed for the benefit of man.

"During the last thirty years I have devoted myself to the execution of these plans. This work is now done."

To summarize the success of this work it has always seemed to me that it was less the establishment of a great charity than the development of a new system of philanthropy—a philanthropy that raised instead of abased the recipient in his own estimation. This, combined with his qualities as a man, will cause Peter Cooper, with advancing time, instead of diminishing, to increase in distinctness, and will keep his white, silky locks, his flowing beard, and his patriarchal figure always fresh in the memory of coming generations.

LLOYD BRYCE.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

BY THE HON. JEREMIAH M. RUSK, UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE.

AT THE outset of this article I must be permitted to express my reluctance to become a lecturer to any class of my fellow-citizens, or to seem to seek publicity in print. Were it not that the office I hold places me, in a certain sense, before the American public as the official representative of the agricultural interests of the country for the time being, and were it not that some reflection and some argument have convinced me that an opportunity is thus afforded to address, in behalf of the cause with which I have been all my life identified, an audience which I can command in no other way, I should feel compelled to decline an invitation to contribute to these pages. I trust, however, that with the readers as with the editor of this publication the integrity of my purpose and the sincerity of my words will atone for the absence of the polished periods which usually characterize contributions to THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

To every patriotic man the first suggestion from passing events or changing conditions in the affairs of his country is duty. If, therefore, in the midst of the burdens and cares of public life and the exactions of my present office, I undertake the task of a contribution to these pages, I do so only because deeply impressed with my obligation to make use of an opportunity to address a large circle of readers who, it is to be feared, rarely

NOTE.—Several of the Cabinet officers are preparing articles for THE REVIEW. Secretary Windom, at the time of his death, had an article partially finished upon his 2 per cent. bond scheme. Secretary Proctor has one upon the Indian question, which is held back to await the result of certain legislation. The article of Secretary Rusk in this number appears first in the series, although it was his personal preference that some of his associates should precede him.

EDITOR NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

come into close touch with a farmer, or with one who can speak for farmers. As a farmer, then, let it be understood that I speak.

It will be unnecessary for me to call attention here to the widespread movement among the farmers of the country toward more active participation in public affairs, or to emphasize the causes to which this movement owes its present activity. The events of the past year or two have sufficiently emphasized the existence of the movement; and the average American citizen, accustomed to regard the great cities as the centres of political activity, has been astonished to find that a movement and agitation so widespread could grow to such mammoth proportions without attracting his attention. It was the indifference of the dwellers in the valley below the dam to the constantly increasing weight of the body of water which it restrained. Not until the dam is broken and the water surges down the valley, carrying everything before it, do they realize its weight and force. I am of those who believe that the farmer in politics has come to stay. More, I am of those who believe that in spite of possible, nay, inevitable, blunders on the part of men comparatively untried in the conduct of public affairs, the presence and influence of the farmer in politics will ultimately prove beneficial to the country at large. Labor finds in the hard-working farmer ready sympathy; not the thoughtless sentimental sympathy of the mere theorizer, but the practical sympathy of a man who is himself accustomed to labor for many months of the year from dawn to sundown, and who is not likely, therefore, to be carried to extremes in advocating Utopian theories regarding the privileges and rights of labor. On the other hand, capital need fear no illegitimate onslaughts on the rights of property at the hands of men who own their own homes, who till their own acres, and who owe their living to the proper administration of the little capital they possess. In the face, then, of this movement, it behooves every thoughtful American citizen who loves his country to ask himself the question, What is the duty of the hour? With this conviction I shall endeavor to point out what, in my opinion, is the duty of the hour for those of my fellow-citizens who have no direct connection with agriculture.

Not to be tedious, I shall confine myself in the present article to a consideration of but a few of the many points suggested by that remarkable phase of political agitation in which the farmers

of this country have so actively engaged. The first consideration to which I shall call attention here is that suggested by the extraordinary progress made during the past forty years in farming methods, and in what I may call farming opportunities. Those who, like myself, have witnessed the change from the tedious toil of the sickle to the triumphant march of the harvester, and from the old-fashioned to the modern plough; who can compare the haying season in the forties with that in the eighties; who remember the ride of ten, twenty, thirty, or even forty miles to market, where, at prices which made the farmer's heart sad indeed, the contents of the wagon were exchanged for some of the necessaries of life; and who compare these methods with the delivery of goods at the nearest station, to find a final market many hundreds of miles, perhaps, from the place of their production, or even in foreign lands across the seas,—to those, I say, whose recollection and experience can compass all these marvellous changes, all this wonderful progress in the farming industry of this country, it would certainly seem, did not actual experience show the case to be otherwise, that the farmer in the United States should to-day be among our most prosperous citizens, and that his advance in material welfare should have been fully equal to that in any other line of life. The fact that this is not so is of itself sufficient to excite surprise, and, I may even say, to suggest the apprehension to every thinking man that things are not altogether as they should be.

As a farmer who has been brought much into contact with those classes of our citizens who are not farmers, I have been frequently impressed with the prevalence among them of two characteristics in their attitude on the farming question,—one of a positive nature relating to the farmers' discontent and to what the farmers themselves have called agricultural depression; the other, negative in its character, namely, their general ignorance—deplorable ignorance—as to the farmers' real condition, as to the needs of American agriculture, and as to its true relation to all other industries, and to the general prosperity of the country.

First, as to the grounds of the farmers' discontent, I find a disposition among non-agricultural classes to decry the extent of agricultural depression, and to magnify the farmers' disposition to complain. They appeal in support of their position to comparative statistics, showing that, even though there has been a

general lowering in the prices of many of our agricultural products in recent years, notably in cereal and animal products, yet that such reduction has not been considerable, that it is far less than is generally supposed, and that it is greatly exaggerated by the well-known disposition of farmers to bewail their condition to an extent totally disproportioned to their sufferings or necessities. They forget that to the victim of lower prices the importance of the percentage of reduction can be justly estimated only by comparison. Three, 4, or even 5 per cent. will seem trifling to the man who measures his ordinary profits by 15, 20, 25, or even 30 per cent.; but to the man whose profits rarely exceed 3 or 4 per cent. a reduction of 5 per cent. cuts into the quick. Our farmers' profits are very small, and a very slight reduction in the prices of agricultural products, especially if the low prices prevail for two or three years in succession, entails most serious consequences to the producer.

Again, these people fortify their view of matters by frequent allusions to their own early experience,—such of them as were themselves brought up on farms; and they form, as I believe, a very large proportion of successful men in other than agricultural careers. They point out, with an air of convincing argument, that in their boyhood farmers were not nearly so well off as they are to-day; that they did not enjoy the privileges they enjoy now; that markets were less accessible and prices less remunerative; that work was harder, and that, after all, the farmer of to-day should bear in mind that he is, on the whole, far better off than was his father before him. These gentlemen seem to be utterly oblivious of the fact that the very same arguments apply, but with even greater force, to all classes of our citizens; that it is not only useless but absurd to expect a citizen of a nation which boasts of its enormous strides in the path of progress, its enormous increment of wealth, and a growing prosperity which compels the wonder of the world, to be content in a condition which compares unfavorably with that of other classes of his fellow-citizens, on the ground that of this great increment of wealth, of this wonderful growth of prosperity, he has himself had a small share, and is consequently in many respects better off than his father was.

Treat men unequally, and those who are the victims of the inequality will always and justly complain. It is quite possible that here and there a farmer or representative of farmers, smarting under

a sense of injury, may so exaggerate the tribulations of the farming class as to declare that the farmers of to-day are not so well off as the farmers of a previous generation; but a little reflection and a little argument will soon show that what he and his fellows are bewailing is the unequal distribution which has attended the growing prosperity of this country, and that the burden of complaint is not that they do not enjoy things which were beyond the reach of their fathers, or beyond their own reach in their boyhood, but that, in the general distribution of good things, the bulk of all benefits, the greater proportion of increased wealth and prosperity, has accrued to the benefit mainly of all other classes rather than the agricultural. At the same time, the farmer, as compared with fifteen or twenty years ago, is growing in intelligence and enjoys better opportunities for observation; and he is thus led to see more clearly, to realize more painfully, the widening gulf between the prosperity of the rich man of the city and the condition of the residents of the country. More than this, he is realizing more than ever the truth of the statement so often made to him by the glib-tongued orators who have sought his suffrage, namely, that his occupation, agriculture, is truly the basis of our national prosperity.

Among those who read these pages will unquestionably be many who from time to time have expressed this sentiment. How many of those who have uttered it have thoroughly appreciated its meaning? I deem it to be one of the duties of the hour imposed upon every patriotic American citizen, as a lesson of the times, to inform himself as to the truth of a statement which he has certainly never disputed, and which he has doubtless often expressed. Were I to attempt here to prove its truth, this article would transcend the limits to which I am anxious to restrict it. Nor is it necessary that I should here and now undertake the task. The people I address are those who have it in their own power to satisfy themselves on this point, who have access to all the sources of information from which I would cull the facts in support of this trite, but exceedingly important, statement. Assuming this truth to be undeniable, I will simply reiterate that agriculture is indeed not only the source of all our national prosperity, but the very basis and foundation of the entire national superstructure—the foundation of the dam, the weakness of which is certain to result in general disaster.

To you, public men, leaders of the people; to you who are in high office; to you, merchants, manufacturers, bankers and brokers, preachers and teachers; to you, professional men,—all of whose occupations depend upon the success and prosperity of this foundation industry of them all,—I say in the most earnest manner: Learn to appreciate this truth as you never have done before; and throughout your course of life, I implore you, let it never be forgotten.

Do not, then, ask the farmer to be satisfied with his lot on the ground that by comparison with some other period of time he is better off than people then were: it is an unreasonable request. Nor can he unequally share in the increase of our national wealth, in the general advance of national prosperity, without sooner or later, but most certainly, causing a grave disturbance in the equilibrium of national affairs. The surest guarantee to the stability of any government is to be found in the enjoyment of equal privileges by all classes of its citizens and in a just distribution among them of the benefits, as well as of the burdens, of the political structure. Not the wealth of the few, but the well-being of the many, must be our chief concern. The fact that the foundation of the superstructure is not prominently in sight is no reason for neglecting it; indeed, the wise building inspector devotes even more of his time to the investigation of it than he does to that of walls or ceiling. In order to keep the national edifice from becoming top-heavy it behooves us, as we add to it, and improve it, and decorate it, to see that the foundations are strengthened proportionately.

Now, as to the ignorance of American citizens not farmers regarding the needs of agriculture and the conditions of the farmer, I must in this respect ask my readers to take my statement on trust, as that of a man who has had special opportunities for judging and who is conscientiously convinced of the necessity for absolute sincerity on this subject. I ask the reader to take my word for it that, great as is the ignorance of the average farmer in regard to business matters and city life, it is no greater than that of his city brother in relation to things agricultural, nor, indeed, is it as great. This being the case, we find ourselves confronted in the present grave economic emergency with a serious condition of affairs. We have a patient who is sick with a disease our physicians do not understand; as a result the sick man and

his friends, blinded a little, perhaps, by suffering and sympathy in their efforts to arrive at a true diagnosis, yet endeavor to secure relief from suffering by such means as they can command or devise; and who shall blame them if, in the absence of physicians who know something about the case, they are perhaps misled into the adoption of certain nostrums?

The farmers at least know their own condition; and of what use is it to decry the remedies they suggest if ignorance of their true condition and of their needs makes it impossible for you to suggest one? For the last twenty-five years you have been giving the farmer and his needs little or no thought; you have been letting agriculture take care of itself and him. All other classes, all other interests and industries, existing though they do only by reason of the fact that agriculture has called them into existence and supports them, have received your consideration, have been the objects of your special study. Is it surprising, then, that, as the result of your selfishness, the farmer should be indisposed to trust any one but himself? Even when you talk to him fairly, he detects at once that, while you talk well and know much about many things, you know little or nothing of him and his surroundings. If, on the one hand, the farmer lacks business training and experience in affairs, you, on the other hand, who have both, lack to an even greater extent, and in a most pitiful degree, knowledge of agriculture, acquaintance with its followers, and familiarity with their needs and conditions.

Is it not, therefore, the duty of the hour for you who have intelligence, who have, comparatively speaking, wealth, who have for years enjoyed a large share of the country's prosperity, who have never lacked opportunity to make your wants and wishes known in legislative halls, who, in a word, share in a most generous degree in all the benefits of increased national wealth, and in all the blessings attending our grand American institutions,—is it not, I say, the duty of the hour for you, as intelligent, patriotic American citizens, to undertake at once an earnest, thoughtful study of American agriculture, to acquaint yourselves with the needs and conditions of American farmers? Remember that there are in this country five millions of farms, on which ten million workers toil unremittingly; remember that one-half of the population of this

country is dependent directly upon the fruits of their labor; that all occupations would be profitless but for the results of that labor, and that the prosperity of all other industries depends on their well-being. Remember that it was by the efforts of agricultural labor that you redeemed the bonds of this country from the hands of foreign bondholders; and remember, when you boast of our enormous and growing trade, that 75 per cent. of our exports are the product of agriculture.

In the face of facts such as these, it is certainly not an exaggeration to say that it is clearly the duty of the hour for every man who aspires to usefulness in public affairs to familiarize himself with the needs, conditions, and possibilities of American agriculture. It is the want of such familiarity that mars the full measure of usefulness of some of the most capable and eminent men in the American Congress; and, in spite of a general disposition to accord to agriculture whatever legislation may be necessary, we constantly find such legislation marred, mutilated, or obstructed by the action of some of our representatives, not as the result of any intentional antagonism, but of indifference to or ignorance regarding agricultural interests. If I may be permitted to cite an example from personal experience, I can add, in conclusion, that my experience as Secretary of Agriculture has confirmed what I must confess I anticipated, namely, that this department, though representing the greatest interest in our domestic affairs, is the one of our national departments endowed with the smallest appropriations and receiving the least consideration.

J. M. Rusk.

MARRIED WOMEN IN FICTION.

BY M. W. HAZELTINE.

If the novel be the modern epic,—and since Fielding said it was, no one, we believe, has seriously challenged the assertion,—it is of considerable importance to define its scope and limitations. Is it to stop upon the threshold of the house of life, or is it to go on and penetrate the most capacious spaces and deepest recesses of the mansion? Is the novel to find a terminus, or should it seek a starting-point, in marriage? Who believes any longer in the stereotype formula, "And so they were wedded and were happy ever afterwards"? These questions have long been answered in one way in France and Italy, and for the most part otherwise among English-speaking peoples. Why should there be this difference? Is there any foundation for it in the fundamental principles of ethics or of art? We believe it would be easy to show deductively that the English novel will perish of inanition if the young unmarried girl is to remain its central figure; and we do not think it should be difficult to prove by induction that the masters of English fiction—past, present, and prospective—have for some time recognized the fact.

I.

We have no quarrel with those who protest against the canon of "art for art," and who insist upon the exercise of a vigilant censorship, the nice weighing of the moral effect of novels, as of newspapers. We are perfectly willing to accept their point of view. Let us only be sure that we recognize the quintessence of morality, and rightly distinguish what the welfare of the community demands. Is it ignorance or wisdom that we should wish our teachers to impart and to confirm? Shall the eyes be trained to range over the whole field of vision, or shall they be tightly bandaged? or, what is scarcely less delusive, be kept nailed to a thin sector of life's capacious arc? What should we think of the preacher who should turn his face shyly from the gravest problems of existence and discourse solely of the follies and venial

shortcomings of youth? What should we value in an epic, a dramatic, or a lyric poet who should concentrate his energies on a theme so shallow and so scant?

We should say to them: You sin against light; you are committing treason against knowledge; you are rejecting the primal data of ethics, as they are expounded in philosophies and vitalized in great religions. By turning the back on truly fecund and invigorative subjects you have abased the pulpit, dwarfed the stage, unstrung the lyre. For what is the fundamental purport alike of the Buddhist precepts, the Platonic dialectic, and the Christian gospels? That triumph implies struggle; self conquest, trial; that without exposure and experience there can be no steadfast purity; that in the absence of temptation real virtue is unthinkable. Where innocence is nine parts ignorance, can it be denied that but a tithe of it can challenge a clear-eyed admiration? *On n'est pas bon quand on est bête.* If it be true that only in the alembic of full knowledge and poignant suffering can be distilled the beauty and nobility of character, why should we permit a novelist to put us off with meaner chemistry? If it is through example and through sympathy that our judgments must be enlightened and our passions purged,—and this, according to Aristotle, was the aim of tragedy,—why shall not the moralist exact that the novel, like the sermon or the epic, shall discard trivialities and gird itself to the discharge of the more elevated function?

Once concede, however, that the novel from the didactic viewpoint should deal with the most spacious and most fruitful tract of life, with the deepest problems of man's destiny, and it becomes patent that unmarried girls are disqualified for heroines, and that the married woman only can perform the central rôle. This is so plain that to the lips of many a woman in the flower of her beauty, experience, and intellect, as she marks a maiden of eighteen trip lightly through the foreground of the conventional story, must rise the wistful words of Guenevere:

> "Oh, closed about with narrowing nunnery walls,
> What canst thou know of the world, and all its lights
> And shadows, all the wealth and all the woe?"

II.

So far as the artist is concerned, he has never needed any counsel from the social philosopher touching his duty in the pre-

mises. He has always known where his true field lay, though he has not always been allowed by current preconception to explore it. It is quite needless to point out that the French novelist has never encountered conventional restrictions, but has been left at liberty to study human nature in all its aspects. To pause to demonstrate this would be, indeed, to preach to the converted. It may be well, however, to remark, because it is sometimes overlooked, that, if the married woman dominates French fiction, this is from a deliberate conviction that the realm belongs to her, and not from any incapacity on the author's part to delineate the winning, but scarcely enthralling, simplicity of maidenhood. George Sand, in the third and tranquil stage of her creative activity, could produce a series of inimitable pastorals and idyls ; and Balzac could pass from the study of a face as haunting and elusive as that of "La Femme de Trente Ans," or of personalities so complex as those of Mme. de Langeais, Mme. de Sérizy, and Diane de Maufrigneuse to the faithful portrayal of the untroubled, artless features of "Eugénie Grandet."

Octave Feuillet also showed a power of depicting with nice appreciation the young unmarried girl, and it was simply for artistic reasons that he touched the theme but seldom, and then assigned to it a smaller canvas than that which he allotted to his woman of the world. It was by those stories that began instead of ending with a wedding, by, for instance, "La Petite Comtesse" and "Camors," that Feuillet desired to be remembered. Tolstoï, also, can draw virgin innocence with extraordinary softness and tenderness of touch ; yet it is rather on a face that speaks of struggle and of anguish that his camera is focussed in "Anna Karénina," by far the greatest of his works. It is as if the Russian had proclaimed in that novel what in old age he was to disavow, but which no lapse of years or loss of sight could interdict Milton from asserting in the greatest of epics, that it was not possible for Adam to love Eve truly until she had eaten of the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil, and that, once awakened to that passion, he could bear with resignation even banishment from Eden.

The English novel has had a curious history. It had a double origin in the Tartuffism of Richardson and the truth-telling of Fielding ; or, as some might prefer to say, the idealism of "Pamela" and the realism of "Tom Jones." Owing to a con-

flux of reasons which it might take long to define, but which for the most part have their roots in the Anglo-Saxon character, Richardson conquered, and until quite recently it seemed that his conquest was unshakable. The two streams of artistic purpose soon ceased to run separate; the one speedily submerged and, to all appearances, annihilated the other. That did not happen to Fielding's conception of the novel which is fabled to have befallen Arethusa, who could send her own shaft of fresh lymph unmingled and inviolate through the waves of the salt sea. Extinction, not effacement, seemed the doom of the English realist. "No man," cried Thackeray, with a quick gesture of impatience and the ring of anger in his voice, "—no Englishman since Fielding has dared to depict life as it is."

It was natural that Thackeray should chafe and smart under the gyves, for he was far too true an artist to do what smaller men have often had recourse to—seek to evade too stifling and dwarfing conditions by bestowing upon maidenhood ideas and emotions which, as a rule, it cannot know. On the contrary, having to draw a carefully brought-up young girl, he made her what every man who has had a daughter, or a sister, knows her in truth to be; he drew Amelia Sedley. Clever women scoff at poor Amelia, and tax Thackeray with a covert insult in making a child the heroine of a resplendent novel. Their indignation, however, is directed at the wrong object. Thackeray took the English novel as the public and the publishers had cramped it, and made the best of it. He could not be expected in his poverty, with a lot of weaker creatures dependent on him, to attempt a literary revolution. But he never pretended that Amelia was a type of womanhood. He averred simply that she was a type of guileless, unruffled virginity; and in saying that he told the truth.

Other English novelists have shown a far less sensitive and unswerving literary conscience. We refer not merely to the feebler hands, but to some of the greatest masters. They have cheated the public, which they dared not confront. They have striven to slip out of the fetters, which they dared not boldly rend asunder. Scott himself, aye, and George Eliot, have been culprits in this kind. They have over and over again produced a full-grown woman on their canvas, but, to lull the reader's prejudice, they have labelled her "young girl." False art, involving fatal weak-

ness, in spite of its strange seductiveness! The most enthralling figures in Scott's gallery are at best adorable monstrosities; they could not exist in nature. Look, for instance, at the three women who approach most closely the modern conception of a lady, and who, at the same time, are endowed with peculiar vigor and puissance. We refer, of course, to Flora Mac Ivor, Diana Vernon, and that lovely daughter of sorrow in "Redgauntlet." Who but the most credulous of readers believes that these women were really of the age which their creator has chosen to ascribe to them? He says they were twenty. We deny it. We say they were thirty at the least. We demand the production of the parish register, or, failing that most cogent testimony, a sight of the family Bible. We must have evidence more relevant and more conclusive than a dictum which defies verisimilitude.

What is true of those antedated heroines is also true of Romola. She is far too deeply versed in life's philosophy for the years her author has assigned to her. It is plain that she had really lived as long and had seen as much as Dante's Beatrice or Petrarch's Laura, both of whom, it may behoove us to remember, were married. It is noteworthy, however, that George Eliot was alive to the mendacity, the viciousness of her art in this particular. She strove to guard against a repetition of the fault. It is remarkable in "Middlemarch" how little she suffers us to see of the depths of Dorothea's nature till she is mismated with Casaubon. In "Daniel Deronda" the novelist makes even a more deliberate and bolder advance, for Gwendolen is but an outline up to the hour when marriage brings her face to face with the grim, and in her case hideous, realities of life. Had she lived to write another novel, we doubt not that the genius of George Eliot would have burst the bonds with which a century of usage, prescription, and prejudice had tied and choked the English novelist. But the artistic revolution which she foresaw and powerfully furthered is on the eve of full accomplishment. It is in the air and on the page. The English novel is about to enter upon its inheritance. As we write, the latest story of George Meredith, "One of Our Conquerors," is lighting up the sheets of *The Fortnightly*. It foreshadows the advent of an era. In this novel it is not the maiden, fluttering inquisitive, expectant, at life's half-open door, but the woman who has lived and suffered, that starts forth beneath the strongest strokes of the vivifying

brush. It is not the daughter, but the mother, *filiâ pulchrâ mater pulchrior*, that rivets eyes and chains the heart.

III.

We suppose that in England the new novels which shall deal more frankly and fruitfully with life, will continue to be mainly penned by men. There will not for many generations be any lack in that country of men not only well born and well nurtured, but also well educated, cultured in a large and elevated sense, and possessed often of a real, as well as surface, refinement. Incessantly recruited will be the sad corps of the ineligible, clerks in the higher government offices, briefless barristers, that know society, yet are perfectly alive to the conditions on which society accepts them. They understand the habits and conventions; they are masters of the shorthand, the signals, the shibboleths of what they who know it call distinctively the "world." They are quiveringly sensitive to the half-tints and semi-tones that make up the exquisite product of a high civilization whom men that most economize the word are willing to pronounce a lady, and who is marked off by a thousand complex and subtile variations from the common type of humbler, hardier, less haunting, femininity. Of such men there will be so many that a few can always be relied upon to evince unusual talent; and these, it seems clear, will unite most of the qualifications needed for the production of a veracious, interpretative, artistic novel. They will, in other words, be fitted in all particulars, save one, to play the acolyte when the married woman finally shall take full possession of prose fiction. There is but a single point of view—the moral —from which they may fall short.

We do not think a Saxon hand would ever dabble in the foul corruption which seems to be the native element of certain Parisians, who try to veil their degradation under *fin-de-siècle* euphuisms. No Englishman will ever herd with the bestial drove that wallows in sloughs and pools that even Zola loathed while he inspected them. Such creatures reach only their own species. Their venom cannot taint the tissues of beings of a higher type. But there may be found in London society men who would do the fell work which such inimitable masters of seductive speech as Gautier and Maupassant have done in their most evil hours. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the worst novel written in English in this

century was published by Mr. W. H. Mallock, an unquestionable adept in the graces and suggestiveness of style. The crime which such men commit is the suppression of the iron law embedded in the human heart long before it took vindictive shape in the codes of society—the law that imposes on wrong-doing woe and punishment, even in this life. Such men not only paint temptation, which is lawful and may be helpful, but they show it succumbed to with defiance and impunity. They portray the evil-doer, but omit to delineate the scourge. They make vice doubly infectious, not only by dissembling its deformity, but by hiding its doom. That is why their dainty, deadly compositions,

> "Like to a new disease, unknown to men,
> Creep, no precaution used, among the crowd."

IV.

It is a deeply interesting and admirable fact that the perpetration of such disintegrating and intolerable offences seems to be impossible for women. Even by the glowing novels of George Sand no man and no woman was ever corrupted. If we had time to scrutinize this remarkable phenomenon from physiological and psychological view-points, we could probably trace it to the instinct of modesty and purity which nature, contemplating the welfare of the species only, has ineradicably planted in the conservative sex. However that may be, the fact remains, and it offers a good augury for the cleanness, wholesomeness, and sanity of American prose fiction when it shall undertake that larger and profounder treatment of life which is undoubtedly impending. For we take for granted that in this country, as in England, the novel, the typical prose epic, will deal with society in a strictly conventional meaning of the term. There alone are to be found romantic, poetic, enchanting human beings. There alone is there sufficient leisure for the evolution of exquisite tastes, of evanescent and aërial, yet captivating, impulses, of feelings not the less profound and overmastering because they have been clarified and thrice distilled. No wonder that one conscious of penetrating insight and of the right artist's touch should be wooed to the study of elusive themes like these.

We would not, indeed, question for a moment that the primal passions, the joys and woes inseparable from the troubled lot of

man, challenge recognition and portrayal in every social stratum, up and down the whole gamut of existence, wherever man must work and woman weep. We are aware that goodness knows no longitude, and that among the very poor there is no lack of noble lives to honor and to chronicle. Men were told in India long centuries before the Sermon on the Mount that the needy and the struggling shall inherit the kingdom. To which the painter and the poet have in all ages answered, "Aye, the poor are the salt of the earth, yet in salt there is but little delicacy and variety of flavor." In what at every epoch shall pass for society the artist will inevitably seek and find metal more attractive.

But who, then, in America is to write the novel of society? The men who in this country write for a subsistence—and they seem to be the only men who can write well—have no time, even if they wished, to study it. As for the men who see most of it, we have not the slightest desire to undervalue them. They are able, apparently, to accomplish many things, from hunting elephants to administering railways. But, somehow, they do not write novels. It may be that they scarcely appreciate their opportunities. Whatever may be the cause of this unexpected phenomenon, the inference is that, if the women of American society are to be worthily portrayed at all, they will have to do it themselves. There is only advantage to be looked for on the part of art and of morality if they shall essay the task. We shall have novels more incisive and heart-searching than they have in England, and at the same time more healthful and more beautiful, when to the self-watchfulness of feminine training and a woman's instinctive horror of grossness and deformity shall be joined a talent adequate to the technically-skilful and vigorous fulfilment of the aim. Then we shall have a realism, indeed—not otherwise could one elicit the philosophy latent in example. But it will be the realism of the changeful face of earth, bathed with a wistful, soft, and tearful atmosphere, over which the stars are shining.

V.

It is satisfactory to know that the forecast of the uses to which feminine insight and feminine felicity of touch may put the novel, considered as a transcript and interpreter of American society, is no longer a mere dream. The fulfilment of the proph-

ecy has already begun. We have not solely, but particularly, in mind a series of novels—"A Diplomat's Diary," "A Successful Man," and "Mlle. Reséda"—which have recently appeared, and which from the outset have commanded and deserved unusual attention. The writer—Julien Gordon—is now generally understood to be a woman, and, indeed, from the outset the internal evidence of the author's sex was pervasive and conclusive. A glance at some of these naïve, unconscious indications will lead us naturally to consider the artistic and ethical quality of these striking compositions. We say, then, that the texture, color, and, above all, spirit of these stories bear witness not only to the play of a woman's hand, but to touches of a femininity exceptionally refined and delicate. For these, among many reasons: In the first and lowest place, the references to women's clothes are such as never are encountered in a masculine novel. They are not frequent, and they are casual, but they are pointed. We are not competent to affirm their exactitude, but we can testify to their verisimilitude. Whatever be, for instance, the accuracy of an allusion to a certain type of corset, we are at least qualified to say that of its profound gravity a man would be incapable. That is why men are so apt to fail when they try to depict a lady as distinguished from the elemental woman. They cannot bring themselves to recognize the superlative, the solemn, importance of clothes. They cannot be made to see that what they mistake for a dressing-room a lady knows to be an arsenal, and that to her unerring eye her garb is as supreme and vital as was his armor to the warrior or canvas to a sailing ship.

Then there are certain confidential chats between married women—there is one in the "Successful Man," and another in "Mlle. Reséda." Now, had Thackeray transcribed these, though he would have done it with an affectation of demureness, we should have seen incessantly the face of that sly satyr peeping through the leaves. Even George Meredith, who really is on his knees to women, and always sets them above men, could not, we think, have elided from these earnest feminine discourses a note of chastened irony. But in Julien Gordon's books the women always take themselves seriously. They are perfectly justified in doing so. They are, in fact, the only members of the human race that nature troubles herself to take seriously, or concerns herself much about.

There is another interesting and significant accent—it does not recur often enough to be termed a feature—of these stories. Once in a great while one comes on a bit of description which, if detached from the context, divorced from the controlling purpose and final outcome of the tale, and held up to prejudiced or perverting inspection, might bear the epithet of fervid. Upon us, however, such inadvertent openness of speech makes an impression analogous to that produced by the embarrassing questions of a guileless child. For who does not know with what wariness the slightest exposure of ardor in his style would be repressed by an accomplished man of the world, like Maupassant or like Mallock, who should deliberately address himself to the production of a harmful book. Experience would have taught him precisely what precautions hypocrisy prescribes. He would keep his eye unswervingly on the malign end in view, and he would never let his diction utter the faintest note of warning. While George Sand was preaching by example, as well as precept, doctrines entirely subversive of the social structure, her style was as cool and colorless as the current of a mountain brook. When one considers these things, and then notices in Julien Gordon the occasional heedlessness of a mind that thinks no evil, one can scarcely help exclaiming with peculiar energy, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense!*"

The animating and abiding influence of these stories is what we said above it would be should the coming novels be written by ladies, in the definite and narrow meaning of the word. We envy no man and no woman who does not feel that the influence of the books which we have named proceeds from a sound heart and makes for goodness. Of the three tales thus far published by Julien Gordon, two are dramas and one is a tragedy, and in each of them the author instinctively conforms to Aristotle's dictum. By the spectacle of suffering inexorably dogging the heels of divagation the passions are purged and not inflamed, and the conscience is invigorated instead of being narcotized. The first tale, "A Diplomat's Diary," records the triumph of a sense of duty almost too acutely vibratory over a strong and honest love. There really was no reason which most men would consider adequate why the heroine, a young widow, should not have married the man whom she loved; indeed, had she consulted Goethe, he would have

ordered her to do so. But who shall say that this earth would not be better than it is if there were more examples of unwavering fidelity to a word once plighted, and of infinite compassion for the heart-break which would follow a fiancée's perfidy!

In the second story, "A Successful Man," retribution seems at first sight to be administered by a hand less unerring and implacable. The plaything of an hour's caprice of a married woman seems in due time to be felled as ruthlessly as an ox in the shambles. On the other hand, the curtain is rung down before she who has wrought the mischief learns the dread end of a flirtation begun to give some purpose and direction to the listless drifting of a heart unoccupied. Upon second thought, however, one perceives that one has no right to infer from the author's abrupt reticence the absence of a self-reproachful agony and of a life-long contrition on the part of the heroine. As regards, indeed, this aspect of the treatment, this story perhaps should be regarded as an unconscious counterpart of De Musset's tragic idyl, "*On ne badine pas avec l'amour.*" In the one case as in the other the materials of sorrow and repentance have been heaped before the eye of the onlooker; the pyre, so to speak, is ready; and it is superfluous to paint the inevitable suffering. It will be remembered, also, that he who depicted the sacrifice of Iphigenia had exhausted his capacity of delineating grief on the faces of the bystanders, and, when he came to Agamemnon, drew him with countenance averted.

In "Mlle. Reséda" the indulgence of a vagrant impulse bears with it its own ample and relentless chastisement. A man would have been sorely tempted to give a less wholesome and exemplary turn to this pathetic story. We could point to no more cogent proof of the fundamental uprightness distinctive of this author than the humiliation and the misery which the heroine of this tale undergoes in requital of a single failure to curb an excited fancy. Truly, in the pages of Julien Gordon the way of the transgressor even in thought is hard. Of transgression in act there is no vestige.

One dwells upon the ethical tendency of these stories, both because it exemplifies the effect to be expected from a lady's treatment of the novel, and because the intellectual gifts of this particular author would make her a powerful auxiliary in whatever camp she entered. There are few weapons in the literary armory

of which she is not mistress. It is a mind richly furnished, as well as instinct with rare vigor, which we encounter in Julien Gordon's pages. Yet there is not a trace of pedantry, affectation, or display of knowledge. We rather guess than see the scope and the solidity of the author's equipment. Only now and then, in a phrase, a suggestion, a reminiscence, do we get glimpses of the garnered and winnowed residuum of long study and close thought.

In a word, Julien Gordon writes like a lady, and not like a woman of learning. But while the volume and variety of her knowledge are veiled from us, we are continually impressed with her breadth of view and her nicety of judgment, and we are sometimes startled by the depth of her intuitions. With these substantial aptitudes for the grave function of the novelist go extraordinary lightness of touch and fluidity of style. Not Goldsmith himself ever produced more completely the effect of unpremeditation—of writing, in other words, as children talk and the birds sing. We should add that this author shows a truly delightful instinct for the historical significance, the color and the melody of words. No expert would venture to recast one of her sentences lest a subtile aroma should escape. On the whole, if it would be hasty to ascribe to her first compositions the steady radiance of genius, we must concede that the flashes of it are frequent and unmistakable.

It is, however, only in the style that one perceives a delightful absence of premeditation. It is only the form, the garb, of the idea which is donned with a swift, careless, wild, unconscious grace. Such easy writing masks hard thinking. If we look beneath the dainty surface at the inner substance of these stories, we discern tokens of patient, sustained, strenuous thought. What may be termed the composition of this writer's pictures is plainly the outcome of anxious study and fruitful concentration. Their plan for the most part is admirable. What one expects to find in their construction is traces of the novice, of the untrained 'prentice-hand. What, in fact, we encounter is the eye and the touch of the master workman.

If the stories hitherto brought out by Julien Gordon may be accepted as pledges of even riper and more helpful work to come, we have reason to congratulate ourselves that in this country, at all events, the married woman is to be the author as well as the subject of prose fiction.

MAYO WILLIAMSON HAZELTINE.

THE WEST AND THE RAILROADS.

BY SIDNEY DILLON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY.

THE growth of the United States west of the Alleghanies during the past fifty years is due not so much to free institutions, or climate, or the fertility of the soil, as to railways. If the institutions and climate and soil had not been favorable to the development of commonwealths, railways would not have been constructed; but if railways had not been invented, the freedom and natural advantages of our Western States would have beckoned to human immigration and industry in vain. Civilization would have crept slowly on, in a toilsome march over the immense spaces that lie between the Appalachian ranges and the Pacific Ocean; and what we now style the Great West would be, except in the valley of the Mississippi, an unknown and unproductive wilderness.

Like many other great truths, this is so well known to the elder portions of our commonwealth that they have forgotten it; and the younger portions do not comprehend or appreciate it. Men are so constituted that they use existing advantages as if they had always existed and were matters of course. The world went without friction matches during uncounted thousands of years, but people light fires to-day without a thought as to the marvellous chemistry of the little instrument that is of such inestimable value and yet remained so long unknown. The youngster of to-day steps into a luxurious coach at New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago, eats, sleeps, surveys romantic scenery from the window, during a few days, and alights in Portland or San Francisco without any just appreciation of the fact that a few decades since it would have required weeks of toilsome travel to go over the same ground, during which he would have run the risks of starvation, of being lost

in the wilderness, plundered by robbers, or killed by savages. But increased facilities of travel are among the smaller benefits conferred by the railway. The most beneficent function of the railway is that of a carrier of freight. What would it cost for a man to carry a ton of wheat one mile? What would it cost for a horse to do the same? The railway does it at a cost of less than a cent. This brings Dakota and Minnesota into direct relation with hungry and opulent Liverpool, and makes subsistence easier and cheaper throughout the civilized world. The world should therefore thank the railway for the opportunity to buy wheat; but none the less should the West thank the railway for the opportunity to sell wheat.

No fact among all the great politico-economical facts that have illustrated the world's history since history began to be written is so full of human interest or deals with such masses of mankind as the growth of the interior United States since the railway opened to the seaboard these immense solitudes. The irruption of the northern tribes upon the Roman Empire bears no proportion to it, and was destructive in its results; and we may say the same as to the Napoleonic wars. These are among the most celebrated events of commonwealths on our planet beginning and ending in bloodshed and enormous waste of capital. But within fifty years over thirty millions of people have been transplanted to or produced upon vast regions of hitherto uninhabited and comparatively unknown territory, where they are now living in comfort and affluence and enjoying a degree of civilization second to none in the world, and greatly superior to any that is known in Europe outside of the capitals. And this could not have happened had it not been for the railway.

Through the same agency we have also reclaimed from nature immense tracts of land, that were worthless except as to their possibilities, which once seemed too vague and remote to be considered, and are to-day valuable. To mention one instance: there can now be seen in New York city samples of potatoes weighing over six pounds each, of heads of wheat representing a yield of sixty bushels to the acre, and of ears of Indian corn as large and full as any ever grown on the best lands of Virginia, that were produced on land near Boisé City, Idaho, where formerly nothing grew except sage-brush, and which was a part of an alkali desert. Railways have virtually changed the character of the soil, not in any

miraculous manner, but by encouraging legitimate methods of civilization and irrigation; and they have also changed the climate. The farmer plants trees, and these trees check the bitter north winds, and also cause an increased rainfall; he turns up the ground which formerly offered to the sky nothing but one uniform, smooth, and iron-hard surface, and these vast extents of ploughed land not only create a rainfall by their evaporation, but invite rains by their contrasts of temperature. Whether this is a correct explanation of a fact is little to the purpose: the fact remains. Since the railway opened the great central and western plateaus to cultivation, the climate has become milder, the cold less destructive, and the rainfall greater. Large areas that were considered uninhabitable are now inhabited by a rapidly increasing population, and opulent cities, where capital becomes concentrated and productive, are met with nearly as numerously as in the East.

But although these benefits arising from railway construction are so obvious, no one asserts that railways have been laid from philanthropic motives; and therefore, since among the promoters, contractors, and capitalists who have done the work we find men who have acquired large fortunes, western railroad construction and management in general have been bitterly and frequently attacked by the press, and have been and now are the subject of much hostile legislation. Grave charges are made; as, for instance, that the roads have in numerous instances been fraudulently over-capitalized and excessively loaded with bonded debt; that they monopolize traffic; that they charge unjust rates of freight in order to pay dividends on fictitious values of stock; that they favor one class of shippers at the expense of another class; that they permit the accumulation of unreasonably large fortunes, and, to use a favorite phrase of demagogic orators, constantly "tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer."

Legislation has been called in to give force to the theories involved in these declamations, particularly in the States west of the Mississippi, which happen to be the communities that owe their birth, existence, and prosperity to these very railways. Statutory enactments interfere with the business of the railway, even to the minutest details, and always to its detriment. This sort of legislation proceeds on the theory that the railroad is a public enemy; that it has its origin in the selfish desire of a company of men to make money out of the public; that it will destroy the public un-

less it is kept within bounds; and that it is impossible to enact too many laws tending to restrain the monster. The advocates of these statutes may not state their theory in these exact words; but these words certainly embody their theory, if they have any theory at all beyond such prejudices as are born of the marriage between ignorance and demagogism.

Many of the grievances that are urged against railways are too puerile to be seriously noticed, but the reader will pardon a few words as to "over-capitalization." Capital is in itself an unknown quantity, and its value depends wholly upon its productive uses, which are distinguished from its productive powers in this—that the powers may or may not be exercised, while the uses yield certain profitable results. The gold that is now locked up by nature in the western mountains is not yet capital, because, although we know it is there, we do not know how much it will cost to reduce it to possession. The gold coin that lies in the vaults of our banks is capital, but a large part of it is held as reserve, and, except as it tends to sustain public confidence, it has no direct productive uses whatever, and, except as to confidence-sustaining quality, has no more earning value than a pile of gravel.

Now, a railway is simply a manifestation of capital put to work; of human industry in its highest development applied to earning wages: it is a thousand men condensed into one, and this one doing the work of a thousand; since if a thousand men stand in a straight line five feet apart, they will transfer a ton of wheat in sacks from one end of the line to the other in just the time that a freight car will carry the same ton one mile. Now, it is impossible to estimate in advance the productive power of this useful and untiring servant. Sometimes a railway is capitalized too largely, and then it pays smaller dividends; sometimes not largely enough, and then the dividends are much in excess of the usual interest of money. In the former case stockholders are willing to reduce the face of their shares, or wait until increase of population increases revenue; in the latter they accept an enlarged issue. But, as a matter of reason and principle, the question of capitalization concerns the stockholders, and the stockholders only. A citizen, simply as a citizen, commits an impertinence when he questions the right of any corporation to capitalize its properties at any sum whatever.

Unquestionably, the citizen, if his farm is in the direction of a

projected railway, is liable to be compelled to make a sale to the company of a strip of his land; but a competent jury assesses the value, and such valuators rarely favor the company. The citizen's farm is then worth more than it was, and he can send his produce to market at a cheaper rate. But all this does not make it his business to question the right of the company to bond its road at any given sum per mile, or to issue stock thereafter to any given amount. Such transactions are wholly matters of private contract; and under the common law, and the laws of nature that govern all possible events, they regulate themselves.

All civilized communities in which self-government is recognized are perpetually trying to regulate matters of private contract by statute, and are perpetually failing to do so. It is a proverb in Great Britain and the United States that the chief wisdom of legislatures is shown in repealing the statutes enacted by previous legislatures. England is great to-day, not by virtue of what Parliament has enacted, but by virtue of the intelligence and industry of her people working under natural conditions restored to usefulness by virtue of the repeal of acts of Parliament. Our citizen whose fields have been crossed by the railroad, and whose right of way over the turnpike is occasionally interrupted by the locomotive, may fancy that it is for the interest of himself and his neighbors to induce the legislature to regulate the prices of fares and freights on the railway, but he ignores the great laws that overrule all such enactments.

Such enactments are useless as to the rights and liabilities of railway corporations, because the common law has long since established these as pertaining to common carriers, and the courts are open to redress all real grievances of the citizen. Then as to prices, these will always be taken care of by the great law of competition, which obtains wherever any human service is to be performed for a pecuniary consideration. That any railway, anywhere in a republic, should be a monopoly is not a supposable case. If between two points, A and B, a railway is constructed, and its charges for fares and freight are burdensome to the public and unduly profitable to itself, it will not be a long time before another railway will be laid between these points, and then competition may be safely trusted to reduce prices. We may state it as an axiom that no common carrier can ever maintain burdensome and oppressive rates of service permanently or

for a long period. Rates may seem burdensome, but may not be oppressive. A road may be enormously expensive to build; its grades may demand excessive expenditure of fuel and be wearing to the rolling stock: such a road obviously cannot carry freight and passengers as cheaply as some other road that is laid over a plain. But if these difficulties exist between A and B, their citizens must be content to compensate the people who open the communications which are needed, and who were bold enough to risk a great capital in doing so: they should not seek to cripple their operations by procuring hostile legislative enactments.

Calculations based upon the law of competition have this advantage over those based upon the enactment of statutes: that the foundations on which they rest are immutable, and not only so in their own right, but they cannot be changed by any process whatever. Statutes can be overridden and evaded while they exist on the books, and be repealed by the same authority that created them; courts can construe them so rigorously that their vitality shall be squeezed out of them; but no power can prevent one man or set of men from offering to perform a lawful service at lower rates than another. The operation of this great law is visible everywhere, and needs no interpreter. People who have money to lend compete with each other in lending on the best class of securities at much less than lawful interest in all the great money markets. On such securities borrowers do not need the protection of usury statutes; and on the great mass of insecurities that swarm in the same markets the competition of borrowers induces the offering of much more than legal interest, and the usury statutes are of no benefit. The laws of human action based on the mental constitution and reason of men forever bid defiance to statutes.

As one result of competition, we may instance the freight charged upon wheat from Chicago to New York by all-rail in 1868 and in 1890. In 1868 it was $42\frac{6}{10}$ cents per bushel; in 1890 $14\frac{81}{100}$ cents. This illustrates the beneficent effect of competition between rival lines both to producers and consumers; but the benefit does not stop here. This competition brought down the charges by all-water (lake and canal) from $22\frac{79}{100}$ cents in 1868 to $5\frac{85}{100}$ cents in 1890. It will not answer to argue that the water rates have reduced the rail rates. Shippers prefer rail transportation; grain arrives in better condition, in shorter time, with smaller insurance rates; bills of lading are much more negotiable,

and interest charges are lessened. The greater controls the less; the superior makes the standard for the inferior; and when in twenty-two years the railway reduces its freight charges 66 per cent., the propeller and canal-boat are compelled to reduce their charges 75 per cent. For this reduction the shippers by water may thank the railroads, even if they do not use them.

Similar reductions have taken place in rates from remote western points to Chicago and St. Louis, although in this case there was no rivalry with water except as to the narrow grain production tending eastward by way of Lake Superior. The rivers emptying into the Missouri and Mississippi from the west may be, as a whole, classed as unnavigable; hence the grain production of the Dakotas, Nebraska, and other Western States must be moved by the railroads. And this necessity has been the parent of so many railroads that competition has brought rates down to a point where profit to the carrier has almost disappeared. Where rival companies are underbidding each other for business, no acts of a legislature are necessary to prevent them from putting up rates. Reason and facts both clearly lead to this conclusion.

There is a great deal of declamation by a part of the press as to railway combination and monopoly and their injurious results to the people; but we venture to state that "combinations" that do not combine, and "monopolies" whose constant tendency during a long series of years has been to bring producers and consumers into closer relations with each other and lessen the costs of living to both, deserve praise and support rather than censure and adverse legislation. And if there does, indeed, exist between the railroad-owners and the public a strife between capital and labor, as we are informed by so many people who profess to be able to cure the disease of poverty if we will only give them all the property of the nation to start with, it certainly looks as if capital was getting the worse of the battle.

It is not a long time since the bondholders and shareholders of American railways were, as a rule, receiving as interest or dividends from 7 to 8 per cent. per annum. These usufructs have almost universally dwindled to 5 and 4 per cent. Coincident with this fact there is a diminution of the market value of shares; all of which is to the disadvantage of capital. Wages have not shrunk in anything like this ratio; and since the necessaries of life are all cheaper than they were when

bondholders were drawing 7 per cent. interest, we may safely say that the purchasing power of wages in the generality of occupations that are compensated in wages is as great as ever. And if a laborer wishes to capitalize, he can buy as much railroad stock now with the earnings of a hundred days as he ever could. In fact, if it were pertinent to the subject, we think we could show that he could buy more. But we only care to establish the proposition that railways are not oppressive engines of capital, and are not the enemies of labor; but that they are, in sober truth, the best friends to-day of the American people, and that they are in a large degree the means and the evidence of the unexampled prosperity of the United States.

Some of your readers may think that we have given too much space to the discussion of legislative enactments touching railways, and especially the railways of the Western States; but we feel that the importance of the subject might well employ longer time and better argument than we are able to furnish. One of the greatest dangers to the community in a republic is this: that it is in the power of reckless, or misguided, or designing men to procure the passage of statutes that are ostensibly for the public interest, and that may lead to enormous injuries. Let us imagine for a moment that all the railways in the United States were at once annihilated. Such a catastrophe is not, in itself, inconceivable; the imagination *can* grasp it; but no imagination can picture the infinite sufferings that would at once result to every man, woman, and child in the entire country. Now, every step taken to impede or cripple the business and progress of our railways is a step towards just such a catastrophe, and therefore of a destructive tendency.

We do not arrogate superior wisdom or intelligence to ourselves when we suggest to the people of the United States, and especially of that portion of the country where railways have been the subject of what we consider to be excessive legislation, that the rational mode of treating any form of human industry that has for its object the performance of desired and lawful services is to let it alone, and that the railway is no exception to this principle. The best government is that which governs least, not because the best government is that which overlooks trespasses, but because in a community where there were no trespassers a government of correction or restraint would not be needed.

Given a company of men pursuing a lawful and useful occupation,—why interfere with them? Why empower a body of other men, fortuitously assembled, not possessing superior knowledge, and accessible often to unworthy influences, to dictate to these citizens how they shall manage their private affairs? Wherever such management conflicts with public policy or private rights, there are district attorneys and competent lawyers and upright courts to take care that the commonwealth or the citizen shall receive no detriment. Even as to such matters of public interest as the crossing of highways and the management of trains through large cities, if we were obliged to choose between excessive and meddlesome legislation and no legislation at all, the latter would be preferable. If a company neglects to slow up its trains at a turnpike crossing or to sound proper alarms, let juries inflict the penalty in commensurate and exemplary damages. Greater care would then be exercised than under existing statutes; and because a statute is always a double-edged sword, it is as easy to plead compliance as evasion; and if the statute sets six miles an hour as the limit at a crossing, the sworn testimony of the expert engineer that he was within the statute is more valid than that of the inexpert bystander or passenger which avers the contrary. But where under the common law the company is *primâ facie* guilty of trespass, it must make out a very clear case of contributory negligence to escape the penalty.

We must not forget that the great majority of the railways in the United States are the creation of private enterprise and capital, and that the people in their collective capacity have not been taxed in order to construct them. The exceptions are certain corporations whose work has done more to open the vast territory between the Pacific and the Mississippi to civilization and the uses of the nation than any other agency. Land has been given to these railways, and in a few instances the credit of the government has been lent. The land was at the time almost worthless, and but for these railways would have remained so during a long period; the credit, although not yet, will undoubtedly be repaid, and meanwhile the government has a lien upon the property.

In regard to one of these companies—perhaps the one that has been the subject of more misrepresentation and abuse than any other—we may be pardoned for quoting a few words by the Hon.

Jesse Spalding, himself a government official, written in 1889, in his report to the United States Secretary of the Interior.

"I found people in Nebraska who are possessed with the idea that the Union Pacific was constructed for, and should be operated mainly in deference to, the wishes of that section, and who actually believed that their State should be consulted by the managers before any improvements were made, innovations prosecuted, or extensions pushed forward. In the minds of such people the question whether the road had done more for the State than the State had done for the road never seemed to arise. But those who take an unreasoning and, to my mind, a most unjust view of the conduct of the Union Pacific are exceptions to the rule. Among the most advanced thinkers of Nebraska a different feeling exists and different opinions prevail. They point out with just and pardonable pride the wonderful strides which the young State has made since the Union Pacific Railway was constructed. They call your attention to the beautiful, bustling, and wealthy city of Omaha, with its 130,000 inhabitants;* to the handsome and progressive State capital, Lincoln, with its 60,000; to Grand Island, with its 15,000; to Beatrice, with its 12,000; to Frémont, with its 10,000; to Hastings, with its 13,000, and to a hundred thriving towns and cities along the lines of the main stem and its branches, the growth of all of which is directly due to the facilities for the receipt, distribution, and shipmen of commodities and manufactures afforded by the Union Pacific system."

And again, as a closing voucher for our assertion that the West is under enormous obligations to railways, from the same report.

"The growth of the whole country from the Missouri River to the Rockies is surprising. One sees nothing but signs of life and evidences of progress on all sides. The smallest hamlets are imbued with the same spirit that characterizes the larger towns and cities. The people are everywhere enterprising, energetic, and industrious. Improvements, innovations, and inventions that the East has not yet had time to adopt, to make, or to utilize, are to be found in full operation in these new communities. Small towns in the far West have a better system of street railways and street illumination than the great cities of the East. Street-cars drawn by horses, in the minds of Western people, belong to the remote past. It is a slow town, indeed, that has not got its cable or electric railway, or that depends upon gas as a street illuminator. While there has been an unhealthy inflation in the price of real estate in many of those towns, my observation was that most of them had passed safely through the dangerous speculative period of their existence, and are now growing steadily and solidly. But few of the towns which have attracted attention by reason of their sudden, rapid, or mushroom growth during the past twenty years have disappointed those who cast their lots with them. They are nearly all well situated, and, in my opinion, are destined to continue growing in population and wealth for many years to come. Manufactories of all kinds are everywhere welcomed and encouraged, morally and substantially; mining in some sections is only yet in its infancy; industries of all kinds find a constantly growing market; the agricultural districts are expanding month by month; there is nothing, apparently, to check the tide of prosperity."

SIDNEY DILLON.

* Now 160,000.

MEN OF THE SALISBURY PARLIAMENT.

BY HENRY W. LUCY.

THE premier man in the Parliament which, under curious, though not unprecedented, circumstances, brought Lord Salisbury into power in 1886 is, happily, the Prime Minister. Since Lord Beaconsfield died the Marquis of Salisbury has had no compeer, much less a rival, in the Conservative ranks. It is doubtful whether, for force of character and sheer ability, he was overtopped by his old enemy and later ally. But that is a nice question which future historians, having the supreme advantage of perspective view, may be left to decide. It is enough for the present Parliament to reflect with satisfaction that the Premier of to-day holds his position not alone by title.

In very recent times both houses have known the inconvenience that pertains to the situation when we have had at the head of affairs men placed there rather as a matter of convenience than in submission to personal preëminence. The Lords had for awhile their Duke of Richmond and the Commons their Stafford Northcote, both amiable and, in degree, capable men, but neither a born leader. To Lord Salisbury's preëminence every one gladly pays homage, not the least readily his opponents, for there is nothing more embarrassing in political warfare than that the captain of the opposing host should be other than a man who is not only capable of conceiving a definite line of action, but strong enough to lead his united forces along it.

Lord Salisbury's misfortune in finally coming into a peerage was tempered by his experiences before, by unforeseen chance, he became heir-apparent to the marquisate. If he had been born eldest son, he would have lost distinct advantages by which he has long profited. A younger son, with no reasonable hope of reversion of the title, and, if report be true, not too richly endowed with pocket-money, he at the outset was faced by the necessity

of carving out his own career. It is no secret that at one time he was a working member of the daily press for which he is now accustomed to spare some flashes of his illimitable scorn. Like another keen fighting man, now disguised under the title of Lord Sherbrooke, he wrote articles for the papers, and was glad of the concomitant remuneration. He entered the House of Commons a comparative youth, and even as Lord Robert Cecil made his mark. When he became Lord Cranborne, he, of course, spoke with the added weight of the heir to an historic marquisate. But I have heard old *habitués* of the House of Commons say that for freshness and barb the irresponsible Lord Robert Cecil beat the graver Viscount Cranbourne.

Whether fighting under one name or the other, his pet aversion was Mr. Disraeli, then pushing his way into recognized position in the Tory ranks, under the patronage of the late Lord Derby. The young man hated Mr. Gladstone with the bitter feeling with which a Tory of long lineage regards a champion of the masses; he despised Mr. Disraeli with the lofty scorn of a patrician for an adventurer. When from his seat in the House of Commons he used to assail Mr. Disraeli with "flouts and gibes and sneers,"—his mastery of which arms that statesman on a memorable occasion pointedly acknowledged,—he little dreamt that the time would come when he should share his enemy's homeward journey from Berlin, bringing Peace with Honor; still less that he should sit by his side on the ministerial bench in the House of Lords, an apparently docile, certainly a faithful, lieutenant.

Lord Salisbury's position in English political life, and especially in the House of Lords, is a peculiar one. He is a statesman born out of due season, and that he with increasing skill and success adapts himself to circumstances is crowning proof of his consummate ability. He should have lived in those spacious times when another Cecil was at the head of English affairs. He would have done much more as minister to Queen Elizabeth than he is permitted to accomplish as minister for Queen Victoria. With an almost total absence of sympathy with the people, he has fallen upon a time when the people are more and more, and the crown and its appanages less and less. He is obliged in these days to take into account the House of Commons and what he regards as its vagaries and its prejudices. But he is never at pains to disguise his dislike of it and all it represents.

This is a point on which Mr. Disraeli, with his keen intuition of popular impulses, had the advantage over the friend of his declining years. There is a story told of Lord Melbourne which is probably apochryphal, but if anything like it in analogous circumstances were told of Lord Salisbury, it would readily be believed. It was at the time of the Corn-Law struggle, one of the phases of which had been discussed at a cabinet meeting, other topics intervening before the council broke up. As his colleagues were going away, Lord Melbourne (according to a current story) leaned over the bannisters of the staircase and called out: "Is bread to go up or down? I don't care which it is, you know, but we must all say the same thing in the House."

Just before the first session of 1890 closed, Lord Salisbury, with characteristic contempt for subterfuge, made, in the House of Lords, a speech conceived in the very spirit of this off-hand remark over the bannisters. A bill dealing with local rates, promoted by the corporation of Dublin, had come up from the Commons. It was a measure in charge of the Chief Secretary, and in carrying the bill through the Commons Mr. Balfour had had the unwonted assistance of the Irish members. That was sufficient to excite the ire of noble lords like the Duke of Westminster, the Marquis of Waterford, and Lord Wemyss. At the very last moment they broke into open revolt. The bill had actually been read a third time, and it was on the formal stage "that the bill do pass" that Lord Wemyss moved an amendment which, if carried, would have thrown out the measure. There was a strong whip out, and the malcontent lords mustered in numbers which surely presaged a government defeat. Lord Salisbury, sitting in his favorite attitude, with his elbow on the back of the bench, his head resting on his hand, and his back turned to the bishops, listened to the impassioned debate. Members of the Commons, leaving their own chamber, crowded the bar at the Lords and the galleries over the pens where ladies sit, such of them as were privy councillors availing themselves of their privilege to stand on the steps of the throne. Among these was Mr. Balfour, smiling genially, whilst Lord Wemyss declaimed and Lord Waterford, remaining seated in token of a terrible fall from his horse on the hunting-field, demonstrated how all was up with the Union if this iniquitous bill passed.

To the Commons looking on its fate seemed sealed, and there

was animated talk as to what line Mr. Balfour would take if he were thus openly and studiously flouted. When there appeared nothing left but the division, Lord Salisbury stirred his vast bulk and lounged up to the table. He did not trouble himself with any elaborate defence of the bill. To him it was plainly a ludicrously insignificant thing whether rates were collected in Dublin under one system or another. What he had to point out was that here was an incidental feature in the Irish policy of the government as carried out by Mr. Balfour. Did noble lords approve that policy as a whole or did they not? If they did, and the cheer that resounded through the House gave clear assurance of their feeling in the matter, they must take it as a whole. "You cannot," Lord Salisbury said, "be allowed to pick out a bit here and there, and say you won't have it."

Here was the unconscious echo of Lord Melbourne's remark thrown over the bannister. "Are we," Lord Salisbury said, in effect, "to support Mr. Balfour's policy in Ireland, or are we to desert him and let in home rule and Mr. Gladstone? I don't care which it is, you know, but we must stick to a definite line of action" It is an axiom cynically accepted in Parliament that a speech rarely, if ever, affects votes. On this occasion Lord Salisbury triumphantly proved the exception. Had he been accidentally absent, or, being present, had he refrained from taking part in the debate, the bill would indubitably have been lost. As it was, the carefully-marshalled majority silently melted away, and when the tellers returned from the division lobby the bill was carried.

The delivery of this memorable speech afforded to those fortunate enough to hear it a fair idea of Lord Salisbury's oratorical style. Unlike Mr. Gladstone, the Premier but slightly varies in the level excellence of his speech. Never striking at the high flights at which Mr. Gladstone is accustomed to soar, there is not the opportunity for comparative failure. Lord Salisbury, in addressing the House of Lords, does not make speeches to them. He just talks, but with what clearness of perception, what command of his subject, what vigorous and well-ordered sentences, what irresistible arguments, and now and then with what delicate refreshing rain of cynicism! Doubtless a minister in his position must carefully prepare his speeches on public affairs, but Lord Salisbury has in peculiar degree the art of concealing his art.

He rarely uses manuscript notes even for the exposition of the most delicate and important announcements. Just before Parliament rose last session he had occasion to explain the details of the arrangement concluded with Portugal for the settlement of contending claims with Africa. It was an exceedingly intricate affair, the story involving an historical review and the adjustment of nice points of latitude and longitude, not to mention the recital of barbarous and unfamiliar geographical terms. It was precisely the case in which the most practised speaker would gratefully have taken refuge in a sheaf of notes. But Lord Salisbury had not a scrap of paper in his hand as he unwove the tangled skein, and when he sat down, after talking for twelve minutes, he had made the whole case clear to the perception of the dullest lord in the assembly.

Next to the Premier in the quickly-exhausted list of men who have made their mark in the Salisbury Parliament stands Mr. Balfour. If any member who had sat through a session or two of the Parliament of 1880 had fallen asleep in the library and had, on any night when the present House of Commons is sitting, returned to his old place, he would not know this still slim young gentleman who in Mr. Gladstone's Parliament was member for Hertford. Not that in personal appearance Mr. Balfour is greatly altered. He has at whiles the same languorous air, the same boyish smile swiftly illumining his countenance, the same disposition to discover how nearly he can sit on his shoulder-blades when occupying a place on the front bench listening to Mr. Gladstone or an Irish member. But in other respects the metamorphosis is complete. The dilletante stripling that used to lounge about the House, moved to what seemed the nearest possible approach to the bore of being interested when Lord Randolph Churchill was attacking somebody, has grown into the hardest-worked minister of the crown, the deviser and stern executor of an Irish policy as nearly Cromwellian as the prejudices of the nineteenth century will permit.

When, on the retirement of Sir Michael Beach in 1887, Mr. Balfour was appointed to the office of Chief Secretary, the arrangement was generally regarded as one of those temporary dispositions of a difficult post which mark the movement of a bewildered premier. Though Mr. Balfour had already a seat in the cabinet as Secretary for Scotland, he had not yet developed any

qualities that gave promise of his immediate future. The Irish members laughed at his pretty ways, inclined to regard his appointment as something like an echo of Mr. Disraeli's practical joke when he made Mr. James Lowther Chief Secretary for Ireland. But before the session closed members were fain to admit that there were unsuspected depths in the character of the young minister. He trod gently as yet, but through the ordeal of the badgering to which chief secretaries are submitted at the question hour he passed with a skill and strength that extorted admiration.

There is no instance in English political life of a still young man making such a rapid advance to a premier place as is supplied in the case of Mr. Balfour. Lord Randolph Churchill had a meteoric flight, but he had been for several sessions steadily forcing himself into prominence before, in the Parliament of 1886, he blossomed into Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. Up to the day when all the world wondered to hear that Mr. Balfour had been appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, he was a person of no political consequence, his rising evoked no interest in the House, and his name would not have drawn a full audience in St. James's Hall. Within twelve months, and in rapidly increasing degree within two years, he had gained for himself one of four principal places in debate in the House of Commons, and his name was one to conjure with in Conservative centres throughout the United Kingdom.

In personal appearance and in manner no one could less resemble Cromwell than the present ruler of Ireland. To look at Mr. Balfour as he glides with undulous stride to his place in the House of Commons, one would imagine rather that he had just dropped in from an exercise on the guitar than from the pursuit of his grim game with the Nationalist forces in Ireland. His movements are of almost womanly grace and his face is fair to look upon. Even when making the bitterest retorts to the enemy opposite, he preserves an outward bearing of almost deferential courtesy. Irish members may, if they please, use the bludgeon of Parliamentary conflict; for him the polished, lightly-poised rapier suffices for all occasions. The very contrast of his unruffled mien presented to furious onslaughts of excitable persons like Mr. W. O'Brien adds to the bitterness of the wormwood and gall which his presence on the treasury bench mixes for Irish members. But if he is hated by the men some of whom he has put in

prison, he is feared and, in some sense, respected. In him is recognized the most perfect living example of the mailed hand under the silken glove.

As Mr. Balfour's earliest appearance on the Parliamentary scene was influenced by Lord Randolph Churchill, it is probable that future stages of his career will be constrained, if not controlled, from the same quarter. If Lord Randolph did not exist, it would not be difficult to cast the political horoscope of the Chief Secretary. He has no other rival in the succession to the leadership of a party who have had in distant succession two such chiefs as Peel and Disraeli. Mr. Balfour is strong in something else than his Parliamentary position. The Conservative party believe in him with a fulness of conviction withheld from Mr. Disraeli even after he had been received into the sanctified company of the House of Lords. Mr. Balfour at least knows what he means and what he intends to do, and that is a great comfort to the large majority of a party who only want to be led. His succession to the leadership on the retirement of Mr. W. H. Smith—an event which cannot long be postponed—would be hailed with approval by nine-tenths of the party in the House of Commons, and with a roar of acclamation by the party throughout the country. That the problem has not already been solved in this direction is due partly to the difficulty of finding a successor capable of continuing his policy in Ireland, and partly to the apprehension of revolt in certain quarters on the treasury bench if other claims were overlooked in favor of the brilliant nephew of the Prime Minister.

But if Mr. Balfour is to obtain this well-deserved promotion over the heads of his colleagues in the cabinet as at present constituted, it will be necessary for the arrangement to be completed during the existence of the present Parliament. As far as its term is concerned, Lord Randolph Churchill's chance is played out. He is, as recent chapters in his history have proved, prone to hasty decisions. But it is too much even for his most sanguine enemy to hope that he will be so ill advised as to yoke himself with the falling fortunes of the present ministry. If, indeed, he were invited to resume the leadership of the House of Commons, with promise of free hand, the invitation might prove irresistible, and its acceptance would be well advised. He could not hope to avert the impending doom, but he would at least make a good fight, and might succeed in making the fall easier.

To take anything less than the leadership at the present juncture would be an act of self-abasement which no one has a right to expect at his hands.

Lord Randolph Churchill is not a man of the Salisbury Parliament in the sense that Mr. Balfour has won that distinction. His position was made in the Parliament of 1880, and was lost in that which is now nearing its close. During the past session Lord Randolph has even ostentatiously withdrawn himself from Parliamentary affairs. He has given up to Newmarket what was meant for mankind. But no one with even elementary knowledge of political affairs, or the slightest acquaintance with Lord Randolph's character, imagines that he is finally out of the running. Though he has flung away ministerial position and withdrawn himself from the councils of his party, his personal weight and influence in debate are not materially impaired. His command over the House, when he chooses to exercise it, is as complete as ever, and his influence in the country may be regained whenever he thinks it worth while to set himself the task. His time will come again when the present government go into opposition and look around them for a leader.

Lord Randolph Churchill is a model leader of opposition; ready, resolute, inventive, audacious, and, if need be, unscrupulous. If it were only possible for Mr. Balfour to work with him in unity, Mr. Gladstone's next ministry would have a sore time, whatever might be their numerical majority. The House of Commons likes to be shown sport, as one of its most successful leaders said. Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Balfour working together in harmony on the front opposition bench would show excellent sport. Whether such a combination be possible or not is one of the problems which the near future will be called upon to solve. It does not in present circumstances appear probable, but adversity makes one acquainted with strange bedfellows, and in the gloom of opposition these two old friends may come together again. Two things are, however, already certain. One is that Lord Randolph Churchill will be finally indispensable to the Conservative party; the other, that he cannot hold a second place.

HENRY W. LUCY.

HUMORS OF THE COOKERY-BOOK.

BY AGNES REPPLIER.

"THERE does not, at this blessed moment, breathe on the earth's surface a human being that willna prefer eating and drinking to all ither pleasures o' body or soul." So speaks the Ettrick Shepherd, in the fulness of his content, contemplating with moist eyes the groaning supper-table, laden with a comfortable array of solid viands; after which fair and frank expression of his views we are somewhat pained to hear him denouncing in no measured terms "the awful and fearsome vice o' gluttony," as evidenced occasionally in women. His companions, too, those magnificent fellow-feeders, have a great many severe things to say about gude-wives who betray a weakness for roasted pork or an unfeminine solicitude for gravy; and Mr. Timothy Tickler unhesitatingly affirms that such a one, "eating for the sake of eating, and not for mere nourishment, is, in fact, the grossest of sensualists, and at each mouthful virtually breaks all ten of the commandments." This is the language of an ascetic rather than of a *bon vivant*, but we are in some measure reassured when the same Mr. Tickler confesses, a little later, that, although roast goose always disagrees with him, yet he never refuses it, believing that to purchase pleasure by a certain degree of pain is true philosophy; whereupon the Shepherd, not to be outdone, gives it as his unreserved opinion that, in winter-time at least, "eating for eating's sake, and in oblivion o' its feenal cause, is the most sacred o' household duties."

From these somewhat inharmonious sentiments we reluctantly infer that gluttony is a vice—or a virtue—for man only, and that woman's part in the programme is purely that of a ministering angel. Adam was made to eat, and Eve to cook for him, although even in this humble sphere she and her daughters have been doomed to rank second in command. Excellent in all things, but supreme in none, they have never yet scaled the

dazzling heights of culinary fame. The records of antiquity make no mention of their skill; the middle ages grant them neither praise nor honor; and even as late as Dr. Johnson's day they labored hard for scanty recognition. It is very painful to hear the great sage speaking lightly of our grandmother's oracle, Mrs. Glasse, and declaring with robust contempt that women were fit to spin, but not to write a book of cookery. Yet for how many years had they modestly held their peace; for how many years had this department of literature remained in their masters' hands!

Amid the fast-growing epicureanism of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—for the Plantagenets were noble eaters, and gave an admirable example to the kingdom—we find all information on the subject emanating from the pens of learned and perhaps saintly men. The oldest treatise that has been preserved is the work of the venerable Archbishop Neckam, of Saint Albans, written in Latin and highly unintelligible Norman French, and destined as a guide for youthful house-keepers, who, even in that early day, had begun to suffer instruction for their husbands' sakes. The "Form of Cury" is a roll of one hundred and ninety-six recipes contributed, a full century later, by the master-cook of Richard II., and professes to have for its modest object "the preparing of pottages and meats for the household, as they should be made, craftily and wholesomely"; though some of these crafty dishes are as costly in their character as those in the "Noble Boke of Cookery," so often reëdited and republished, and which is principally interesting as proving to us how much time and money could be expended upon a royal table. Yet the poor were not altogether forgotten, for in 1620 Tobias Venner, a Somersetshire man, gave to the world his little volume called "Via Recta ad Vitam Longam," full of practical and homely advice to the lower rural classes, who must, in many cases, have been unable to profit by it, owing to their education being in as primitive a stage of development as William of Deloraine's. "The Art of Cookery Refined and Augmented," published by the master of Charles the First's kitchen, gives us also, side by side with wonderful and elaborate "subtleties," such plain and wholesome dishes as hasty pudding and barley pudding, which were as familiar to ploughmen as to kings; while, with the advent of the Puritans, cooking, like all the sister-arts, suffered a lamentable

eclipse. Those noble pastries, those flaunting peacocks, those boars' heads served on silver platters, those soul-inspiring wassail-cups, vanished from saintly England.

> "Plum-broth was Popish, and mince-pie,
> O, that was flat idolatry!"

A significant token left us from these dismal days is a little book, printed after the Restoration, and entitled "The Court and Kitchen of Joan Cromwell," wherein we learn that the Protector's household was a well-ordered and frugal one, and that to its master was not permitted the luxury of an orange with his veal, because oranges could not be bought for less than a groat apiece.

But all this time women were silent, profiting, doubtless, in many a roomy kitchen and in many a well-stocked buttery, by the words of wisdom which vainglorious men let fall; and only now and then giving help and counsel to one another by means of little private receipt-books, which were circulated among a few noble families, and were considered as their own exclusive property and pride. Such were "My Lady Rennelagh's Choice Receipts," which may still be read among the Sloane MSS.; and such, too, was "The Countesse of Rutland's Receipt for making the rare Banbury Cake, which was so much praised at her daughter's (the Right Honourable the Lady Chaworth's) wedding." And the fame of this distinguished cake was so widespread that, after a while, we come upon it—titles and all—in that weird little volume "The Queen's Closet Opened," published in 1662, which contains a hoard of "Incomparable Secrets in Physick, Chyrugery, Preserving and Candying," all of which, we are assured, were presented to her Majesty the Queen "By the most Experienced Persons of the Times, many whereof were had in esteem, when she pleased to descend to private Recreations." In this company we behold only the most distinguished names. Like Mrs. Jarley, it appears to have been the delight of the nobility and gentry, and many of the recipes are the fair fruits of royal meditations. Here, for example, are two perfumes, one the invention of Edward VI. and one of Queen Elizabeth, who had a notoriously dainty nose; also a medicine for the plague, which was Queen Mary's especial secret, and imparted by her to the Lord Mayor of London. And here is a cake, a very plain and wholesome cake, made by the poor young Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Charles I.; and a strawberry cordial bequeathed to us by Sir Walter Raleigh; and the Earl of

Arundel's posset; and Lord Bacon's home-brewed ale; and Sir Kenelm Digby's *aqua mirabilis*; and the Bishop of Worcester's "admirable curing powder," of which the principal ingredients seem to be adder-skins and the "black tips of crab's claws taken when the Sun enters Cancer, which is every year on the eleventh day of June."

Many of the most infallible remedies read as if they might have been concocted in that unholy cauldron which *Macbeth* saw bubbling in the witches' cave. Dr. Atkin's jaundice powder, for instance, made of earth-worms, nicely slit, and washed with white wine; a sadly impenetrable "Plaister of Paracelsus"; and "An Excellent Snail Water," with five hundred snails in it. The costly nature of the preparations is another warrant for the good society they were expected to keep. It does not lie in the power of ordinary consumptives to take pills made of amber and pearl and coral, if they even believed these substances to be nourishing and digestible. The recipes for "Sugar of Roses," for "A delicate Almond Oil to remove the shining of the Nose," and for "A Carp Pye fit for the Pope," hint plainly at vanity and luxurious living; the very words "A great rich Cake" stir the heart with an echo of past cheer; and "A Pulpatoon of Pigeons" is doubtless the noble and honored progenitor of Lord Beaconsfield's "pompetone of larks." On the other hand, a leg of mutton stuffed with pickled herrings seems like the invention of a culinary humorist; and "How to make a fat Lamb of a Pig" is a case of pure imposture, the beginning of that long and melancholy list of "mock" dishes which lose their own honest flavor in an ambitious struggle to be taken for something better. Imagine Elia's disgust at an imitation lamb rising, like a false phœnix, from the ashes of his favorite pig.

Opulence and a taste for display, upon the one side, and the natural conservatism of the great Saxon stock, upon the other, fought the battle of the table from the days of the Black Prince down to those of Anthony Trollope, and will, in all probability, fight it to the end. "A cod's head for fourpence, and nine shillings' worth of condiments to serve with it," was the favorite sarcasm which greeted the growing extravagance of the rich middle classes. Those costly "subtleties" imported from French kitchens in the fifteenth century met with a sturdy opposition from British freemen, who, even while they gaped and marvelled,

resented such bewildering innovations. The pelican sheltering her young, and Saint Catherine, book in hand, disputing to the doctors, which figured among the dishes at the coronation of Henry V., the hundred and four "dressed" peacocks trailing their plumes gorgeously over the table at the consecration of Archbishop Neville, affronted more than one beef-eating gentleman and exasperated more than one porridge-eating churl. From France, too, came certain heresies regarding the fitness of food which Englishmen had for centuries devoured and digested. Queen Elizabeth dined upon whale; Cardinal Wolsey, who was something of an epicure, and who first taught us that strawberries and cream were intended by a beneficent nature to set off each other's merits, did not disdain to have a young porpoise served up at one of his banquets. Fish soup was a delicacy, and we are even assured by antiquarians that the grampus, or sea-wolf, was freely eaten by our strong-stomached ancestors.

But foreign cooks looked doubtfully upon these national dainties, and, in place of the old-time gravies, which were simply the broths in which meat had been boiled, flavored with a little ginger and sugar, delicate and highly-seasoned sauces were devised for the tempting of weary appetites. Italy sent forks—those curious and uncanny implements which were received with scornful indignation, as calculated to destroy the simplicity and manliness of Great Britain. Spoons and knives were held in slight esteem, for good soup could be swallowed from the bowl, and his sacred Majesty Charles XII. of Sweden was not the only monarch who buttered his bread with his royal thumb. But forks were contemptible affectations. As honest Master Breton observed, he had done no foul work and handled no unwholesome thing, and consequently had no need of an instrument with which to make hay of his food and pitch it into his mouth. So, too, the time-honored custom of man and wife eating out of one trencher was falling into rapid disuse, and Walpole tells us that the old Duke and Duchess of Hamilton were the last couple in England who retained the fashion of their youth. Meats were growing daintier and dearer all the while. The ordinary or inn dinner, which in Elizabeth's day cost sixpence, had risen to tenpence in the reign of George I., and soon crept up to a shilling. In every generation there were plenty of grumblers to lament over the good old times that had fled, and we catch the echo of this

undying cry in the modern protests against unwelcome fashions. Thackeray and Trollope railed perpetually at that feeble striving after an impossible elegance which had well-nigh destroyed the cheery conviviality of their youth; and Peacock, the prince of good livers, with whom the pleasures of the intellect and the appetite walked amicably hand in hand, has recorded his still more vehement denunciation. "I detest and abominate," says Mr. Macborrowdale, "the idea of a Siberian dinner, where you just look on fiddle-faddles while your meal is behind a screen and you are served with rations like a pauper."

The scorn of the true Briton for alien delicacies was repaid with interest by the Frenchman, who regarded his neighbor's groaning table very much as we might regard the doubtful provender of a cannibal chief. The contempt for frog-eating foreigners, on the one hand, was not greater than the contempt for beef-eating islanders, on the other; in fact, all nations, from Egypt down, seem to have cherished a wholesome dislike and distrust for each other's food. The British officer who, at the attack on Cadiz, shouted to his men, "You Englishmen who are fed upon beef don't surely mean to be beaten by a d——d lot of Spaniards who live on oranges!" made a stronger appeal to human nature than did Napoleon with his famous "forty centuries"; and the reverse of the medal may be seen in Talleyrand's description of England as a land where there were twenty-four religions and only one sauce. Twenty-four religions would make but a poor showing in these days, when even a clever novel can beget a new one; but sauces are not so lightly called into being. Those "slibber sops" which brought "queesiness to the stomach and disquiet to the mind" of John Lyly were hard to rout from the field; and they were still holding their own when Brillat-Savarin, the most serene and kindly of epicures, first visited Great Britain. With Savarian eating was more than a mere vulgar pleasure; it was a solemn and yet exquisite duty which man owed to himself and to a generous nature that had yielded him up her bounties for this purpose. Mr. Birrell says that Burke's letters on carrots "tremble with emotion," and there is a like earnestness about all of Savarin's recipes; a pathetic anxiety lest some ingredient should be omitted or ill-used. For fish he entertains a profound respect; for game, a manly affection; for pastries, a delicate regard; but truffles are the beloved darlings of his

heart. It contents him greatly to sit at table with congenial spirits; to watch "the eagerness of desire, the ecstasy of enjoyment, and, finally, the perfect repose of bliss on every countenance," when the noble meal is ended. Surely even the Reign of Terror might have dealt tenderly with such a man as this, since patriots are unswerving eaters, and it behooved them to remember that "the discovery of a new dish does more for the happiness of mankind than the discovery of a new planet."

All of Savarin's apophthegms evince the same frank and warm-hearted regard for the welfare of others; the same unremitting anxiety to teach them what to eat and how to eat it. He entreats us never to forget that, when we have invited a man to dine, we have, for a short time at least, his happiness in our hands. The dinner table, he reminds us, is the only place where men are not hopelessly bored for the first hour, and during that hour it is our privilege to make them enamored of life. A cook is, in his eyes, a true scientist, with mighty capacities for good and evil. He believes, with Baudelaire, that such a one should have the soul of a poet, and—like the too fastidious Parisian, who declared that between Mme. du Deffand's chef and that of the Marquise de Brinvilliers "there was only the difference of intention"—Savarin has no words of reproach strong enough for those who debase and shame their noble calling. He is prompt to recognize the exigencies of a slender purse, and unwearying in his efforts to provide *menus* fitted to its limitations; but his notions of economy are somewhat like those of the little French princess, who said that rather than starve she would live on bread and cheese. The famous "*omelette au thon*," for instance, with all its air of pastoral simplicity, contains the roe of two carp, a piece of tunny, an eschalot, twelve eggs, and a number of other ingredients which would hardly recommend it to a poor country parsonage. As for the Abbé Chevrier's spinach, which was warmed up with butter for seven days before it reached the acme of delicacy, we can only wonder at the admirable patience of the Abbé's cook, who would return seven times with unremitting industry to the consideration of a single dish.

It will be observed, however, how many gastronomical triumphs we owe to clerical genius, or to the researches of the true philosopher. Lord Bacon thought it no shame to bend his mighty mind to kitchen problems, and Dr. Nowel, the learned

and pious dean of St. Paul's, was rightfully proud of the bottled beer which he first gave to his astonished and grateful country. The earliest list of recipes in England was, as I have already said, the work of an archbishop. The Jesuits in the seventeenth century carried the turkey from its native haunts and introduced it to the best French society, who received it with the rapture it deserved. The famous *mayonnaise* is not the only delicacy which Richelieu bequeathed to the world; Talleyrand devoted one hour out of every busy day to the exclusive companionship of his cook; and the Regent Orleans was pleased to give his own name to the bread of his own baking.

What a kindly spirit of good-fellowship we discern in the frank epicureanism of Sidney Smith; what generous sympathy for a *bon vivant* whose lines have led him into desert places! "Luttrell came over for a day," he writes, "from whence I know not, but I thought not from good quarters; at least he had not his usual soup and patti look. There was a forced smile upon his countenance which seemed to indicate plain roast and boiled, a sort of apple-pudding depression, as if he had been staying with a clergyman." How creditable, too, is his anxiety to please Luttrell, when that amicable sybarite becomes *his* guest! "Mrs. Sidney," he declares, "grows pale with alarm as the rich dishes are uncovered"; and yet so admirable a housewife might have shared in the superb confidence of Lord Worcester when cautioned by Sir Henry Halford to leave all such indiscreet messes alone. "Side dishes," said the great physician, "are poison." "Yours may be," retorted Lord Worcester; "and I should never dream of eating them, but mine are a very different story." So, too, were Sidney Smith's, and the celebrated salad which gained for him nearly as wide a reputation as his wit was only one of many famous recipes, and probably no greater in its way than the mysterious pudding whose secret he imparted as an especial favor to the importunate Lady Holland. Those who had the happiness of sitting at his table rose from it with tranquil gratitude, "serenely full," and conscious, let us hope, of his own graceful sentiment,

"Fate cannot harm me—I have dined to-day."

There is one more subject to consider; one more aspect of the case, fraught with tender and melancholy associations. Like the

lost joys of our youth ; like the taste for apple-dumplings, which Lamb recognized as belonging only to those whose innocence was unimpaired ; like the vanishing of gentle thoughts with a growing distaste for asparagus ; so is the sorrowful blank left in our lives by the recollection of noble dishes that have been, and that are no longer. What of that lost recipe of Menander's for fish sauce—an ambrosial sauce whose fame has flitted down to us from dim ages, and the eating of which would have filled to the brim Dr. Johnson's cup of happiness ? And what of its modern counterpart, now also gone forever, the famous green sauce which La Coste offered to Sir Thomas Dundas at the Duke of York's table, whispering to him with unctuous fervor, "*Avec cette sauce là, on pourrait manger son grand-père*" ? What of the bream-pie that disappeared with the good monks, driven from British soil, and the mere recollection of which caused Peacock to bewail in spirit the too rapid dissolution of the monasteries ? And what of sack—*Falstaff's* sack—that made England the merry England of yore, and that took flight, like some old-fashioned genius, before the sombre days that were to follow ? Surely if we knew its secret, we should learn how to laugh once more.

But alas ! this may not be. We have but the memories of past good cheer ; we have but the echoes of departed laughter. In vain we look and listen for the mirth that has died away. In vain we seek to question the gray ghosts of old-time revellers.

> "Still shall this burden their answer bear,
> What has become of last year's snow ?"

AGNES REPPLIER.

CIVILIZATION AND SUICIDE.

BY WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL. D.

THE increasing frequency of suicide is one of the startling signs of the times. Hardly a day passes in any of the chief civilized countries of the world but the press records the death of some person who has shuffled off this mortal coil by the aid of rope, pistol, pond, or poison. A Boston daily paper reported on May 3, 1889, eight suicides in this country. Nine years ago it was estimated that Europeans were killing themselves at an annual average rate of one in 5,000, and that consequently about 60,000 persons, or more than were killed, wounded, and missing in the bloodiest battle of modern times, were destroying themselves every year! Even this statement, alarming as it is, falls short of the actual truth, for there is no reason to doubt that hundreds of suicides are committed yearly in every large country which, as such, are not made public. Family pride falsifies the cause and manner of many a death. But even the number of deaths does not show the strength of the mania, for hundreds of attempts at suicide are thwarted. Of 700 such attempts in London in 1881, more than one-half were arrested by the police.

A remarkable circumstance of the deaths is the regularity with which every civilized country pays its yearly tribute to this fatal plague. Statistics collected and analyzed with great care, and giving the proportion, per million inhabitants, of voluntary deaths which have occurred in all the countries of Europe from 1816 to 1877, show that suicide has steadily increased, and goes on increasing, more rapidly than the geometrical augmentation of the population and the general mortality—a result which can be attributed only to that universal and complex influence which we call *civilization*. In a country so blessed as ours, where food is abundant, labor in demand, and opportunities numerous for mercantile and professional success, one would expect to find the mania less intense than elsewhere; but such is not the fact. To offset our advantages, we have a more changeful climate than Europeans;

our nervous organism is more sensitive ; our habits of living are less healthful ; speculation is rifer and more daring ; and changes of fortune are more frequent and violent than in the old world.

In all the countries of the civilized world men are becoming more and more weary of the burden of life. While the increased knowledge of the laws of health, sanitary regulations, and the marvellous improvements in surgery and medicine have prolonged the average of human life, yet along with all this are manifested a greater impatience of life itself and a stronger desire to throw off its cares and responsibilities. Nor is it the poor, homeless, friendless, or ignorant members of the community alone that manifest this desire. A list of the men of genius, culture, or wealth who in different ages and countries have put an end to their lives—including, as it would, Aristotle, Cleanthes, Demosthenes, Zeno, Themistocles, Petronius Arbiter, Cato, Brutus, Cassius, Terence, Seneca, Aristarchus, Nero, Mithridates, Hannibal, him

> "who, to be deem'd
> A god, leaped fondly into Ætna flames,
> Empedocles ; and him who, to enjoy
> Plato's Elysium, leap'd into the sea,
> Cleombrotus";

Castlereagh, Kleist, the German author ; Chatterton, Dr. Bull, author of England's national anthem ; Romilly, Hugh Miller, Colonel Gurwood, Haydon, the painter ; Colton, author of "Lacon"; Prévost-Paradol, H. B. Wallace—would show that no intellectual endowment, natural or acquired, or abundance of the world's goods, is a guarantee against this disaster. Lord Clive, the founder of the British empire in India, twice in his youth attempted to destroy himself whilst residing at Madras, and twice the pistol which he snapped at his own head failed to go off,—leading him, after he had satisfied himself that the pistol was really well loaded, to exclaim that "surely he was reserved for something great." At the age of forty-nine, after a series of dazzling victories in India, by which he won fame, immense wealth, and a peerage, he tried a third time, in a fit of constitutional gloom aggravated by disease and the accusations of enemies, to shoot himself, and succeeded. It was only the timely pecuniary aid of an old schoolfellow, whom Napoleon met on his way to the Pont-Neuf in Paris, that prevented the man of destiny, in 1794, when he was in great financial distress and had exhausted all his

resources, from drowning himself in the Seine. Bismarck is said to have declared, after the battle of Sadowa, that he would have killed himself if the Prussians had been beaten. Byron declared that, during the time he was composing "Childe Harold," he "should many a day have blown his brains out but for the reflection that it would have given great pleasure to his mother-in-law." No one can read Shakespeare's sonnets without feeling that there was a season in his youth when thoughts of suicide vexed even his great soul.

The love of life is deemed the strongest instinct in man, and yet it yields not only to weighty or vehement considerations, but to the slightest and most trivial motives imaginable. Bacon says truly that "there is no passion in the mind of man so weak but it mates and masters the fear of death." A well-educated Englishman killed himself, some years ago, because he was "tired of buttoning and unbuttoning." Men have been known to put an end to themselves to escape the pain of toothache or a pain in the stomach. Two centuries ago, Vatel, the cook of Condé, ran himself through with his sword, in despair because the fish did not arrive in time for dinner, when that prince entertained Louis XIV.! A married woman at Mellenberge, in Hesse-Cassell, some years ago, drowned herself and child in the Fulda because she had been ordered by the police, under penalty of fine and imprisonment for neglect, to bring the babe, eight months old, to be vaccinated. A farmer in Hampden, Mass., a very penurious man, refused to engage a nurse for his sick wife. When others remonstrated with him he went away and hanged himself. Marie Speiz, of Brünn, drowned herself in the Danube because she was "laughed at on account of her corpulence."

That suicide is not the prerogative of the age of reason and reflection statistics mournfully prove. More than 2,000 boys and girls are its victims in Europe every year, and the number is steadily increasing.

But what is the cause of this fearful act? Is it, in all cases, mental disease? Is the convenient formula of juries, so merciful to relatives and friends,—"temporary insanity,"—always justified by the facts? Esquirol and Dr. Winslow, acute writers on suicide, say that it is. Casuists are ready to prove that, though the madness may have been temporary, yet, during "the height, torrent, and whirlwind" of the victim's despair, his reason was

overpowered and dethroned; he lost all power of self-control, all sense of responsibility, and, for the time, was absolutely insane. All this, however, is but hair-splitting. The same reasoning would prove all men to be at times insane. Who is not, at some time, "beside himself" with rage, fear, or shame? While it is hard to mark the precise line between the normal and the abnormal functions of the brain,—to tell exactly where reason ends and madness begins,—and while it is true that many self-slayers are either unconscious of their acts or perform them under distinct hallucinations, yet it is equally true that the great majority of such persons are perfectly well aware of the nature of the deed they are doing, and do it with the so-far intelligent purpose of escaping misery which seems unendurable, punishment, or disgrace. It is heart-breaking or brain-tearing trouble, some bitter and intolerable grief which has taken root in the deepest recesses of the soul and poisoned all the sources of joy, that makes men long to die or impetuously seek refuge in death, in the hope that it will be an eternal sleep, or, at least, an end of their misery.

Indeed, no act of a man's life can be shown to be more coolly and rationally planned than is generally the act of leaving it. When an Ahithophel hangs himself because Absalom follows not his counsel, but that of Hushai, the Archite; when a Zeno does the same deed because he has stumbled and broken his thumb; when a Hannibal poisons himself with a poison long secreted for such an emergency, to avoid falling into the hands of an enemy whom he has exasperated and humiliated by invariable defeats; when a Themistocles kills himself rather than lead the Persians against his countrymen; when a Cato stabs himself after his defeat by Cæsar, a Brutus falls upon his sword after the fatal field of Philippi, and a Cassius cuts short his life with the very dagger with which he had stabbed "the world's great master"; when an emperor, after entertaining his friends at a splendid supper, stabs himself to the heart, as did Otho after his defeat by Cæcina; when we read of the self-slaying of two public servants who were incriminated for their share in "the South-Sea Bubble," as in the case of Craggs, Postmaster-General of England, and his son, Secretary of State; of the suicide of a physician whose reputation is hopelessly blasted, as in the case of Sir R. Croft, who attended upon the Princess Charlotte, or of the self-suffocation with the fumes of charcoal of two young French authors who have been stung with

rage by the failure of their joint melodrama,—the conviction is forced upon us that these acts are due, not to cerebral disease, but to deliberate determination.

What, then, are the real causes of suicide? Owing to the complexity of moral phenomena, they are often difficult to discover. Often the apparent causes are only the irritants of an already abnormal sensibility; they are but the match applied to combustibles already prepared. First, the propensity to suicide may be hereditary. Voltaire personally knew a case where a father and two sons took their own lives at the same age, and without any discoverable cause. Burrows records a family trait of the same kind exhibited in three generations. The grandfather hanged himself; three of his sons destroyed themselves; two of the grandchildren did the same thing; one made several attempts on his own life; and even the fourth generation showed symptoms of the same propensity. Two cases have occurred, one in Saxony, the other in the Tyrol, in each of which seven brothers hanged themselves one after another.

In the north of Europe alcoholism is said to be the prevailing cause of suicide; in the south, "the pangs of despised love," jealousy, and misery predominate; while in the centre, the chief causes are *tedium vitæ*, shame, and fear of punishment. One-fourth of the suicides in Prussia are attributed to insanity, which in a large proportion of cases is due to alcohol. Not only in the north, but in France also, the great increase of voluntary deaths within the last twenty years is attributed largely to the weakening of the will and the reaction of despondency caused by alcoholism. In Sweden, "the classic ground of alcoholism," the proportion of suicides from that cause was at one time over 65 per cent.

Love, which should be a bond of union, is becoming a dissevering element in civilization. Antony killed himself when he believed that Cleopatra was false to him and had "packed cards with Cæsar"; and she, stung with remorse and grief, put the asp to her breast that it might "with its sharp teeth the knot intrinsicate of life at once untie," and unite her in the grave with her lover. The same causes that made life wearisome to these ancient lovers act yet more powerfully on sensitive modern hearts. A young woman, being disappointed in the character of her lover, hangs herself. A man who fears to lose his mistress, invites her to dinner, and poisons both himself and her. A man and a woman

have long been engaged to marry each other, but on account of his poverty her family oppose the union. Thereupon he refuses to keep his engagement; she ends her life with a dose of strychnine, and he, hearing of it, goes into the woods with a rifle and blows his brains out. It was grief for the loss of beloved ones that prompted the suicides—so different in their moral aspects from the foregoing—of Sir Samuel Romilly, who had often declared that he could not survive the death of his wife, and of Laman Blanchard, whom a similar bereavement befell at a time of extreme nervous exhaustion.

Persons who are fond of saying, with Richter, that many a spiritual giant is buried under a mountain of gold, forget how many more have been buried in the mud-holes and ditches of poverty. Poverty, extolled by the moralist with a well-appointed home and a comfortable balance at his banker's, is shown by statistics to be one of the most intolerable ills under which weary life is called to groan. Nabret attributes 905 out of 6,782 cases of suicide to poverty, and 322 more to reverses of fortune. Of 7,190 cases of self-killing in London during sixty years ending with 1830, 1,416 are attributed to poverty and 605 to "reverse of fortune." Pecuniary difficulties drove 305 Frenchmen in 1884 to voluntary death. The most prolific year of suicides in the United States was 1858, the year after that of the great financial panic, when the proportion was 1 to every 7,682 of the population, and 1 to every 185 deaths.

Acute and incurable disease, which renders existence one continuous suffering, a sense of failure in life, and domestic dissension are causes of suicide. Family troubles are said to have led 219 Prussians in 1880, and 975 out of 7,572 French suicides in 1884, to kill themselves. Physical suffering drove 1,228 Frenchmen in the same year to the same deed. Dread of a painful surgical operation led Colton, the author of "Lacon," to shoot himself at Fontainebleau. "Repentance, shame, and the stings of conscience" are answerable for 378 suicides in Prussia in 1880, one-fourth of whom were females; and incurable diseases for 288. Among the voluntary deaths from the last cause may be classed perhaps that of M. Prévost-Paradol, the brilliant French writer, who, after stultifying himself by accepting from Napoleon III. the appointment of Minister to Washington, was conscience-stricken at his own political apostasy, and died in July, 1870, by

his own hand. Stinging satire has sometimes driven men to self-murder. Lycambes promised his daughter in marriage to Archilochus, the famous poet of Paros; but changed his mind and gave her to a rich suitor. The poet, in revenge, satirized the false Lycambes so cruelly in iambic verse that both father and daughter hanged themselves. Esquirol tells of a young physician, M. Roubeau, who published a medico-philosophic work on melancholy, adverse criticisms of which so disgusted him with life that he went away and strangled himself.

If the suicides of the very wretched surprise us,—those who, in a paroxysm of anguish, close their eyes to the desperate nature of their attempts to escape from suffering,—what shall we say of the same deed when committed by votaries of pleasure, who, having exhausted all the faculties of enjoyment, are sated with life, and would throw it away like a bauble which has ceased to please? *Tedium vitæ* is not the disease of the *canaille;* it is the characteristic suffering of privileged races and classes, the pets of fortune, who fly to suicide as a relief from the monotony of existence, when satiety and ennui have made them "a-weary of the sun." Many a stoic who has combated triumphantly the attacks of external ill, has failed in the struggle with that insidious inner enemy, ennui. Suicide from this cause is the crime of old civilizations, a proof of which we have in its frequency among the Sybarites and the luxurious and *blasé* nobles of Rome under the Empire. It means that all the pleasures of life have been drained to their dregs; or, rather, that the opportunities of enjoyment have outrun, with a certain class, the power to enjoy. It means that wealth, luxury, splendor, which are so keenly coveted by those who do not share them, "only make the sense of profound lassitude more intolerable, when they no longer please; only augment the desire to escape from life, with as little pain as may be, into an existence with new sensations, or, if it might be, into annihilation." The morbid restlessness, discontent, melancholy, and pessimism in Europe at the beginning of this century were fruitful of suicides. "Werther," according to Carlyle, was but the cry of that dim, rooted pain under which all thoughtful men of a certain age were languishing; and while the author laughed at the malady as, in his own case, "a hypochondriac crotchet," many of his readers turned romance into earnest, and ended their sorrows with the razor and the pistol.

Weariness of life was the probable cause of the self-murder in the last century of the accomplished Philip Mordaunt. Intellectual, handsome, popular, and blessed with a charming wife, he yet one day, to the astonishment of all who knew him, ended his life with a pistol. In a letter which he left he said that he had a heartache which nothing but a churchyard sleep could cure. A somewhat similar case was that of the noted and eminently successful New York merchant, Minturn, who deliberately put an end to his life at the age of forty-three. It was life-weariness which drove the master-spirit of antiquity, the great anatomist of the human heart, the philosopher to whose authority the thinkers of Europe bowed for two thousand years in implicit submission,—Aristotle himself,—to self-murder. History records that when asked which is the most transient of human things, he replied, "Gratitude"; and when one spoke of his friends, he exclaimed: "My friends! there are no friends!" When giving lessons in moral science, he could not sit still or stand, but walked to and fro in constant restlessness; and when his wine of life had run to the lees, he could not wait patiently for the hour of release from his weariness, but, in spite of his philosophy and his matchless genius, died as the fool dieth, by his own hand. And yet it was this same world-renowned sage who had written that "courage is the mean between fear and rashness, while suicide is the sum of both."

Antipathy to existence, according to Dr. Henry Morselli, one of the latest and ablest writers on suicide, is a real illness of the brain; it is a morbid mortification of the conscience and the affections, which may often be accompanied by the brightness of a powerful intelligence, but which oftener weakens the character and debilitates the moral sense. Till very recently suicide from satiety has been almost unknown among Americans. But since our late Civil War a sad revolution has taken place in our tastes and habits. Simple pleasures no longer please; life, to be tolerable, must now be spiced with condiments of the most piquant and titillating sort. The demands of the tyrant Fashion, too, are enormous; and to meet them exacts the most exhausting toils, the ceaseless tasking of both body and brain.

A craving for notoriety, always an occasional provocative to suicide, is becoming to-day a more and more powerful one. Rapid communication, the swift diffusion of news by electricity, the

Argus-eyed and ubiquitous press, are turning the world into a theatre in which every whisper is heard and every man is an actor, with a passionate desire in many to attract attention, to create a sensation and win notoriety, even by death, if it cannot be won otherwise.

Still another cause of the increase of voluntary deaths is the growing religious apathy of the age, the practical, as well as theoretical, disbelief in God's providence and in a life after death; a disbelief which in many cases is not the result of investigation and reasoning, but, as Morselli affirms, of a physical inertia and the little hold of the mind obtained by any ideas but such as are directed to material improvement and the gratification of ambition. Popular lecturers and writers on science have harped on "the unchangeability of nature's laws" till the Deity has been virtually banished from the universe. Sane men who kill themselves do not believe in a sin-avenging God. The sceptical philosopher, David Hume, asserted that a man has a right to take his own life. "The life of a man," he declared, "is of no greater importance to the universe than that of an oyster. . . . Where is the harm of turning a few ounces of blood out of its natural channels?" If a man with Hume's genius and acuteness of intellect can speak thus contemptuously of self-killing, who can wonder that weak-minded and wretched men, who "feel the step-dame buffetings of fate," are ready to take the fearful leap?

Thus far we have spoken only of the individual determining motives of suicides. But, besides these, there are certain cosmic, ethnic, social, and biological influences which, because they act upon him unconsciously, elude the notice of the suicide himself. Though we are not fully informed of the relations between moral actions and external phenomena, yet there is abundant proof of the dependence of suicide upon climate and other cosmico-natural influences. Montesquieu, erroneously attributing to England the preëminence in voluntary deaths, ascribed it to the damp, foggy climate of that country,—a theory to which there are two objections, viz., that England is not preëminent in suicide, and that the foggy season is the one in which suicides there are the fewest. So deeply rooted is this notion in the Gallic mind that a French traveller, in describing London, states that he could not take a ride round the Serpentine without seeing a dead body floating on the surface or dangling on a tree! Statistics show

conclusively that the classic ground of suicide is the centre of Europe from the northeast of France to the eastern borders of Germany. There, in a "suicidigenous" area of about 942,000 square kilometres, between 47°–57° of latitude and 20°–40° of longitude, are found the people who more than any other in the civilized world manifest an inclination to this act. As we go north or south from this area the tendency steadily diminishes. Spain and Portugal stand at the bottom of the scale; Saxony and nine departments of the Isle of France, Orleannais, and Champagne are at the top.

Not only does the climate of a country have an influence on suicide, but the disease has a relation to orography and hydrography. It is a curious fact that there is an inverse proportion between mountains and the frequency of voluntary deaths. The mountainous parts of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, and Italy are those that make the smallest contributions to suicide. A still more remarkable fact is that throughout Europe the tendency to self-killing increases in the regions of the great rivers and diminishes in marshy countries.

Again, the statistics of all civilized countries show that the frequency of suicide depends upon the seasons of the year. The transition period between spring and summer, especially the month of June, is that when inclination to this act reaches its maximum intensity. The number of voluntary deaths goes on regularly increasing from January to June, and then steadily diminishes from June to December, when it reaches the minimum. The statistics of suicide for nineteen years ending in 1878, published by the city of Boston, Mass., confirm this law; the largest number being in June, the next largest in May and July; the lowest occurring in February, the next lowest in December and January. The same law holds regarding madness, which, it is said, is influenced less by the intense heat of summer than by that of the early spring and summer, which seizes upon the organism not yet acclimatized and still under the influence of the cold season. Till recently an opposite opinion was held by scientists; they believed that self-killing was most frequent in damp, cloudy, dark weather, which tended to make men gloomy and melancholy. Not only the seasons of the year, but the days of the month and of the week, and even the hours of the day, exert an influence on suicide the force and steadiness of which cannot

be mistaken. There are more suicides in the first ten than in the last twenty days of the month. The most fatal days of the week are Tuesday, Thursday, and Monday, the reason being that on those days, and in the early part of the month, comes the reaction from the dissipation that follows "pay-day," when the workman suffers from the satiety of gluttony, the miseries consequent upon drunkenness, the remorse for prodigality, and the intolerance of work which results from his debauchery. For a similar reason, there are more voluntary deaths in the first ten than in the last twenty days of the month.

The influence of race on voluntary death is shown by an overwhelming array of facts gathered from nearly all the countries of Europe. These facts show that the German race has the greatest propensity to self-destruction, and that the Slavic has the least. Between these the other peoples are arranged in almost direct ratio with the ethical distance which separates them from the Germanic. The poorer the Germanic blood, the greater is the inclination to suicide. In France we find the fewest suicides where the Germanic element is smallest, as in Auvergne, Brittany, Gascony, Roussillon, Bearn; and the same is true of Italy. The minimum is found in Calabria, the Basilicata, the Abruzzi, and Sardinia, where the Germanic element either never penetrated or was extremely small; while the maximum is found in northern Italy, which was settled in the middle ages by various German races.

Of the social influences that promote suicide, that of imitation has long been noted. Men think in herds and go mad in herds, while they recover their reason slowly one by one. History teems with accounts of suicidal epidemics which have seized upon men at times, just as at other times there have been epidemics of witchcraft, poisoning, house-anointing, self-mutilation, barn-burning, and other crimes. A mania of suicide prevailed in ancient times among the women of Miletus; and centuries afterward a similar one raged among the women of Marseilles and of Lyons, in France. The same thing occurred at Rouen in 1806, in the Valois in 1813, and at Stuttgart in 1811. In the year 1772 a lottery mania raged in England, which was followed by an epidemic of self-killing that raged with almost incredible virulence. The streets of London swarmed with wretches raving mad with the agony of blasted hope. The mania for hanging themselves on a cross-bar, which broke out among the inmates of

the Hôtel des Invalides at Paris, is well known. Let a man destroy himself by jumping headlong from a monument or tower, and straightway a dozen or more others follow his example, and this mode of death is discarded only when some one shoots or drowns himself, or suffocates himself with the fumes of charcoal. In 1882 so many Parisians sought death by throwing themselves from the Vendôme Column that the ascent was interdicted to the public. After Castlereagh killed himself with a penknife in 1822, many more Englishmen killed themselves in the same way. After the leap of Odlum from the Brooklyn Bridge, two men were arrested in the act of making the leap.

Besides imitation there are other social influences which lead to suicide ; but the most powerful is that which we denote by the general term *civilization*. Self-killing is emphatically the crime of intellectual peoples. Almost unknown to savages, rare among Mohammedans, it rages among the nations most advanced in culture and refinement with a fierceness exactly proportional to their mental development. It is said that Rome knew nothing of this curse till after the establishment of the empire. It was when the Roman legions had carried their eagles triumphantly through the world, and brought back the means of luxury in the spoils of Europe, Asia, and Africa, that life in the Eternal City began to be "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable." To-day the Germans, who are the profoundest thinkers and the most cultivated people, are also the most suicidal race, in Europe. France comes next, England third, Italy and Hungary fourth ; while, on the other hand, Spain, the most backward of European nations in culture, Ireland, Portugal, Corsica, and Dalmatia rank the lowest in the suicidal scale. Of the different regions of the same country, the north and northeast of France outrank in culture and in suicide the centre and the southwest ; the north and centre of Italy outrank the south and the islands ; and Saxony, which in its schools and general culture surpasses the rest of Germany, surpasses it also in the number of its suicides. In short, so universally does the rule hold that the strength of the tendency to self-killing may almost be regarded as an index to a people's civilization.

One of the inevitable effects of cultivation is to make men dissatisfied with poverty and deprivation ; to stimulate the demands for the comforts of life which the mass of toilers cannot attain. As society advances new wants

arise; the luxury of to-day becomes a necessary of life to-morrow; and every want, though essential to man's improvement and perfection, involves new victims to madness and suicide. In the effort to grasp the conveniences and luxuries of our complex modern life, he cannot move without collision, without meeting stubborn obstacles and limits. The interests of other men enclose and press round him like a circle of iron; and if he is weak-bodied or weak-minded, if he is handicapped by bad habits, and cannot adapt himself to new ideas, he will succumb, and perhaps perish in the struggle. To those who recognize the fact that all the phenomena of social life, all the progressive phases of civilization, originate in the constant struggle of man with nature, with other men, and with himself, suicide will appear what it actually is,—not an enigma, an inexplicable social phenomenon, but one inevitable in the process of civilization. Only, as it has been said, "in an ideal condition of the future, where man's sphere of action shall have made itself independent of nature, and where all his forces shall have attained the summit of perfection, will the struggle cease to have victims; but until that supreme end has been attained the weary and perhaps everlasting path will still be inundated with the tears and the blood of mankind."

One of the most distinctive characteristics of our civilization, and at the same time one of the most fruitful causes of voluntary death, is the fast living, the hurry, excitement, and competition, of our nineteenth-century life. We live in an age of intense activity; the click of the electric telegraph, the whistle of the locomotive, and the whir of machinery are ever in our ears. The rapid development of our country, its vast industrial organizations, our fiery ambition and emotional temperament, our dry electric atmosphere, all impel us to overwork. Travelling by steam at thirty miles an hour is but faintly typical of the headlong hurry, the hot, panting haste, with which we pursue both business and pleasure. In the fierce competitions of professional and business life—the strife for wealth, office, and honors—the wear and tear of brain are enormous. It is well known to machinists that no evolution of force can take place with excessive rapidity without damaging the machine in which it occurs. Express-railway stock wears out far more rapidly than that used for slower traffic; and man's nervous system is subject to the same

law—that duration of action is inversely proportional to its intensity.

The struggle between civilized men for the world's goods is becoming more and more a struggle of intellectual strength, ingenuity, and skill; and as the brain is the weapon with which the fight is made, it breaks down under the strain to which its forces are unequal. Nature protects the strong, the skilful, the subtle; but she leaves the ill-formed, the anomalous, the poor in force and skill, to be crushed in the contest; and thus a continual elimination takes place of inferior organisms from human society. But even the conquerors, the men of iron frames and lignum-vitæ nerves, often emerge sadly crippled from the struggle which has consumed so much of their physical and psychical force, and suffer from infirmities and an overpowering sense of ennui and life-weariness which hurry them into a suicide's grave. A recent melancholy example of this is the fate of the late Franklin B. Gowen, the eminent Philadelphia lawyer, who died by his own hand, a victim of the same overwork and "carking care" which laid in the grave the composer Weber, who had so often vainly sighed, "Would that I were a tailor, for then I should have had a Sunday's holiday!"—drove Hugh Miller to kill himself, crying, "My brain is burning; I can bear life no longer!"—cut short the lives of John Leyden, and Alexander Nicolly at thirty-six, struck down Sir William Hamilton with paralysis in the meridian of his powers, sent a vice-president of the United States reeling from the Senate chamber, and ended the career of that brilliant journalist, Henry J. Raymond, in a cerebral crash at forty-nine.

Again, the modern means of transit and of conveying intelligence,—the railway, the steamship, the electric telegraph, and the telephone,—enabling us, as they do, to utilize every moment of our lives, are crowding our days with activities, excitements, and anxieties which till recently were unknown. Our life to-day is the life, not of our own city or country only, but of the whole world. Events a thousand miles away startle and thrill us like those at our very doors. Every man actively engaged in the world's business to-day is a microcosm. The world's pulse beats within him, and he is sensitive to its throbbings; he burns with its feverishness, and faints with its languor. It is this which constitutes the stress of modern existence, exhausting so rapidly

human life, wearing it out with the pains and penalties of a civilization which is as heedless of mortal weakness as the machine that catches its inventor in iron tails and crushes him to atoms.

We pride ourselves on our superiority to our fathers ; but while we enjoy more, we also suffer more, from a thousand artificial anxieties and cares. They fatigued only the muscles ; we exhaust the finer strength of the nerves ; and the result is that loss of stamina, of hopefulness, and of zest for the simple pleasures of life which leads to disgust, life-weariness, and finally to self-destruction. To all this may be added the weakmindedness which springs from forced, hothouse education, begun too early and goaded on too fast ; and, again, from premature responsibility and the engagement of untrained minds in the toils of life. Boys and girls to-day are often men and women in the experience of life and its excitements, and *ennuyés* or *blasés* at an age when their grandparents were flying kites and dressing dolls. The young man, scorning the old slow roads to success, and determined to dazzle the world and conquer its honors by a *coup de main*, "consumes in an hour the oil of the lamp which should burn throughout the night," and, ere he reaches the meridian of life, exhibits the haggard face, the sunken eye, and the feeble gait which belong to "weird eld." Who can wonder that under such circumstances life becomes "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable," and that the poor, worn-out victim of ambition and overwork, who has never once rested his brain or "possessed his soul" during his hot pursuit of wealth and fame, should seek to end his days, and with them

> "The heartache, and the thousand natural shocks
> That flesh is heir to"?

WILLIAM MATHEWS.

THE BEST SIGN OF OUR TIMES.

DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND EVOLUTION IN EUROPE.

BY EMILIO CASTELAR.

PERHAPS the best sign of our times is the great change which has carried us from the revolutionary situation begun in 1789 to its present evolution. Democracy in the antique world and in the feudal world was left to cities and entirely confined within them. The Jewish tribes, the Athenian people, the Roman plebeians, the Spanish municipalities, the French communes, the Italian towns, and the Hanseatic cities present to us, in fragmentary and isolated groups, the germs, the protoplasms, the seeds, from which democracy will spring.

There is in the democratic principle, even in its rudiments and imperfect beginnings, a virtue so exalted that it could triumph over the Pharaohs, as did the Jewish tribes ; over Darius and Cyrus, as did the Greek republics ; over the Tarquins, as did the *royal people*; over a Barbarossa, as did the Lombard cities ; spreading through history ideals which have crystallized in the course of time, and have thus transmitted to us intellectual and æsthetic culture like that of the Greeks or the Italians ; moral principles like those that flowed down from lofty Sinai, with its revealing lightnings, on the tables of that great republican prophet who was named Moses.

The formation of the democracy in which we live has much resemblance to the formation of the planet which we inhabit. History in itself approaches geology, and geology history.

We are now citizens : victory which cannot satisfy us until we fulfil our ministry and end upon earth. Having labored for the good of humanity and for the progress of the planet, we must now sigh with the desire for new worlds, for new horizons, for

new heavens, for the harmonies of other arts still more beautiful, for the light of other sciences still more vivid, for the love of perfection; we must now work upwards in the scale of progress, from time to time stained with blood, from time to time groping in obscurity, but upright between the contingent and the absolute, in order that there, at the last step, we shall stand face to face with our Creator, with our God. Without this intense sympathy for nature, for society, for history, it is impossible to know democracy. Just as the human mind, rising to the summit of the world which we call organic, carries in itself a superhuman evolution, democracy, rising to the highest spheres of society and history, promises a super-democratic evolution.

But we do not attempt to scan the future: let us content ourselves with studying and recognizing the present. Before our own eyes, about the middle of the century which gave birth to our own generation, democracy, that living element, has in a measure passed from revolution to evolution. In the present state of science, and with the current use of the two words named, we may be spared all unnecessary explanations. In the revolutions, in those creative periods, the revolutionists in advance of their epoch appeal to arms, improvise formulas of more or less progressive solution; firing the social stratum with an intense heat, they believe it fit to receive in its liquid and flaming lava easily-formed impressions of all ideals. In the evolutionary period exactly the contrary takes place; time, with its creative force, enters as principal motor of measured and graded progress. Sudden improvisation is followed by social reflection. Logical sequence becomes necessary in such a condition of the collected mind, and it sees that to reach the end of a line it cannot drop the intermediate points, and to arrive at the termination of an epoch it is impossible to separate it from the preceding time; and thus a phase of progress cannot be separated from the preceding phases, which generate and prepare it.

The word evolution, although it is to-day the key of contemporary science, has not yet been received by many minds, nor has it yet been able, for that reason, to determine great currents of thought; nevertheless it explains from the formation of the solar system even to the formation of the social system. Matter revolving in successive series of evolutions, and evolving its heat by this movement, has produced the luminaries which are called

suns and the opaque bodies which receive light and life from the sun. The earth revolving, the matter of our planet has, during successive evolutions, produced the mineral world, the vegetable world, the animal world, the human world. Human society, revolving, in turn, in a series of successive evolutions, has risen from the lowest savage tribes to the United States. The classes are moving upwards. Religious beliefs have moved onward from the worship of a rude fetich to the proclamation of the spiritualistic and sublime unity of our God. In everything the universal evolution is to be seen. From the age when man wandered a nomad in the primitive deserts to the time when he discovered printing, through what logical series of momentous evolutions have we not passed!

In my opinion, the two nations which most clearly represent revolution and evolution are France and England. France, by revolution, has reached a more perfect social state and a higher form of government than England; but how different the security of freedom in the two countries! While in England Parliament and individual liberty run no danger, in France an adventurer succeeds in obtaining numerous partisans by games of political juggling very similar to those of the circus prestidigitateurs, or a royal pretender, to whom it occurs to ask service in the regular army, causes those democratic institutions to totter painfully, and easily carries them onward to the verge of ruin. The evolutionary progress of England, from the time when it came out of its revolutionary stage, its constant and gradual progress, does not attain the dazzling brilliancy of revolutionary progress in France, but it is not subject to the same eclipses—that is to say, to the same reactions. How many times has reaction broken open the doors of French households, and, entering within their sacred precincts, carried off the heads of the families in Bonapartist dragonades, exiling them to distant lands, while the British hearth shone like an inviolable sanctuary! How many times has the French Assembly disappeared, mowed down by imperial constitutions, while that of Britannia is immovable, its roots penetrating so deep that they are as impossible to pull up as the antique bases and time-honored foundation of the national territory! How many constitutions have gone to ruin in France from the Revolution to this day, in less than a hundred years, whereas Great Britain improves her constitution and perfects it

daily without any outward show! I detest, in England, monarchy, nobility, the feudal right of primogeniture, and the form of property. In France I love the republic, democracy, the sentiment of equality so deeply rooted, the extension and diffusion of property.

England herself passed through the revolution fever. The blood of the Cavaliers flowed, mingled with the blood of the Puritans; the blood of the legitimate sovereign with the blood of the Roundheads. The difference between the revolutionary and evolutionary periods of England is patently demonstrated, as the same people, with its ancient invariable character, its irresistible propensities, its fundamental historic stamp, is profoundly modified in passing from a feverish period to a calm one. Democracy, in order to triumph, may have imperative need of revolution; but democracy, in order to organize itself and thrive, demands a constant and progressive evolution. This luminous example of England confirms the idea that the human groups known under the name of societies need revolution to conquer certain resistances, and evolution to organize the triumph obtained over such resistances. For this reason we should consider revolution, like war, a plague of the human race, but a plague at certain moments indispensable to suffering humanity. Without gunpowder, feudal castles would never have been blown to pieces, nor absolute kings without revolution. Tell, Rienzi, Orange, Padilla, Cromwell, Washington, Mirabeau, Riego, Manin, Garibaldi, Lincoln, came to be summits of enormous revolutionary volcanoes, whose eruptions have destroyed, with their lavas, the old barbaric tyrannies, and covered our social fields with a new deposit. But nothing proves that revolution has triumphed in the same manner as evolution. Revolutions very often do not end old crimes at one blow, but open the way to terminate them by a series of multiplied progressive reforms.

The greatest sign of the times, characteristic of contemporary movement, whatever may be said to the contrary, is evolution. This measured and gradual evolution shows that democracy comes down from its old theoretical ideals to incarnate itself more or less purely in living reality. No more than three lustrums ago all the European democracies professed a Utopian doctrine and showed a revolutionary temperament. This exaggeration in doctrine and this violence in procedure demonstrated that society

had created us for its needs, to combat and preach to, not to contract the enormous responsibility of government. The same relations existing by preëstablished harmonies between the country and its flora and fauna exist, perforce, between society and its organisms. The earth is firm, the sky serene, because we have left the revolutionary period and entered the evolutionary one.

A parallel between the democracy of '48 and that of to-day will confirm this idea more and more. From the reaction of the year 1815 to the revolution of 1830 Europe rested on two principles: first, to every nation a legitimate king; second, in the relations of the nations the Holy Alliance of these legitimate kings. The revolution of 1830 in France, the already recognized independence of Greece, the parliamentary system in Spain and Portugal, did not radically change the state of mind or the state of things. In Greece a Bavarian envoy of the Holy Alliance governed like those placed by the absolute monarchs over Tuscany, Parma, Naples, and Modena: the French revolution of 1830 kept the second branch of Bourbons on the throne thus well paid for their authority and their blood, and the atlas of the Restoration very little modified by a mesocracy (government by the *bourgeoisie*, or middle classes) so conservative in itself that it became reactionary. While in the Iberian peninsula there reigned a daughter of Ferdinand VII. and a granddaughter of John VI., families well accepted by the tyrants of the north and little swayed by the constitutional forms under whose written institutions both reigned, a profound silence spread over the whole European mind; an irremediable paralysis caused atrophy of the public will. Czar Nicholas I., rising upon the stooped shoulders of his serfs, presided over the horrible and sinister assemblies of monarchs; feudalism, broken, but not desperate, spread itself over Germany, whose territory was weighed down by thirty-five thrones. In Austria everything was regulated by the right of conquest, and in Bavaria everything was directed by absolutism half-sensual, half-theocratic. The corpse of Venice floated on the lagoons, guarded by the Slavonians of Croatia; Milan lay in the guard-house of Austria as in a horrible sepulchre; from the mountain passes of Savoy to the Sicilian sea there was naught in those semi-Asiatic governments but prisons and executions for free people. Turkey kept her Christians as the tamer his wild beasts, by means of fire and sword; while the

Catholic pontiff reigned over the ruined Forum and the bare Capitol like a ghost of the ancient Cæsar.

Those who did not live in those times do not know how gloom pervaded every place and what sadness hung black night over all minds. My childhood was embittered by this horrible spectacle. In Paris, in London, in Geneva, and even in Madrid, emigrants appeared less human creatures than dismal phantoms. No home that was not saddened by the presence of an exile. The Italian liberals repeated the poem of the sepulchre sung by the sublime Hugo Foscolo in circumstances similar to those which suggested to Jeremiah his lamentations; the Hungarians told each other by foreign hearths the dreams of their great prophets; then the German thinkers in Zurich laid plans for the unity of Germany, because none of the democratic guides, with the exception of those of the west, could live and breathe in his own country.

The revolution of 1848 surprised Europe like a storm out of a cloudless sky. No king, none, thought himself so near the final day of judgment. Now that the irrepressible conflict had spoken out the exiles returned to their fatherland without taking counsel with any one. Never did the solidarity of Europe seem more apparent. Because King Louis Philippe fled one February morning, the streets of Madrid ran blood; the beloved King of Belgium arose and said that he was disposed to give his constitutional crown into the hands of those who had offered it to him, the hands of the people; a great constitutional assembly was called together at Frankfort, which proclaimed the unity of Germany; the Emperor of Austria had to abdicate, and the King of Prussia had to salute those who died for liberty beneath the blows of the royal troops; Poland trembled in her deep grave, and Hungary arose with sceptre and lance in complete liberty and independence; Milan drove the Austrians from her territory, and the doge and senate reappeared in the piazetta of St. Mark; Florence instituted a triumvirate of thinkers in accordance with her artistic character, and Rome a classic republic, counting Mazzini among her prophets and Garibaldi among her heroes; a parliamentary system was established in Savoy, and republican unity in Switzerland; the slaves of the French colonies saw their manacles drop from their hands and the fetters from their feet. Wherever there was an ideal, it was transformed into an actuality; and wherever there was an oppressed being, he

felt the liveliest and most consoling hope. In all our hearts were written the words, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; in all our eyes were reflected the splendors of the universal gospel. A breath of consolation spread throughout the European world—serene confidence in the future. Who could fear for democracy and for liberty?

In the year 1848 we were prophets, not statesmen. As ideals, we had a myriad of Utopian visions untested by trial; and for methods, violent revolutions without measure and without limits. Because the French republic had seemed to us so beautiful when proclaimed with barricades, in the capital of Humanity, all the rest must follow. A vague socialism mingled with those numerous aspirations. One dreamer thought he solved everything by founding a ministry of progress, which would recognize it as lord and master. Another revolutionist solved the social problem by shutting up the workingmen in national workshops similar to old monasteries. The phalanstrian rose every night to see if earth had entered the period of harmony, and resurrecting the seven moons tinted by the seven fundamental colors in the infinite heavens. The Proudhonists promised to solve all the economical contradictions by establishing a free bank of popular credit, without saying where they would get their valuables, and destroying money, which is to the exchange of products as printing and the alphabet are to the exchange of ideas.

Not one of the nations most advanced in liberty could exempt itself from some such revolutionary turmoil. The example of the English chartists, who promised and predicted revolution, is sufficient to prove this, or the example of that sunderbund formed in Switzerland, which carried civil war into the bosom of a republic, of a liberty, of a democracy incompatible with all war. In 1848 Sicily separated itself from the Bourbons. In the following year the force and violence of some mercenary troops riveted the irons to which the beautiful island had been condemned under its hateful and hated monarchs. The Roman republic lasted a little less time. Directed by superior statesmen, aided by volunteers wonderfully united, put into a state of defence by all the Italian revolutionists, who set upon it their last hopes, it sustained a siege worthy of the times which repulsed Coriolanus and Hannibal. But there are no troops which can overcome forces five times superior in number, and republican Rome suc-

cumbed to the vast number of French, Austrian, Spanish, and Neapolitan battalions united to besiege it. Apostles like the trinmoirs of Florence fell wounded by the very people whom in their sublime ingenuousness they thought to have saved and redeemed. Charles Albert, mounted on his war steed, appeared, in the swiftness of his blows and rapidity of his tactics, like those legendary figures dimly seen by warriors amid the mirage of the battle. Very soon the disaster of Novara occurred, producing an effect as mortal as the unavoidable surrender of Utica proved to Cato. Milan fell beneath Radetsky. In the meanwhile Charles Albert remained in the west of the peninsula, his own throne lost and his national hopes destroyed. In vain Venetia opposed the Croatians within her lagoons, as the Venetians ten centuries before opposed the irruptions of the barbarians with better success. The republic of Venice, which had astounded the world by its desperate defence, was ruined by reaction. The same fate attended the unfortunate assembly at Frankfort, although the thinkers of Germany mounted its rostrum and the most fruitful ideas filled the atmosphere with the spirit of the age. Frankfort was not spared for its learning, Venice for its beauty, nor Rome for its greatness.

The reactionary spirit flung its scorn in the face of liberty. Thus it died out in the intoxication of an exaggerated ideal, uncomprehended and perhaps incomprehensible. As though the spirit of progress had breathed a pestilential air in the feudal countries of Germany, the two assemblies of Vienna and Berlin disappeared at the attack of an army itself in insurrection against the rights of man. Prophets swarmed everywhere, and behind the prophets congregated heroes who wished to die and who soon wore martyr crowns distributed to those who sought them, at the point of the Croatian bayonets. Reaction had scattered them everywhere in those bloody fields of revolution and war. There remained not a particle of territory in Germany and its adjacent countries, from Transylvania and the Croatian circles to Denmark and its half-German provinces, which was not again soaked with blood as in the religious wars or in the Thirty-Years' War. It seemed as if the social forces of attraction had been spent, and that all the nations spread over the old land of Arminius were becoming disintegrated by violent repulsions and reduced to atoms. Still I shall quote the sublime Kossuth to the

assemblage by the Theiss, whither, like the untamed horses of the pampas, two hundred thousand men rushed in defence of the kingdom of St. Stephen. The Slavonians came under their general with exterminating swords, commanded by the Czar Nicholas to destroy so grand a revolution. Fire, sack, violations, all these plagues of a civil and international war swept along the banks of the Danube.

There appeared on Danish fields and Rhenish hills, from Pesth to Constance and from Copenhagen to Vienna, a war like that which had occurred two centuries before, when Wallenstein passed through the whole German territory like a sinister comet, and Tilly beheaded two thousand Scandinavians. The Croatians in their bloody butchery hacked off the breasts of thousands of German peasant women; the Austrians revenged themselves for their defeats by impaling the inhabitants of Mecklenburg and burning the Lutheran churches and their congregations. The horses, like the pale horse of the Apocalypse, were turned to red and black by the blood-stains and dust which covered them. There were soldiers who boasted of more than twenty children pierced through by their lances. Thirty thousand corpses lay in the streets of Magdeburg. Thus the fights in the streets of Berlin and those in the streets of Vienna; the heroic fortitude of the deputies of Frankfort, as well as the incredible daring of the revolutionary tribunes in Baden, Hesse, and Saxony; the holy crusade of Kossuth, as well as the stupendous efforts of Blum; so many sacrifices and martyrs; this expenditure of tears; this destruction by flames; these torrents of blood,—all were lost through the inevitable reaction which extended its cold silence over ideas, as frost blights the seed.

Paris was the parent of this reaction in the years 1848 and 1850, as Paris had been the parent of all the revolutions of 1848. The study of the origin of this universal reaction confirms my theory. It is not to be found so much in the implacable anger of its enemies as in the exaggerations of the revolutionists themselves. The germs of the 2d of December and the bloody days which followed were contained in the preceding revolutionary movements pushed on by the most ardent revolutionists in their anxiety to advance the republic and carry it beyond the narrow limits within which it was confined by an inflexible necessity. Napoleon III. violated the sacredness of popular national repre-

sentation: why had not the republican revolutionary party violated it sooner? In the middle of May, 1848, Louis Blanc proposed the creation of a ministry of labor which would have charge of the social questions and the improvement of the working classes. His speech had the air and accent of a revolutionary proclamation. In that furnace of incendiary passions no fuel could be thrown like that contained in these words: "Under Louis Philippe I announced to you the revolution of disdain; beware to-day of the revolution of hunger!" Louis Blanc's proposition was rejected; the ministry of labor was refused. At this refusal the clubs were inflamed with anger against the government and against the parliament.

During this over-excitement came the saddest news from Poland. The republic with its creative breath had only galvanized a corpse. The nation, dead, dissected, and buried in pieces, was able to raise its livid head in the cold grave, thanks to a lightning streak of marvellous hope which interrupted its leaden sleep. Its tyrant, its implacable martyrizer, wounded it again. New blood was drawn from that dead body. New spadefuls of earth fell upon its dreary grave, which was trampled by the hoofs which the horses of the Don buried in the very bones of Poland. Paris, the people of Paris at least, echoed these griefs and added to impatience about the social problem impatience for Polish independence. Two illusions dazzled it: that a ministry of progress and labor would suffice to put an end to misery, and that France could pass over Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to transmit the warmth of its blood and the ideas of its intellect to the unfortunate Poles. But manifestations were the order of the day, adding to perturbation of mind disorders and mobs in the street. These manifestations were made by thousands of workmen. The curious and idle followed. As rivers are increased by affluents, so in going from the celebrated Bastille to the no less celebrated Place de la Concorde the mob received all those who were met on the way and hurried them off with its current. On reaching the door of the Chamber of Deputies it appeared like a sea lashed into fury by all the passions. As an angry wave breaks all dams and palisades, so did the furious mob break through the railing which surrounded the Chamber of Deputies, and like a stormy inundation entered the sacred precincts of the houses. Benches and galleries were filled by multitudes of disturbed and shouting

men. Some attacked the presidency; others were disrespectful to the president; and one and all, not heeding the warnings of the best and most authorized democrats, irreverentially and rebelliously dissolved the legitimate national representation.

The beating of the drum, the report of the guns, the wheels of the cannon which shook the pavements, the dread of the advancing regiments, succeeded in dispersing the mob without resort to violence; but this dissolution announced, at the same time, the dissolution of the republican principle through the element whose violence recalled the 18th of Brumaire and prepared the 2d of December. But a republic founded in February, thus insulted in May, was to see itself completely blood-stained and ruined in June—bathed in blood and ruined because those same republicans gave the mortal blow. The greatest battle which had until then been fought by a populace took place. Paris was in flames during five mortal days. Its maze of streets bristled with barricades. The Red Republicans rose unanimously against the Conservative Republicans with a rage never fostered in a tyrant's heart. The national guard, through anger and rage, lost sight of what divided the legions of workmen. On their part these gave an infernal chase to the militia. The discharge of guns, the thunder of cannon, the noise of the barricades crashing down in all this tumult, the blaze of the fires, the shrieks of the victims, all united with infernal rejoicings in this terrible dilemma which said: "Bread or lead." The saddest part of this astounding revolution was that there was no solution. If they conquered, what bread could be obtained by the unfortunates standing in the desert created by their own victory? If they were vanquished, what life would remain in the republic, surrounded, like Niobe, by her murdered sons? The dictatorship of Cavaignac came as the consequence of disaster. But this honorable soldier was not guilty of this great misfortune. He was guilty who stirred up the people to a revolution without solution, and brought about first the dictatorship of a republican, to support later the dictatorship of a Bonaparte, under whom expired the republic, already wounded in May and June, 1848.

A short while after this great catastrophe, the principal democrats found themselves in exile. The European society of 1849 and 1850 resembled greatly the society which arose during the

first century of the Roman Empire, after the extinction of the great republic. Something of what took place in the first age of imperial Rome took place during the first age of imperial France. France had her Tacitus—Victor Hugo. The great poet, with the magnificent stanzas of his "Châtiments," wrote an epic through which flashed celestial and burning wrath. The generation that heard so many great things, this young and even æsthetic generation, kept in the most secret recess of its bosom the bitter gall drawn little by little from those sublime verses. This seems impossible, but it is the truth.

With public indifference for accomplice, with the government as well-disposed witnesses, with the applause of vile sycophants, arrogating to himself the dignity and title of saviour, cheered by a part of the people and praised by all the clergy, a magistrate of the republic, its President, perjured himself, robbed and murdered, and afterwards, as the reward of criminal ambition, maintained by the bayonets of the army, he received the crown of a Cæsar upon that brow devoid of conscience! Remembering how their own tribunes had taxed them in the days of June, the French people were, if not the accomplice in, at least indifferent to, the *coup d'état* of the 2d of December.

Democracy declared itself vanquished, but not content with its fate. On the morning after that night of its misfortune, it set to work to reconstruct its institutions. It comprehended from that hour, serious in its sadness, the necessity of moderation. To attain its primary end, it was requisite to abandon in its theories all Utopian projects, and in its methods all revolutionary excesses.

The two great masters of evolution opposed to revolution were Deak and Manin. When they conceived the evolutionary method, it seemed impossible ever to reach a real arrangement with those who represented tradition and monarchical authority in Austria and Italy. The Emperor seemed an implacable executioner. As to Italy, democratic opinion imputed the final disaster after Novara to the misdirection and inexperience of the unfortunate Savoyards. The mind cannot now return to the astonishment caused then by propositions at first sight so varied. But political genius had suggested to Deak, and patriotic genius to Manin, the fixed resolution to make wise proposals without which we had no hope that the Hungarian nationality, or the Italian, would rise

again. When Deak proposed to hold communication with those who had retreated before Austria after the famous battle of Novara, the scandal which it caused among the Magyars and the Italian patriots can be compared only to the scandal caused among the French republicans when their chiefs took the oath to the Emperor and went into parliament. Deak kept near him that shining character, Kossuth, fascinating as an epic legend, opposing himself to every transaction contrary to the martial record made by him during his two years of marvellous exploits. Manin kept near him Mazzini, who maintained the sacred fire of the republican ideal in his oracular proclamations and the tragic march of systematic revolution. The French moderates had banded with them the irreconcilables who represented all the theories of the revolution of 1848, as Victor Hugo, the republican epic; Ledru-Rollin, for universal suffrage; Louis Blanc, for social tendencies; exiles and revolutionists to the bitter end.

But those who were willing to compromise, those whom we may call revolutionists in France, Italy, and Hungary, quickly understood certain things. Deak understood that the Utopian project of separating Hungary from Austria was impossible after the fall of Kossuth. Manin understood that the Utopian idea of resuscitating Italy free and independent, by means of her republics, also became impossible at the moment of the surrender of the Roman republic to the French and of the Venetian republic to the Austrians. Favre, Simon, and Picard, in their turn, understood that the republic of poetry and idealism, the republic of evolution and sedition, the republic of communistic tendencies, had also vanished at the *coup d'état* of the 2d of December, and that there was no remedy but to think of the republic of peaceful progress, of immovable order, of conservatism and government brought about by a conjunction of providential circumstances which no man could hasten or delay; finally arranged in such a manner that the middle classes would become reconciled to the lower classes in order not to see popular representation destroyed by popular invasion as in that May, and by the discord and fire as in those horrible days of June.

But where the change of revolutionary into evolutionary ideas was best exhibited was without doubt in Germany itself; with the most theoretical and dreamy of European democrats. I de-

clare that I do not know of another such outburst of electric and luminous ideas as that of the Congress of Frankfort. A legion of theorizing republicans formulated individual rights without the least attention to the serfs dwelling throughout a feudal country, unable to comprehend the precious ideas of the true, the good, and the beautiful, for lack of that wide cultivation which might open their eyes and give them sight. They proclaimed popular sovereignty before the numberless kings and rulers raised above the fragments of a destroyed and ruined Germany. They believed that by speeches and theoretical laws German society could be unified, and that it would so remain despite reactionary particularists, who swarmed everywhere, and rival princes who had always been at war. They fought like heroes and fell like martyrs in the many engagements of those two revolutionary years; they went into exile. But as Deak thought it necessary for Hungarian independence to compromise with the Hapsburgs; Manin, for Italian liberty; the group of Frenchmen, for the good of the future republic, to come to an understanding with the old liberal parliamentarians presided over by Thiers; so the German exiles, to found the unity and independence of Germany, thought it indispensable to ally themselves with the house of Brandenburg, with the kings of Prussia. What they never did during the revolution of '48 they were constrained to do by the inexorable logic of events during the tremendous reaction of '50.

In some parts evolution has succeeded revolution with manifest advantages, as in Spain. While we had an intolerant and exclusive church, which permitted alongside of it no other manifestation of religious worship; a semi-absolute monarchy surrounded, unluckily for us, by crafty bureaucrats persuading themselves that they were an Asiatic caste; an iniquity and infamy like the piratical slave trade, blasphemously pronounced a crime indispensable to the existence of our country; an institution as pernicious and accursed as slavery which enslaved us also, and fettered us to tyranny, I cannot deny the inevitable necessity of resorting in the last extremity to powder, and even dynamite, against similar cyclopean abuses of privilege. Our political cycle was later than the French political cycle. We did not enter the period of evolution until the year in which we saw that all our republican conquests had been lost through revolutionary excesses,

the year 1873. Thus we may clearly put it: It began with the restoration of Alfonso XII. A policy based on a slow and gradual evolution, a policy of progress and measured method, due to my personal initiative, seconded and maintained by a small number of co-religionists, who made up for the smallness of their number by the abundance of their ripe ideas and of their civic virtues. Strong in our profound conviction, by the wise and prudent system of evolution we reëstablished religious freedom, freedom of scientific discussion, freedom of the press, freedom of meeting, freedom of association, civil marriage, trial by jury, universal suffrage, self-government of the nation, with two houses, all the democratic principles, without shedding a drop of blood in our conquest of Spain. After such results, the vain enemies of so salutary an evolution may cry out against us as much as they please. We will show them the triumph of democratic principles, and in truth we have not changed the method.

Contemplate Europe under the first French empire in flames from Cadiz to Moscow; the Europe of the alliance between the kings in 1815, darkened by the reactionary spirit whose poisonous breath extinguished all hope; the Europe of 1823 with the Bourbons back in Paris and their hundred thousand soldiers restoring on the Trocadéro the diadem of Ferdinand VII.; the Europe of the year 1850, during which so many progressive nations recoiled beneath the pressure of so astounding a reaction: consider such a Europe and compare it with the Europe of to-day, whose efforts have confined absolutism to Russia and Turkey, placing parliaments and tribunes in the Austrian Empire, formerly silenced and oppressed; the Magyars who seemed forever crushed are freed from servitude; Milan and Venetia are rescued from the foreign power which had converted their quadrilateral into a Promethean Caucasus; the Roman theocracy, that key to all retrogression, necessarily contents itself with the spiritual direction of the Catholic world, and recognizes the impossibility of reassuming the temporal power; the Hapsburgs have been excluded from the German confederation; the nations paralyzed by the Bourbons of Naples, Parma, and Modena have been won back from old tyranny to new progress.

In England peaceful radicals have been substituted for the revolutionists. France, cured of Utopianism, completely converted to peaceful progress, destined sooner or later to

enlighten all European nations, has established the republic definitely and without recall. In Switzerland the sunderbund has averted the war of the reactionists, and in questions of interior policy obliged them to use no other arms than those kept ready for liberty. Greece and the Ionian isles have become accustomed to self-government, difficult enough in any land, but most difficult in oriental countries; the new independent nations spread on the banks of the Danube, once stained with the blood drawn by the lash from the shoulders of the wretched natives, under inhuman viziers; in the Muscovite countries serfdom, old and widespread, has been uprooted, and joy springs up anew in these dead souls who have felt a Paschal resurrection. Our Spain has been transformed from absolutism and the Inquisition to a land of modern rights, of peaceful progress, joined by natural ties with the new world and with all progressive nations.

This is a consoling spectacle, showing us that the planet never stops in its course through infinity, and that God never ceases to reveal to us new truths, for us to compile them into laws of an evolution without end, beneath the government of Divine Providence.

EMILIO CASTELAR.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

A BELATED CRAB.

THE tendency of evolution in both nature and art is from the coarse to the fine, the unwieldy and ineffective to the light and effective, the simple and awkward to the elaborate and graceful. Clubs, stones, javelins, and catapults have evolved into breach-loading rifles and Gatling guns. The simple sun-dial was followed by the little more elaborate clepsydra, and the clumsy, coarsely-constructed clock has developed into the exquisitely-wrought Swiss watch.

The diminutive and delicate ferns of to-day had their prototypes, ages ago, in gigantic trees of the same general type, and the only remaining representatives of the enormous and hideous saurians of geologic times are tiny, graceful lizards and the various species of *crocodilia*. The *megatherium*, a cast of whose massive skeleton stands so conspicuously in many natural-history rooms, which stood on the ground and fed on the branches of trees, has dwindled to the little sloth; the *glyptodon*, whose turtle-like shell would furnish ample shelter to a half-dozen tramps, has shrunk to the insignificant little armadillo; and the *labyrinthodon*, whose enormous hand-shaped footprints have come down to us in the solid rock, is now represented only by the frog and the toad. Even the elephant, which seems to us so huge, is but a dwarf compared with his predecessor, the *mastodon*.

But the elephant, as well as the crocodile and the alligator, is probably destined to disappear very soon (geologically speaking), and give place to creatures more in harmony with other representatives of this, the *neozoic*, age. One who is at all familiar with the story of the ages can hardly view a file of elephants pursuing their clumsy march through our streets on "circus day" without fancying that he is looking upon a delegation from a bygone era, or that he is himself still living in the last years of that era. How long will it be before imaginative naturalists will wonder how it seemed for comparatively-civilized men to be contemporary with the last representatives of geologic monsters, and actually to see them in the flesh?

Perhaps the most belated of all—the greatest anachronism among all the creatures that survive to-day—is the *limulus*, or horseshoe crab. Big as he is, he is closely allied to the class *insecta*, or, according to Professor Alpheus Hyatt, more closely still to the *arachnida*, or spiders. In fact, he is, in many respects, less highly organized than either.

Now, our general idea of an insect is a little creature with antennæ; six jointed legs; fixed eyes, consisting of many distinct facets or lenses, somewhat like a multiplying glass; mouth parts working from side to side or modified to form a sucking-tube or a proboscis; a body in three principal sections, completely covered with a chitinous armor and with or without wings;

breathing by a system of *tracheæ*, or internal tubes; and passing in its life-history through three well-marked metamorphoses. A spider differs from a true insect mainly in having eight legs instead of six, several single eyes instead of two multiple eyes, and a somewhat different breathing apparatus, and in being distinctly divided into two instead of three sections. But one of the most distinguishing characteristics of both spiders and insects is their diminutive size. A microscope is indispensable to a thorough study of their structure.

The limulus is like either an insect or a spider in all the respects which have been named, except size and number of legs. In its metamorphoses it is more like the spiders, which are far less protean than the insects.

When in your next summer stroll upon the beach you find a horseshoe crab, try to realize that you are looking upon a creature bearing a relation to insects and spiders very much like that which the gigantic *icthyosaurus* of untold ages ago bore to the lizards of to-day. See its chitinous armor, almost exactly like that which protects the beetle, even in its color; its jointed legs, with their pedal claws or pincers, almost exactly like the beetle's legs magnified. And its eyes—you have often wondered at the multiple eyes of insects as revealed by the microscope; but you will need no microscope to see the multiple eyes of the limulus. There they are, each as big as a bean, and each facet as big as a pinhead! There seems something uncanny in this creature, which has so much of the insect and of the spider about him, and yet dares to be as big as a sea-turtle fit for the table,—as if he had just crawled out from the field of the microscope, retaining in reality his apparent size! or as if Dean Swift's dream had come true, and a Brobdingnagian spider were actually crawling before your eyes!

He is not only too big for this advanced age of the small and the delicate, but, as I have implied, his huge structure is marked by the simplicity of nature's 'prentice handiwork. His very jaws are nothing more than the upper segments of his legs, as if nature forgot or could not afford to fashion organs for the special purpose of mastication, and so made shift to impress the locomotive organs into that extremely important service.

In order that the non-scientific reader may understand more thoroughly how nature began her work, and how she has improved upon it since, I will briefly describe her method of producing all living creatures, plants and animals, from the simplest to the most complex.

In the egg or seed, or what in the lowest forms corresponds to this, there is a little cell of living, jelly-like substance (*protoplasm*) called the germinating disk, or simply the germ. In the very lowest forms of life this never develops any further, but constitutes in itself the individual plant or animal. As it is nourished by the absorption and assimilation of food, it grows larger and divides or breaks in two, like a drop of water that has grown too large to hold together, and thus two individuals are formed. Each of these may form two others, and so the process may go on indefinitely. In the higher forms of life the dividing cells simply cling together, thus forming a more or less complex organism, as the different groups of cells are set apart, or "differentiated," as the process is called, for different purposes, such as eating, digesting, excreting, breathing, feeling, travelling, and finally tasting, hearing, smelling, seeing, uttering sounds, and *thinking*.

In the group of the *arthropoda*, or jointed-legged animals, to which the limulus belongs, the eggs of all the different kinds are for a good many of the first stages so nearly alike that one could not tell from their structure

alone whether they were destined to become butterflies or moths, bugs or beetles, spiders or scorpions, crabs or lobsters, the ancient and long-extinct trilobite or the modern limulus. The germinating disk in all grows and divides, grows and divides, until presently a body is formed with two rows of little knobs or buds extending from end to end. These knobs or buds are at first precisely alike, and are the beginnings, so to speak, of so many jointed legs. As growth goes on, some of these begin to differ from the rest, the anterior or foremost pair, for instance, gradually taking the form of jointed feelers, or antennæ. Another pair slowly changes to mandibles, or biting jaws, and still others change to other mouth parts, all jointed indeed, but bearing no other resemblance to legs. The most curious fact is that the same or corresponding knobs, identifying them by their original position in the egg, become in one animal antennæ, in another jaws, and in still another walking legs. For example, those which in the lobster become the second pair of antennæ become in the scorpion biting jaws. In fact, all the jointed, paired appendages of the scorpion, mouth parts, legs, and all, correspond to merely the mouth parts of the lobster.

If you examine the latter, you will see all the degrees of modification from organs which seem precisely like walking legs in all respects except that they never could be used for walking, to those which suggest legs in no respect except that they are jointed.

But in the limulus all the knobs except the first pair (which become antennæ, or "antennules") simply carry out the first crude intention, and become legs, all attached to the body in the same way and all bearing the clawed feet at the end, the antennules themselves sharing in the last-named mark of their common origin. Nature seems, as we have said, to have forgotten at first to provide a mouth with proper masticating apparatus, and so, as an afterthought, to have added teeth to the upper joints of the legs. The poor creature, therefore, has to bite off his food, so to speak, with his elbows and knees, and chew it with his upper arms and thighs!

That so huge, coarse, clumsily-contrived a creature should be found among nature's first essays at animal-building is no more strange, perhaps, than that hatchets of stone instead of steel should be found among the relics of prehistoric artisanship; but that it should still survive among the ants, bees, horses, and *men* of to-day is wonderful indeed! One might expect to find it in some out-of-the-way corner of the world, where development has been at a standstill for ages; in Australia, for instance, where many other ancient types, elsewhere extinct, still exist; but here it is in the centre of civilization, crawling before the very eyes of the sea-bather in the latest Parisian costume!

The half-rational fancy that it was overlooked and forgotten by nature when she swept away the *pterodactyl*, the *plesiosaur*, and the rest of her crude and coarse 'prentice work, seems borne out by the fact that almost its very counterpart *was* suppressed, like an author's juvenile poetry, long before the Triassic period. The trilobite, which peopled the marshes, river beds, and shores of the Cambrian and Silurian periods in vast multitudes, was almost as much like the limulus of to-day as the crab is like a lobster. The egg of one could hardly be distinguished from that of the other. The unhatched limulus is, to all intents and purposes, a young trilobite, a little shorter, with much smaller eyes, and with some slight variation in the form of its appendages, but differing in no essential particular.

A story is told of a Russian sentry who was found gravely and faithfully

guarding a pile of rotting old boards. Persistent inquiry developed the fact that, during a war many years before, a magazine had stood there, that when the other sentry-posts had been removed at the close of the war this one had been overlooked, and that ever since a sentry had stood there day and night. As soon as the necessary amount of red-tape could be unwound the sentinel was taken off. Perhaps, when nature discovers her oversight of so many ages ago, she may "take off" the belated sentinels that pace our beaches in such multitudes.

When this "clearing-up" time shall come, pray heaven she may remove some of the other Belated Crabs, not only from the physical world, but from society, government, and religion!

EDWARD P. JACKSON.

THE LEGAL PROFESSION DEFENDED.

"M..KE for me a perfect world and I'll supply the honest lawyer, but as it is now, query," is the burden of Mr. Greene's article, "Can Lawyers be Honest?" in the February NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. This is a very pretty proposal; but so long as no one seems willing or able to come forward and provide the necessary perfection, it is a little difficult to see why the lawyer of the present day should be held responsible, as he seems to be by Mr. Greene, for all the moral lapses which are going on in the world of litigation. I have heard of a young lawyer who drew upon himself the laughter of his time by advertising that he proposed to practise law "upon Christian principles." He starved until he was rescued by a good-natured infidel. He, like Mr. Greene, ought to have begun by bringing the men and women who require the vigilant supervision of lawyers into living up to their "Christian principles," and not making the lawyer do all this for them.

The proposition which Mr. Greene advances has its serious side. He puts his claim to answer the question, "Can lawyers be honest?" upon the ground that the world is a very bad one, and that the lawyer contributes to this evil state of things by exercising evasions and tergiversations to protect his client, and justifies himself by claiming that success is necessary no matter at what cost of moral fibre. Mr. Greene takes care, when he raises the question of the integrity of the profession, to say that he speaks of reputable counsel associated with reputable clients. I venture the assertion that every reputable lawyer who has become informed of the daily current of affairs as they take place in his office in private, and are put forth to the world in courts, can fairly deny Mr. Greene's charges and cite his own experience as utterly opposed thereto.

No one denies that the natural inclination of the client is to justify himself, and sometimes largely at the expense of his adversary. He goes to counsel because he there expects experience and judgment in such affairs superior to his own. The skilful lawyer, seeing his client in the first agony of consultation, can measure him and his case, and in the confidence which exists between client and counsel the battle for the moral as well as the legal right is fought over and over again. No one outside knows it. No one appreciates how much moral courage and devotion to truth are displayed by counsel, sometimes at the cost of a fee, and sometimes at the cost of favor. This means at least two-thirds of every busy lawyer's life. But Mr. Greene objects because lawyers do not say, when urged to employ the statute of limitations, or the plea of minority, or technicalities in the defence of crim-

inals, or suppression of facts, etc., that all this is morally wrong, and therefore they will not justify it by their aid. Let me ask who created these laws that are so severely censured. Not the lawyer, surely, but the experience of man in the past centuries. Who adapts them to the public needs? Our courts, for whose integrity and ability we have the greatest respect.

These are principles of law which are as important to have carried out as a thousand other rules of life. They are hard upon the few, but to the great interest of the many.

Right here I claim that no question involving the limitation of debts or other legal questions which the requirements of society have created is raised by a client but that the "reputable lawyer" will inquire into the moral phase of the question, and the instances are numberless where the client, going to counsel to make this defence, is brought to look at it from the stand-point of honesty.

It ought not to be forgotten that most litigation is the result of honest doubt as to which party is in the right. The cases are rare where men go to law from pure "cussedness," but daily the questions tried are dubious and uncertain. In this department, where courts themselves differ, is it to be said that the lawyer upon the losing side is invariably wrong, in the sense of having known it in advance?

But Mr. Greene particularly objects because lawyers seek to win their causes by keeping their clients' secrets, by suppressing facts known to them and which they will not admit when in the wrong, but do all they can to make "the wrong the right appear." He apparently forgets that the lawyer is only a small fraction in the action and conduct of litigation. Cases are created before they reach him. He furnishes no aid to the suppression of the truth. But the world, in calling him, insists that the seal of confidence shall stamp every professional act. He lives in a real world. Civilization has made it what it is, but has not altogether driven out rapacity and selfishness. His office is like the clergyman's—to keep the confession which some sin-laden wretch lays before him. He is, in brief, like any man who, being intrusted with the secrets of others to keep, keeps them. He is not to make such confidence the means of wronging others, and does not if he is "reputable."

Whenever Utopia shall come, and every one employ his time in standing at the door of his hut descanting upon the virtues of his neighbor and his own infirmities, then the lawyer will be relieved of a large part of his duties; but not before.

It seems to me that Mr. Greene's error is in holding the legal profession to duties and obligations that will require it to reform all the world, and then become perfect itself.

Independent of these considerations, it is not to be forgotten that whenever integrity, ability, and courage are required, the lawyer is oftener selected than any one else. He it is who constitutes our judiciary, and through his character and conscience the law which is accepted and acted upon by the people is largely created. In all questions involving trusts, the protection of the life, property, and welfare of all classes and conditions, he is the instrument employed without apprehension that he will be unfaithful.

Do the public patronize lawyers who make success attainable by immoral methods? I agree that there is a flashy class of attorneys that attract the attention of clients whose credit is on a par with their counsel. But their methods are soon ascertained. They reach their level and remain. I

venture the assertion that there is no lawyer of any reputation in practice to-day whose success is not dependent upon the integrity of his life and his reputation for honesty on the lips of the people with whom he lives. While the world calls also for ability of the right type to do his work as it ought to be done, he finds his success in the moral qualities he displays rather than in anything else.

No one claims perfection in this profession. Reformation! Yes, let it come, but it will never be effected by men who charge upon lawyers timidity, selfishness, and dishonesty, and believe that they as a class are regarded, as claimed by Mr. Greene, with something more than suspicion. The world is not tolerant, as he insists, of anything that shows lack of integrity in this craft. Trusted as it is in everything, it cannot be mistrusted in anything without losing caste. And while a smart trick at the bar may be laughed at for the moment, its author has to reckon with that public opinion which sooner or later relegates him to the place where he belongs.

E. C. BUMPUS.

A REQUISITE OF REFORM.

Mephisto. "Ich bin der Geist der stets verneint."—GOETHE.

SIX years ago the Republican party selected as its Presidential candidate a man whom a part of the party declined to support. A secondary issue was their objection to the Republican doctrine of protection. Their revolt in New York, combined with other causes, was of sufficient strength to throw the vote of that State, and with it the Presidency, to Mr. Cleveland. In spite of the respect with which Mr. Cleveland's administration filled even his political enemies, the so-called independent movement of 1884 was extremely unfortunate in its deadening effect on a certain class of young men. The name independent has a fine sound, and it has ever since furnished a most convenient excuse on the part of men who ought to know better for the shirking of their political duties.

There are times when self-respect rises and ought to rise superior to loyalty to party, especially in the somewhat tangled condition of party lines to-day. "Measures, not men," was the disgrace of the party that coined the phrase, for there is and ought to be a point at which party orders fall on dull ears. In the State of Massachusetts and in the city of Boston there have been abundant examples in the last few years of nominations by both parties of men of such private life or public record, or both together, that independent thinkers among the party that nominated them slew them in the house of their friends. It is such independence within the party as this that insures the stability of the country and forms the sole hope of the men who fight the corruptionist at primaries, caucuses, polls, and lobbies, and who find the strongest ally of corruption in the apathy that calls itself independence. I might cite a Democratic caucus for a highly important purpose that was held last fall in the richest, if not the most intelligent, ward in Boston. Of fifty gentlemen of that party to whom two friends of mine personally appealed to come and aid them in a square fight between the young reformers and the old machine, but one solitary individual appeared.

The struggles of conscience endured on caucus nights by a man who has settled down at the club to a long drink and the French illustrated papers are painful to witness. He is not quite sure that he is a Republican, and cannot therefore attend the Republican caucus. He never has attended and does not propose to attend the Democratic caucus. He is an independent

who proposes to choose the better candidate. In other words, he will graciously condescend to assist in the chase after the party beaters have scared up the game. The possibility of his being forced to choose between a vulture and a turkey-buzzard apparently does not occur to him.

The individual in question often quotes as authority our beloved poet and patriot, Mr. James Russell Lowell, who in a splendid outburst of eloquence against packed conventions once * declared that the stopping of foul political practices could only be accomplished by men dissociated from the interests of party.

Now, I do not believe that Mr. Lowell meant to say what his words may seem to imply to our independent friend. I cannot believe that any one so versed in American democracy as he should soberly advocate a quiet abandonment of all political duties beyond the mere act of voting, the least effective of all. I cannot believe that any *American* would recommend a Pharisaical self-exclusion from caucuses and conventions as fit only for the vulgar herd. What he doubtless intended by that unlucky sentence was that political reform is only possible when men are ready to desert their party and to join or form another when their own party deserts its principles. If men, thinking men, the kind of men to whom Mr. Lowell made that memorable address, were not so largely in the habit of abstaining from genuine political activity, there would be fewer of the packed conventions to which he alluded.

Last September there were caucuses held for the nomination of delegates to the Republican congressional conventions. Of all the various candidates for the seat in a certain district in Massachusetts there was one whose public record made it particularly undesirable that he should obtain either nomination or election. As usual in such cases, he and his friends made an organized campaign. His own city had previously ejected him from a lower office, and, when he was finally nominated, repudiated him yet more emphatically as a candidate for Congress. Yet every Republican delegate chosen by those caucuses in that city was pledged to this unworthy candidate. If six, if two, if one delegate had failed him, he could never have been nominated; *yet at no one of the caucuses did a baker's dozen of his opponents make an appearance; at none of them was even a printed ballot bearing another name presented, and at but one of them was even a single voice raised against him.*

It is easy to join a political party, and very, very hard for a man respected by the community to be read out of it. No man can always support all of his party candidates. Mr. Nathan Matthews, Jr., has recently been elected mayor of Boston by Republican votes, and Mr. Thomas N. Hart was just as truly elected to the same office by Democratic votes. The Republicans who voted for Mr. Matthews and the Democrats who voted for Mr. Hart are none the less members of their party because under peculiarly exceptional circumstances they could not vote for one of its candidates.

The ground for choice between parties lies, of course, in party action rather than party platforms. Those of us who are Republicans disregard, for example, the fact that no party platforms oppose civil-service reform in the nation or ballot reform in the States. One law was placed among the national statutes by Republican votes. It is retained there by Republican votes and the appropriation for its enforcement has been increased by Republican votes. Republican votes and party whips put ballot reform into the

* Reform Club of New York, Steinway Hall, April 13, 1888.

law of Massachusetts. Republican votes tried to put complete ballot reform into the law of New York, and failed because Democratic votes and a Democratic governor insisted on the amendment that was of such material aid to Tammany Hall in the last election. Of course all the good legislation is not made by one party nor all the bad by one party. There is, however, such a deal of sickening chatter to the effect that both parties promise much and perform nothing, and that sneering sloth is a commendable habit in the American gentleman, that it is well to remember that such is by no means the case either with the Republican or the Democratic party.

It is not true that reform within the limit of party is impossible. Look at the magnificent reform in the Democratic party of Massachusetts effected by those purely partisan politicians—the term may be worn honorably—Quincy, Russell, Crosby, Hoar, and the rest. They found the party in the hands of B. F. Butler; they have left it in the hands of W. E. Russell. This change was not made by the laying-on of hands, nor by chilly approval in essays and after-dinner speeches; it was brought about by practical, hard, party work, by wire-pulling, by canvassing, by carrying caucuses and committees, by the supplanting of "Mike" Cunniff by "Nate" Matthews.

If you believe in the Democratic party, join the Democratic party. If you believe in the Republican party, join the Republican party. If you do not know which party to join, take *The Congressional Record* and look at the tables of votes on the questions in which you are interested, or get McPherson's "Manual," or the daily papers, and find out how the parties vote in Congress and legislature on civil-service reform, or tariff reform, or ballot reform, or international copyright, or free silver, or the national bankruptcy law, or parochial schools, or any other measure pregnant with good or evil. It will be impossible for you to agree with any party in all of its acts; it will be equally impossible to plead ignorance as to which party is, on the whole, the more in accord with your opinions.

When you join a party, *join* it. Don't add yourself to the fringe that trails from the edge of its garment. A single man at a caucus may accomplish much, but a man may accomplish much more who is willing to sacrifice a little time, such a very little time, and to investigate the nominees for local offices, and then to organize opposition to the bad and support for the good. It can be done with not so very much trouble, and it is not necessary to corrupt voters to do it.

Independence within the party is the strength of the country. An intelligent protest against bad men and bad measures, a little healthy desertion, is a good thing for the party and for the nation. Independence absolute is a curse pure and simple. It is an evasion of the duties which are given us with the rights of political life. Criticism is easy; it is creation that is difficult. The negative device of Mephistopheles quoted at the head of this essay ought not to commend itself to the young men of the great republic. If the nether world must be explored for a maxim for reformers, take the motto of *Macbeth's* witches: "I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do."

CURTIS GUILD, JR.

IS IT A WISE INVESTMENT?

THERE are over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars invested in car-trust-lease certificates in this country. These certificates are held by people in every part of the civilized world. Can there be any adverse criticism, or even a quibble, as to the form of these securities? The matter is worthy of some

consideration by reason of the vast amount of money involved and the great number of people directly interested.

These certificates are generally based upon what is called a "Car-Trust Lease," a somewhat late achievement in the art of conveyancing by which, upon payment of semi-annual rents, a railroad company may acquire, for a term of years, the use of rolling stock the title to which is supposed to be in trustees for the benefit of the holders of the certificates, to whom the rents are distributed; and upon the full payment of all the so-called rents, which at the expiration of the term equal the cost of the cars and interest thereon, the cars become the property of the railroad company, the certificate-holders having received the par value of their certificates and interest.

These car-trust certificates are considered good securities on the theory that the holders have the first and sole claim to the cars until their certificates have been fully paid. If the holders of the car-trust-lease certificates are the owners of the cars, or have the first lien thereon, then, of course, the creditors of the railroad company using the cars under the lease could not levy on or attach the cars by legal process to enforce the payment of their claims. If, however, the creditors of the railroad company could, under any circumstances, seize and sell the cars by legal process, it would rub some of the gilt from the edge of the car-trust security.

The agreement between the railroad company and the trustees, on which the certificates are issued, may be called a lease, or a chattel mortgage, or any other name; yet if in point of fact it is a *conditional sale*, then the title to the cars is in the railroad company immediately upon delivery, and not in the trustees or certificate-holders, and consequently the cars may be taken by other creditors of the railroad company ahead of the certificate-holders.

There are several different forms of these leases. The most common is where a syndicate, or railroad company itself, will furnish the money to a trust company as trustee, under an agreement that the money will be used for the construction of cars to be leased to the railroad company, the terms of which lease always provide that upon the expiration of the term of the lease and fulfilment of its provisions the cars are to become the property of the railroad company. Another common form is where the cars are constructed by a railroad-equipment company and leased to a railroad company directly. The object, however, of all the leases seems to be the same; that is, to retain in the trustees or lessors the title of the cars as security for the payment of their cost or price. If that is the real object (as, indeed, seems apparent on the face of most of the so-called leases), then such a transaction is but a conditional sale masquerading under the guise of a lease.

Some of the leases do not provide for the return of the cars at the expiration of the term; others not only do not provide for such return, but do not even provide for the sale of the cars for even a nominal additional price upon the full payment of the last rent instalment. Yet the unconditional obligation to return the specific article is a necessary element of bailment. But suppose the indenture of lease has on its face all the technical requisites of a bailment, yet in point of fact is a conditional sale: what construction would the courts place on it?

There are, of course, a great many decisions pertaining to this question, but in all of the States there is a tendency to follow the Supreme Court of the United States. In Hervey *vs.* R. I. Locomotive Works (93 U. S. 673), Justice Davis wrote: "It is true that the instrument of conveyance purports to be a lease, and the sums to be paid are for rent, but this form was used to

cover the real transaction. . . . It was evidently not intended that this large sum should be paid as rent for the mere use of the engine for one year. If so, why agree to sell and convey the full title on payment of the last instalment?" Justice Strong, in Heryford *vs.* Davis (102 U. S. 244), said: "Though the contract industriously and repeatedly spoke of loaning the cars to the railroad company for hire, it is manifest that no mere bailment for hire was intended. . . . It is quite unmeaning for parties to a contract to say it shall not amount to a sale when it contains every element of a sale." The first case was decided in October, 1876, and the second in October, 1880, and they have not since been overruled.

I do not mean to assert that *all* car-trust leases are defective, or to deny that car-trust leases are a valuable acquisition to this commercial age, but merely to write a short "Note and Comment" on a subject involving two hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

J. DAVIS BRODHEAD.

THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

THE subject of social purity presents many aspects for the consideration of the philanthropist. Any active movement towards elevating opinion respecting the nature and claims of morality, with its equal obligations upon men and women, must be largely educational. The causes that lead to immorality in its manifold forms are so complex that it is impossible to strike at once to their root. We may be "cognizant of evils that exist in our reformatories, prisons, institutions, and even in our schools and colleges, as well as in the world at large," but the very nature of these wrongs often renders it impossible to present them in their true relation to the integrity of our social fabric.

Reformatory and legislative measures in the promotion of social purity having in a great degree failed to deter the vicious from crime and immorality, we must depend upon other means to lessen social evils.

Ignorance of the ultimate outcome of vice is doubtless the chief cause of immorality. Wilful sin is not as common as many suppose. A person may continue the downward path, after coming to a knowledge of the consequences of sin, from habit, discouragement, or despair; but is it not chiefly because society has made it so difficult to regain public esteem and confidence? This is especially true of woman. What hope for the charity of her own sex has she whose fair fame has been stained by sin, or even by the voice of calumny or scandal?

Any action tending to bring together numbers of men or women known to be immoral for purposes of training or education will fail in most cases to effect permanent reformation, from the lack of a love broad enough to secure and maintain a sacred silence regarding the past. The public does not forgive the reformed prodigal. Any little lapse brings a scathing resurrection of former life that may blast all courage for further effort to right living. Where reformation is the direct object to be attained, the work of helping the fallen must be in a large sense individual.

Prevention of vice is of paramount importance. It is imperative that the "conservative reticence" of parents towards their children should yield to an enlightened sense of duty. Optimism has found popular expression in the saying that boys will be boys, while the morality of girls is in a great measure left to Providence.

Among the cultured and well-to-do the girl is shielded from the grosser

forms of evil, and complaisance and contentment rest in the hope that if the question of moral purity is crowded out of sight it will somehow adjust itself. Practical physiological knowledge, which should be judiciously imparted to the young, is withheld either from thoughtlessness or from the prevalent notion that knowledge is antagonistic to innocence. Parents appear to forget that very early in life children gain by chance a half-knowledge that is pernicious and misleading.

It is pertinent to remark that parents themselves may need instruction in many simple physiological facts. This is especially true of the uncultivated and more ignorant classes, whose children, early forced upon the streets and into workshops and factories, are led by circumstances and environment into vicious associations, and often into lives of crime, without ever having had the safeguards of knowledge or religion to guide or shield them. Before we venture to condemn we must enter with large sympathy into the circumstances of the lives of the immoral and criminal classes. We cannot expect them to leap at one stride the chasm of hereditary tendencies, perverted tastes, life-long habits and associations, uncultivated minds and unregulated wills, and the dwarfing effects of poverty, hard work, and little leisure.

How best to direct our educational forces is a problem yet unsolved. To attain the best results, education must aim at a general unfolding of all the powers of the individual. Applied to a race or nation, it means a lifting process, by which all as a unit reach a higher plane of civilization.

The kindergarten system embraces true principles of training: knowledge is absorbed rather than laboriously acquired; the action of the muscles is coördinated and strengthened; color and form are apprehended; science is taught without the child comprehending that the principles of what appears only a pleasant game will be of infinite use in later life. Schools of manual training develop skill and care, imagination and expression, accuracy and perception; but even here there is danger of imparting a one-sided education, if we neglect intellectual culture. Intellectual power is a force that can be utilized when applied to entirely new means and methods of endeavor.

In training the young, the moral, emotional, and physical life must not be neglected. Information relative to this sphere should be presented in a scientific, chaste, and truthful form. Biology, anatomy, and physiology are attractive subjects to the young when taught by experienced teachers. The uses of stimulants and narcotics, as well as their harmful effects, should be taught in a simple and forcible manner, adapted to the age and condition of the learner. Much that is published in current literature on all these subjects is but partial truth, often written by those who would themselves profit by a course of instruction in the matter of which they treat.

Parents also need definite knowledge regarding many of the common things of daily life. The mutual duties of the marriage relation are by the majority not rightly apprehended; conjugal sins are not duly considered; the force of heredity is not estimated in its true bearing upon social purity. The health of the young must be considered if we would preserve the moral integrity of the race. Through ignorance our boys and girls are allowed to disregard the laws of health. Young women enter upon the responsibilities of marriage before they have attained maturity. The extra strain upon the vital forces incident to marriage and motherhood often leads to a state of invalidism from which they never recover. Doubtless much of the suffering and unhappiness in many families may be directly traceable to the physical disability of women.

The conditions of modern life are too hard for the majority of women. The philanthropist may find ample room to exercise charity, not alms, in providing homes where, by some plan of coöperation, self-supporting women may live comfortably and independently at a cost within their means. The wretched places that many are compelled to live in are bare of all that ministers to comfort or appeals to the taste or imagination. After a day of drudgery, with no redeeming feature, what wonder that girls with the loves and enthusiasms of youth innocently seek relaxation and amusement in the brilliantly-lighted streets, saloons, or theatres, where they may be thrown with questionable companions? The wonder is, not that so many women fall, but that in the struggle to exist there are not more forced by sheer necessity into the paths of death.

Real homes, not charitable institutions, are needed for many of our self-supporting women. Let them be unsectarian and, as far as may be possible, free from rules and regulations. Self-respect can be maintained only where no restraints are imposed other than those which are enforced upon the members of any family by their sense of mutual obligation.

Churches are beginning to do effective work among the young, but more clubs and resorts for boys are needed. We must provide counter-attractions to entice boys from the streets, the saloon, and the consequent temptation to vice. All pleasures and amusements not harmful should be encouraged and provided for. An eminent divine, in an appeal for young men, said not long since: "For twenty-five years we have had a church parlor, luxuriantly furnished, which has practically been of little use. Let us open it every evening to the young men of the parish, where they can meet for social pleasure. Young men come to us from the country who are living in boarding-houses and in lodgings; they are without friends or social surroundings; temptations beset them on every side. Let us make our beautiful parlor a social centre for the young men of our parish."

In considering the subject of social purity, public sentiment has hitherto maintained an unequal standard of morals. One sex has practically borne the opprobrium and the consequences of the sin of both. Legislative and social laws will, we trust, in the near future more justly aim toward attaining an equal standard of morals for men and women. If public sentiment could reach this altitude of equity, a great victory would be gained over the forces of evil. We "grow in grace." Herein lies the hope of nations. Growth! Almost imperceptible it may be; but at last the flowering time will come. Meanwhile each may find work to do in helping humanity forward and upward toward its ultimate destiny.

MARY A. BRINKMAN, M. D.

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THE GOSPEL FOR WEALTH.

BY THE RIGHT REV. HENRY C. POTTER, D. D., BISHOP OF NEW YORK.

THE interesting papers by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, bearing a title slightly different from that at the head of this communication, have, not unworthily, awakened a wide and keen interest. It is a hopeful sign when one who himself bears the repute of being a very rich man can approach a subject confessedly of so much importance, not alone with such cordial interest, but with such entire candor; and when, best of all, he can take such high ground, and define his own position in such unmistakable terms.

For it is a discouraging feature of the present situation that, apparently, it so little interests those who are supremely concerned with it. There are a great many of us who are not possessors of great wealth, nor ever likely to be, who are entirely ready to tell those who are how perilous a possession it is, and precisely what they should do with it. Indeed, the satirist might find tempting food for his humor if he could read the correspondence of rich men and know what increasing streams of counsel and admonition, as well as of solicitation, flow in upon them. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that irritation is followed by impatience, and impatience by resentment, and that, in turn, too often by stony indifference. Indeed, it is greatly to the honor of many people of great wealth that they do not become so indurated to the cries of criticism and of mendicancy as to dismiss the whole question of the stewardship of wealth as one impossible of solution.

Unfortunately, too many of them do, and the fact to which I

have just adverted is a most impressive, and in some aspects of it pathetic, evidence of that fact. The paper which I am discussing is, so far as my own observation goes, absolutely unique. At this moment I cannot recall, in our generation, any other instance of one possessed of exceptional wealth who has undertaken to discuss, publicly and at any length, the question of its disposition. And yet it would seem as if there were no other question which ought more profoundly to interest the rich. Great wealth is a great power. Leaving out of sight, for the time being, its possible effects upon its possessor, it is still, with reference to other people, a very dangerous power. Such proverbs as "Every man has his price" may be false—thank God they are! But they could not exist, and find such wide acceptance, if they had not in them a considerable element of truth. And when once that is admitted, it follows plainly that he who possesses, in some huge degree, the power of corrupting his fellow-men controls an extremely dangerous force. This is true, moreover, whether we regard every man as a purchasable creature, or whether we merely regard society as corruptible as a whole. For it does not need that men and women should be bought for some evil purpose by money in order to be corrupted by it. A much more subtile and more general form of corruption is that which reaches down from the vices and extravagancies of the rich to those who are below them in the scale of wealth. "Did you ever notice," said some one, "the faces of domestic servants in great houses—how sodden and sensual, how furtive and disingenuous, how vicious and unwholesome, they often become. What makes it so?" And the questioner answered his own inquiry by saying that "when one served all the while people who were steeped in luxury, 'busy in idleness,' as an old English dramatist wrote, and careless and prodigal in every selfish expenditure, it was impossible but that he should catch the disease himself"!

But the disease spreads wider than the kitchen and the servants' hall. Does anybody who lives in a great city go about at all in public places and public conveyances without noting the enormous increase in costliness of personal ornamentation which obtains among all classes? When the late Mr. Tweed was in the zenith of his power as "Boss" of New York, he was standing one day in the Mayor's office, talking with the person who then

(as since then too often!) had been elected as the occupant of that office to do the work of a "ring," when a large diamond stud dropped upon the floor and rolled to the feet of a gentleman from whom I heard the incident. He picked it up—it was a diamond as big nearly as a good-sized strawberry—and offered it to the Mayor. Said "his Honor": "It is not mine." "Nor mine," said one after another of the circle, as it was passed around. "Stop a moment," said the "Boss," fumbling with his clothes. "Ah, yes; I believe it is one of my suspender buttons." But if bosses must have diamonds to do the rougher work of personal investiture, their henchmen must have something quite as fine for other and more conspicuous service. And as one sees women and men whose circumstances in life, honorably interpreted, can, it would seem, by no possibility explain the costly raiment and costlier jewelry with which they are bedizened, the mind is inevitably started upon a train of speculation which must needs have its issue in most dreary and tragic apprehensions. What is the saddest of them if it is not this—that somewhere there is somebody with the command, practically, of illimitable money, who may not at all use it actively to corrupt another, but the contagion of whose extravagance fires that baleful light of envy in another's eye which will not be quenched until it has, at whatever cost, touched the same extreme limit of tawdry and vulgar display?

Now, I do not see how anybody who has great wealth, and whose habit is one of large and loose expenditure, can dismiss that aspect of this subject without profound mental concern. It is a most painful consideration, or ought to be to any right-minded persons, that their heedless and selfish use of money is corrupting the very air which is breathed by their fellows; and the amiable sophistry that luxury and extravagance put money in circulation, and so promote a beneficent expenditure, becomes, in the face of our modern civilization, with its complex and tremendous social problems, simply a monstrous impertinence. Let me forestall any gratuitous sneer by the disciples of the "Manchester doctrine" of social science, by saying that I have not the smallest intention of advocating any system of promiscuous doles, or free soup-houses, or General Booth's "harbors," or any other future contribution to the greater degradation of the poor. But it ought not to be necessary to tell any rich man who honestly desires to be told,

how he can wisely employ money to promote art, to beautify men's homes, and naturally, and, if he chooses, preëminently, his own, and so do that which will make men's lives brighter and the guests under his roof or at his table more happy, without spending money in ways that are wanton in the prodigality of their profuseness and only wasteful in the essentially cheap and perishable character of their results.

I went the other day to the house of a gentleman in a great city (alas, he is not an American—nor an Englishman, let me add,—would that it were much the way of either!) where the guests were bidden to celebrate the opening of a beautiful and stately mansion. There was the most perfect administration of domestic service, there was an hour of the most exquisite music (to which, unhappily, most of the guests were apparently reluctant to listen), and then there was a cup of tea, and the simple, refined, and thoroughly refreshing occasion was at an end. It is difficult to see why such an entertainment may not be regarded in a profuse and overstimulated age, as a wholesome and charming object-lesson. Music, painting, sculpture, the multiplication of means for placing the advantages of artistic culture and recreation within the reach of those whose lives are bare and hard—surely these are avenues for the employment of wealth that stain no innocent soul, and leave no heartbreak behind them!

And that brings me to the one word which I want to contribute to this discussion, already in danger of being unduly prolonged.

I have entitled what is here said, "The Gospel for Wealth," as distinguished from the "Gospel of Wealth." The latter is concerned with wealth as a means of contributing to the happiness of those in whose behalf it is expended. But I have in mind what wealth may become to those who worthily employ it. The gospel—the God's spell—for the wealthy,—Can wealth be made efficient for the greater happiness of those who expend it, and if so, how? There are plenty of people who are entirely clear as to how that question can be answered; but it would hardly seem that very rich people have made the discovery. Froissart, in his Chronicles, writes of those "who take their pleasure sadly, after the manner of the English"; and when one goes into Central Park and looks at the people who, like Miss Bella Wilfer in "Our Mutual Friend," have learned how to "loll in their carriages,"

it must be owned that they who "take their pleasure sadly" still survive in large numbers among ourselves. It is not alone that so many very rich people seem care-worn, and often anxious and abstracted. It is impossible that any one should have great and grave responsibilities without in some way showing their scars; and mediocrity, whether in gifts or in possessions, may well console itself in the consciousness that, if it is without either of these, it is, in the same measure at any rate, without great anxieties. But what I have in mind is that loss of enthusiasms, that contraction of the horizon of interests, that induration of the faculties that are touched by nature, by humanity, by nobleness of achievement, which, I think it must be owned, is a very frequent, if not a very common, characteristic of the possessors of great wealth.

I may not turn aside to explain such a fact, though I am persuaded that it is not difficult of explanation; but it will not be denied that if it be true it points to a loss out of life of that which is of priceless value. To keep the heart young; to have the powers that rouse us to keen interest, and sustain us in kindly and helpful service, vigorous and alert; to have the world and our fellow-men so rich in points of enkindling contact that, whatever may befall our capacities of achievement, our sympathies never grow old or cold—surely this is to have snatched from the hand of fate the secret of happiness, the glory of being!

And this is possible to rich people as to poor people, on precisely the same terms. One's own life must somehow reach over into, and be qualified by, the struggles and interests of other lives. In the case of the poor this is made inevitable by the hard conditions of their poverty. As in an open boat, with half-rations, all must learn self-restraint for the good of all, since individual selfishness means death to most, so it is in the sorrows, hardships, and struggles that come to the men and women who live on a day's wage. And so it comes to pass, no less, that these supremely venerate, because they better understand, all heroism, and kindle quickest at a brave and kindly deed. When, the other day, that brilliant soldier and kindly and knightly gentleman who was well described as "our best-beloved citizen," was borne to his rest, it was in the streets and avenues where the tenement-houses abound that the tributes of love and reverence for his memory were most conspicuous—even as in Fifth Avenue

they were least so. And the contrast was itself a parable wherein it needed no seer to discern how those whose hardships were bravely and patiently borne instinctively honored one whose splendid service was dimmed, from end to end, by no mean thought of self, and whose love and concern for his gallant "boys" was ever more eager and alert than any care for himself.

But it is the tendency of a well-clad, well-fed, comfortable, and sheltered life to make such care and concern for others more and more impossible, save as it resolutely seeks opportunities for its exercise. Unfortunately, at this point, a conspicuous tendency of our modern philanthropy interferes in a most discouraging way. That tendency, whether in the case of long-existing evils or of exceptional emergencies, is to deal with the problems which confront it vicariously. The first thought in the face of any great evil, injustice, or suffering would seem to be that it must be referred to a committee. The history of social reforms in our day is apt to be summed up in the story of a public meeting, with eloquent speeches, and the appointment of committees, and the raising of funds. Undoubtedly all these may have a useful place in any great and humane undertaking. But it is interesting to note that, in the history of the greatest reforms and of benevolent movements that have illustrated what may be called considerable "staying" power, their beginnings have been of quite a different kind. Some single mind has been stirred by an emergency, and without waiting for others has set about doing what it could itself. Some one man or woman, kindled into a flame of indignation by some imperious necessity, has hastened, without tarrying for company, to meet it; and, doing so, has, oftener than otherwise, shown how it may be met; and that example, proving, as example always is, contagious, has repeated itself in ever-widening circles.

More than a quarter of a century ago an English gentleman of fortune, culture, and honorable lineage, profoundly moved by the condition of the most neglected classes in London, determined, at any rate, to try to understand them better; and, that he might do so, went quietly and lived among them. It seemed a foolish and hopeless waste of fine powers and generous sympathies upon a hopeless and impossible task. But to-day Oxford House and Toynbee Hall and the People's Palace, and less-known centres of "sweetness and light" all over East and South London, show,

with inspiring significance, that Edward Dennison did not give himself to England's poor unwisely or in vain. Steadily has the spell of that solitary nobleness reached on, and reached out, until we are seeing it reproduced among ourselves, and that by men and women alike, in ways which, when one is tempted to despair of his kind, are at once a revelation and a rebuke.

In a recent discussion as to the methods of the Salvation Army and "General" Booth's scheme for the abolition, in England, of poverty, an individual testimony was called out as to the comparative value, in individual cases, of what may be called the individual method in reaching and succoring those who are generally considered as representing the most hopeless element in our vast problem of poverty and vice, which has in it a truth of profoundest import. Says the writer :

"Years ago I began to seek for a way to reach these lowest people. I went to 'organized charities,' public, private, religious, and secular, in the leading cities of America and Germany. I questioned individual workers of every and no religious creed, and in every case asked, and was allowed to see, the actual working of the methods employed. The result both startled and depressed me. The reformation of a nature arrived at maturity in ways of vice seemed something scarcely ever achieved. The matron of one of the best-known reformatory institutions in America told me that, in all the years she had held her office, *she had not known a single case of reform.* A cultivated and earnest woman, whose whole life is devoted to charitable work in connection with one of the largest churches in one of our first cities, told me she was afraid their poor converts came chiefly for the 'loaves and fishes.' Another woman, of equal intelligence and experience in the same work, said the same thing. An open-handed philanthropist, a man of high standing and marked ability among able men, said that now, towards the end of a long life, he could think of but one person in whom there had been reform in *conduct*, and that one man had really reformed himself!

"After much testimony of this nature, I began to wonder whether the people I wanted to help could not tell me more about themselves than any one else could know. I made up my mind that the next degraded-looking woman I met begging I would speak to as I should like any one who loved me to speak to me. I went into a part of the city where such women are met. Almost immediately I came on one, exchanging hideous repartees with a set of rough men. She turned to me and asked me to give her ten cents. As she look up at me her face, for a second, struck me dumb; it was more repulsive than any brute's. To see a woman look like that almost broke my heart. I could scarcely speak; but with an effort I said simply, 'Come with me,' and she came. I questioned her. I told her I could not bear to have a woman like that, and if she would trust me with the real truth of her life, I knew we could make her life worth living, which it certainly was not now. To this she assented, with answering directness. She told me she was 'all bad'; had been sent to prison again and again; loved drink, and when drunk 'would do anything'; was about forty years old now, and, when out

of prison, had been in most of the reformatory institutions in the city. Nothing had ever done her any good; she did not think she was 'that kind.' I had better let her go. By this time we were before the door of a religious institution to which I had made up my mind to bring her, but, as I turned to speak to her, her face overcame me again, and to my own consternation I burst into tears, and wept over her convulsively. She wavered for a second, and then with a cry of 'O, *dear*, my *dear*, don't cry like that, *don't, don't!* I will *try*, indeed I will!' she grasped my hand, and suddenly burst into a storm of tears herself. We astonished the dignified matron of the house which we entered, who told me, *before the wretched woman*, that she knew her to be a hopeless case, and nothing but prison bars would restrain her. I told her that I did not believe Christ would say so, and I took my poor sister to another institution. They refused her, on the same ground as the first. We went to another, with the same result. The woman was Irish, uneducated, and, by courtesy, a Roman Catholic. But the Catholic Reformatory Institution, too, said that a prison was the only place for her.

"By this time she and I had walked far on a cold winter day, and were very cold and tired. I was boarding, and had no home of my own to which I could take her. I told her so, but also said that I could not give her up, and if she would come with me to my boarding-house for rest and luncheon I would try to think of what could be done afterwards. She came, to the horror of my eminently respectable Christian landlady, and after an hour we set out again, but with no better result. My heart grew sick and hot within me, and at last the poor rejected creature rushed off from the last place where they refused to have her, calling out: 'You see, it's *no use, no use!*' But I called after her, 'Yes, it is; remember my street and number!' I supposed I had lost her, in spite of myself. The weeks went by, and I saw nothing of her, and I did not know where to look for her. At last, three months afterwards, she appeared at my boarding-house, asked to see me, but, by the orders of the Christian landlady, was refused admittance. She then asked the servant, who happened to be the same one who had admitted her on the first occasion, to tell me that from the day she left me she had not touched a drop of liquor and had been what I wanted her to be. The servant added: 'And the truth it was, too, for she looked so different and so decent I scarcely knew her.'

"Now, here was a case where not one penny had been expended; indeed, the woman was told with simple frankness that I believed the worst thing I could do would be to give her money; but, on the other hand, I neither howled, nor grinned, nor used her language. I spoke straight from my inmost soul the deepest, the sweetest truth I knew, and 'Deep answered unto deep.' In the presence of such need I learned the clearest lesson of my life, 'For this is the message that ye heard from the beginning, that ye should love one another.'"

Such a testimony is certainly not to be disesteemed, and its suggestive value cannot easily be overestimated. And for my purpose now it is preëminently of value as indicating, not alone the power of individual effort and sympathy, but the rewards of it. To know that one has been privileged to be the means, if not of en-

tirely reclaiming, at least of reawakening some lost life to courage, and self-control, and hope and faith in God and in its fellows—this certainly is to win the deepest joy and the highest happiness of which a human heart is capable.

And to this happiness, in the case of those who possess wealth and leisure, there open many avenues. Not alone in the case of the most alienated and least cared for, but in its ministry to youth, to inexperience, to the tempted and wronged, there are opportunities for the personal activities of individual gifts and acquirements, the improvement of which in the case of any one of generous and noble instincts—and what man or woman is wholly without these?—will be sure to issue in ever-increasing delight. A few years ago a citizen of New York, alone and unaided, set out to found a trade school for American boys and young men. He encountered ignorant prejudice, he awakened hostile criticism, he provoked organized opposition; but he persevered, and to-day the result of his large expenditure of time and money, and sympathy, has issued in a foundation which gathers within its walls hundreds of youths from all parts of the United States, which has dignified and ennobled every handicraft which it aims to teach, which has vindicated the right of every young man to the best training in skilled labor, and which, perhaps best of all, has illustrated the power of a single fraternal and unselfish purpose, modestly but resolutely pursued, to achieve the highest results, and in doing so to illustrate the sure rewards that await a noble and unwearied endeavor.

The opportunities for such endeavor are, I repeat, almost innumerable. When Mayor of New York, the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt was led to investigate the operations of the local police courts. That in these and on the bench there are honest and well-meaning men, I do not at all doubt. But that the interests of justice are best served by a system in which the fate of almost every prisoner is practically determined by the testimony of the policeman who is complainant and the judge whose knowledge of law and whose instinct of equity may easily be equally imperfect, is (to state the case with the utmost reserve) extremely improbable. That, as a matter of fact, such an administration of the forms of law issues frequently in the gravest injustice, to those, especially, who are most obscure, who have no "pull" on the court, who can invoke no neighboring rum-seller, or other local politician,

to whisper an aside into the ear of the sitting magistrate—this is a certainty which it requires considerable boldness to challenge.

What an opportunity here for the personal intervention of those whose means and position make them strong enough to insist that it shall be listened to! What a fine school for a young student or unemployed practitioner of the law! What an inviting field for any one, man or woman, who can plead another's cause or help to right another's wrongs! The Church Club, in the Diocese of New York, contemplates the organization of a lawyers' guild for this and kindred purposes. It would afford a rare field in which learning and wealth might study and strive together.

For this I believe to be the true gospel *for* wealth, in whatever that wealth may consist. The world waits for new illustrations of that divinest beneficence which the great Apostle commemorates when, out of a full heart, broken and conquered by a resistless spell, he writes, "the Son of God who loved me, and gave *himself* for me!" This is the one secret of healing the world's sorrows and redeeming the world's lost ones; and, because it is, theirs will forever be the sweetest and most lasting satisfactions who, being rich in whatever men count wealth, themselves administer their wealth, so giving *themselves* for all the sad and sorrowful brotherhood of man!

HENRY C. POTTER.

IRRESPONSIBLE WEALTH.

BY THE HON. EDWARD J. PHELPS.

It is not quite easy to see why money which is not invested in real estate, or in other visible forms, should have recently come to be called "irresponsible wealth." If that phrase is to be understood as referring to the owners, it has no significance, unless the property in question is supposed to be secret, so that its possessors live and move in a community which does not know that they are rich. This is so difficult as to be almost impossible. While it is true that investments in securities, and especially in negotiable securities that pass readily from hand to hand without necessarily disclosing what hands, are more withdrawn than realty can be from the public eye, and can more readily escape taxation, a man cannot hold a large amount of them without the world becoming well aware of it. Unless he is very secretive, much away from the sight of men, and not incapable of a timely deception, he will hardly find it easy to have a great estate, and yet to conceal it from the inquisitive eyes of his neighbors. Least of all in a country where there is no secret which is not regarded as the lawful property of the public, for whose benefit thousands of detectives are constantly at work. Every man in America lives in a glass house, whether he throws stones at other people or not. Millionaires are usually well known, as the billionaires to come soon will be. Very few of them are "born to blush unseen," and there are perhaps those among them who are not much accustomed to blush at all.

But if great wealth is enjoyed by comparatively few, the cheaper luxury of advising them what to do with it is within the reach of us all. On no subject does it seem so easy for those who are not rich to advise as on that of charity. The generosity of mankind in the disposition of other people's money is creditable to human nature. It seems such an easy thing to give, and so

noble to do good and to relieve distress. Those who have little to spare, and who compare their own narrow incomes with great ones, quite naturally come to believe that the rich are but scanty in their benefactions, and to fancy that, if they were themselves wealthy, they would scatter their thousands with a grand benevolence, and always in the right direction. Where property is not visible, its amount is generally exaggerated in the public estimation, as partially-concealed forces are apt to be. Its proprietor has credit usually for more millions than he possesses, though doubtless in rare instances for less. The spectators overestimate his resources, and very much underestimate the increased demands of all sorts which follow the growth of wealth with a constant footstep. And they are often not at all aware, in the case of many rich men, of the amount that is really given away, or better than given away, through a thousand channels, quietly and without display.

Especially do those who criticise the charities of others fail to remember, or perhaps to know, how extremely difficult it is to give away money wisely and usefully. This suggestion may probably be controverted. We all have our favorite objects, each one of which appears to some of us the very best among the multitude of enterprises set on foot for the good of mankind. We see and are ready to admit that many of the projects that other people advocate, are mistaken, unworthy, ill-managed, and likely to be unfruitful. We perceive clearly enough that a good share of them are put in motion rather for the support of their agents and runners than for the attainment of the objects they propose to seek. But that is never the character of our own schemes, nor the purpose of the worthy persons who are carrying them on. Give liberally to the churches, cries one (meaning, of course, those of his own creed), for what can be so important to man as his eternal welfare? Give rather to the colleges, the schools, and the libraries, says another, for the very safety of the republic is in the education of its people. Relieve first of all, interposes a third, the suffering poor, and support the hospitals and asylums established for their benefit. Build monuments, shouts the fourth, to the illustrious dead, that shall be a perpetual stimulus to heroic exertion, and durable emblems of a nation's gratitude. And among the numberless institutions and proposals that within the lines of each of these important forms of beneficence, vie and

clash with each other in ceaseless and discordant appeal, we all have our particular favorites, on which, as it seems to us, whatever may be said about other schemes, too much money could hardly be lavished by the wealthy. Every one has within his own observation, also, many cases of individual and meritorious necessity, which it would be so gratifying to provide for, and which would so well repay liberality in the consciousness of doing good.

There can be no question of the importance and usefulness of all these principal objects. Some of their numerous agencies are conspicuous before the world, admirable in their work, their management, and their success. Others, less widely known, might be found upon investigation to be equally worthy of support. Of private appeals to the benevolent, it goes without saying that very many are well founded. Still the fact remains that, aside from a few institutions of unquestionable character, it is extremely difficult to select judiciously among the increasing multitude of demands. Their united clamor affects very differently those to whom it is addressed and those who help to make it; as the volume of sound from a large orchestra is one thing to the listener, and quite another to the individual performer, intent upon his own instrument, impressed with its importance, and giving little heed to any other. To discriminate among institutions and organizations, and to investigate properly private cases, requires an expenditure of time and labor that few men are able to bestow. Attempts at the relief of the poor, especially, are attended with great embarrassment. The term "the poor" is very comprehensive, very uncertain, and to unreflecting minds very satisfactory. But the questions, who are the deserving poor, how are they to be discovered and reached, and wisely as well as humanely relieved, have been found, by those who have undertaken the business, not easy to answer.

There is, of course, a class of helpless, born so, or overcome by misfortunes beyond their control. They are always and necessarily the proper objects of charity. But the great mass of the destitute in this country are brought to that condition by vice, idleness, and crime. They will not work in any resolute way, nor learn how to work to advantage, though to beg they are never ashamed. Their miserable earnings, so far as they have any, and whatever else they can lay hands on, are largely consumed in the saloons, and go to the support of the political potentates of their

municipalities. Their principal usefulness is in the breeding of paupers and criminals, and in holding the balance of power in popular elections. Their necessities may well enough be left to the public charity, supported by taxation, the burden of which is steadily increasing. When those who are thus poor by their own fault are deducted from the general mass that we call the poor, the number that remains is comparatively small. And often those most needy and most worthy, deterred by self-respect from seeking alms, and struggling in vain to support themselves, are the last to be discovered and to profit by the benefactions of the charitable. Occasionally such an instance transpires through the newspapers, and always attracts relief, but only when it reaches extremity.

After the Piccadilly riots in London, three or four years ago, the suggestion was made in the public prints that want might be the real cause of the outbreak. The immediate response was the establishment of a fund in the hands of the Lord Mayor, to which very large sums were contributed by the wealthy, with reckless generosity. The existence of this provision at once attracted to London crowds of professional paupers and sharpers from all directions. And though every effort was made by the committee in charge to dispense the money judiciously, it afterwards came to be known that a large share of it found its way into unworthy hands, and was a positive mischief instead of a relief, the subject of plunder rather than the means of charity.

These remarks are not intended to discourage the relief of the poor, enough of whom meritorious as well as needy are always with us, but only to suggest how much easier it is to cry without reflection, "Give to the poor," than it is to give discreetly and usefully when the matter is taken in hand. There are excellent organizations for the purpose, no doubt, to which contributions may be well intrusted. But even here, as there are poor and poor, so there are societies and societies. *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* is a question that will never cease to be material in the dispensation of beneficence of any sort. Every day's observation shows how much money is given away, in many directions and for many purposes, with the best of motives but with the worst of judgment, and the most inadequate and even mischievous results.

The discussion of this subject, commenced by Mr. Carnegie,

and continued in the magazines on both sides of the Atlantic, has drawn out some very eminent men, Cardinal Manning and Mr. Gladstone among the number. The proposition with which Mr. Carnegie sets out, that it is better for a rich man to dispense his charities in his lifetime than to leave them to be administered under his will, is undeniable. Coming from one who is not merely admonishing a class to which he does not belong concerning duties that are not his own, but who by generous example illustrates what by precept he enjoins, his suggestions deserve and will receive attention. The facilities afforded in many places, in the administration of what is called justice, for the prolonged contest of wills upon no just grounds whatever, to the waste of estates, the slander of the dead, and often the distress of surviving relatives, until an unrighteous compromise is finally extorted, are a constant warning to those who have wealth to dispose of, to do it while they still live, and can assert control over their own. It is only in theory that a man has a right to make his own will, if he has much to leave behind him. And the difficulties which under the most favorable circumstances attend the administration of considerable post-mortuary charities, tend strongly to support Mr. Carnegie's views.

Mr. Gladstone's proposal, set forth in an interesting article, for bringing to pass what he appears to think is needed—a larger measure of giving on the part of the rich—does not seem likely to be acceptable to those whom it addresses. His suggestion is that rich men should enter into a sort of compact with each other to give away annually a certain proportion of their respective incomes. Even if it is necessary to devise schemes to stimulate the generosity of the wealthy, this one will hardly commend itself as practicable. It is not reasonable to suppose that any considerable number of men of large income would enter into such a society, binding themselves, by an honorary engagement even stronger in its obligation than a legal contract, to relinquish a material share of their revenue annually, whether satisfactory opportunities or really worthy objects present themselves or not. It would be surrendering not only their property, but the freedom of volition which men do not like to part with, and which gives charity all its merit. Were such an obligation assumed, the life of the parties to it would speedily become a burden. It would be impossible to receive or answer, much less to investigate and con-

sider, the thousands of applications of every conceivable description that would pour in from all quarters, many of them dishonest, many more unwise or impracticable ; and even those that are both honest and expedient, only to be found so through careful examination, and then to be discriminated from a multitude of others, equally meritorious and equally importunate. Whoever was induced to enlist into such an army of benevolence, would soon be compelled either to obtain his discharge or to desert and fly.

The duty of charity, incumbent upon all according to their ability, and increasing in its demands as the means for meeting them are enlarged, will be universally conceded. It may well be inculcated, as all other duties are, by preaching, and still better by example. The world has not outgrown the necessity for either. However difficult it may be to discriminate, good opportunities will always present themselves to him who is willing to attend to them. But it must be conceded, after all, that, more perhaps than any other in the world, this duty and the selection of its objects must be left to the conscience and the judgment of the individual. Every man should be allowed to judge for himself in respect to it, without undue importunity beforehand or unfair criticism afterwards. If property has any rights, one of the most obvious is that its owner shall be the exclusive judge of how much, when, how, and where he shall give away. Whatever he does, if he is able to give largely, he will disappoint many. However careful, he will sometimes go wrong. He will give where he ought to refuse ; he will refuse where he ought to give ; he will give in one way when it would be better to give in another. If he gives often to individuals, he will make many an enemy among those who accept his bounty. It is only the better class of minds that are capable of gratitude, or can endure the sense of obligation, though quite willing to be under obligation. The other sort, while prompt to accept assistance, will always find excuse for denying to the giver either thanks or acknowledgment.

One of the very best methods of charity open to a man of liberal means is to spend his income. But this way of doing good with money is not appreciated as it should be. The paupers and the destitute are by no means the only class who need help. The great mass of those who earn their own living in some form or

other of honest industry or business, whose self-respect rejects under any circumstances the idea of accepting charity, far more of asking for it, are the most deserving and much the most numerous class; and they cannot exist without the employment and patronage which come from those who are able to pay. There is no charity so wholesome as helping those who help themselves. Instead of pauperizing and humiliating its recipients, it elevates them in their own esteem and in that of those among whom they live. Instead of teaching them to lean upon others, it enables them to take care of themselves honorably and manfully, and to "look the whole world in the face." There are thousands who are apparently in no need of assistance, and who hide their troubles from the public eye, who do not find it easy to make the two ends of the year meet, who have always to practise much self-denial, and even to undergo privation when embarrassed by hard times, illness, or misfortune. There is a keeping-up of appearances which is praiseworthy and pathetic, as well as one that is pretentious and ridiculous. There are those too, and they are many, who are beginning the world. If there is anywhere a just object of sympathy, it is the young person starting out, slender in capital but strong in hope, to make an honest living, and to find a worthy and respected path in life. These are they who are reached and blessed, not by institutions nor by benefactions lauded among men, but by the increase and encouragement of the flow of trade and business out of which they live, which, like the stream on its way to the sea, slakes the thirst and refreshes the weariness of thousands. And they can be reached and helped in no other way.

The man who dispenses his money freely in the channels of employment is often doing more good with it and less harm, whether he knows it or not, than if he were giving it away. The very pleasures and luxuries of the rich, for which they are so commonly criticised, minister necessarily to the livelihood of a multitude of deserving and hard-working people. The country house, the yacht, the opera-box, the club, the elegance of furniture, of costume, of equipage and adornment, all the various incidents of fastidious taste, are superfluities, no doubt. A man can do without them, as most men must. But to what an army do they give bread! The idea that they had better be relinquished, and the cost taken from the workers and given to those who do not work, is a false one. The precious ointment

which the woman was reproached for lavishing needlessly on the object of her adoration, because it might have been sold for much and given to the poor, was not on that account rejected; perhaps because it was remembered that its price had been already bestowed upon the not undeserving poor whose industries had combined to produce it.

But if what Mr. Carnegie calls "the Gospel of Wealth" is to be preached, or what others term the responsibilities of wealth are to be measured, we should begin with its obligations rather than with its beneficence. While it may freely be conceded to the rich that they should be their own judges of the amount and direction of their charities, there are demands upon them which society has a right to enforce, and ought to insist upon. If there are no duties to be discharged, there are offences to be avoided which are possible to no other class. We cannot compel them to be generous, and we have no warrant to attempt it; but we are entitled to require that they should be just. Selfishness is a vice, but rapacity is a crime. To them applies with extreme force the ancient maxim of the common law—*sic utere tuo, ut non alienum laedas*. They are bound, first and above all, to refrain from such a use of the vast power of wealth as results either in the plunder of less fortunate men or the demoralization of society at large. Estates already great enough are being made to accumulate with accelerating rapidity by methods which involve both these offences, and are becoming oppressive in the last degree.

Great combinations of capital are organized to enhance unreasonably the price of various necessaries of life, and to extinguish that fair competition in their production which is the safeguard against monopoly and extortion. A burdensome tax is thus laid upon all who have their living to earn, in order to swell unduly the profits of concerns already plethoric with wealth. And when courts of justice interfere against these conspiracies and declare them illegal, fresh devices are resorted to in order to evade the law and to continue the plunder of the public.

In the financial centres, also, there are going on, all the while, fraudulent schemes which impoverish those whose small investments are the fruit of their industry and the provision for their families, to the enrichment of men who through large wealth are able to control transactions. The surplus that in ordinary employments is slowly accumulated, rarely large enough to be

called wealth, must be invested somewhere and somehow, in order to produce any return. Its disposition is anxiously and carefully made, in thousands of instances, in apparently trustworthy securities, and upon such light as can be obtained, in the hope that from 4 to 6 per cent. per annum may fairly be realized with safety to the principal. But the control of the corporation to which these securities belong is acquired by great operators, often through adroit manipulation, not with a view to the honest discharge of the fiduciary relation thus assumed, nor for the protection of the property of others thus intrusted to their charge, but for the purpose of enriching themselves at the expense of their trust. Gradually, by one scheme and another, and by various expedients of management and mismanagement, the property of the corporation is absorbed or turned into indebtedness. The stockholders are plundered, while the wealth of the managers rises into the millions. This is no fancy picture or casual instance. It is a regular course of business, of which the examples are not far to seek. It is true that many corporations are most uprightly and honorably conducted. Malversation is the exception, not the rule. But the exceptions are so numerous as to have become a great and flagrant evil.

These methods of what is called business prey upon individuals. There is a much greater iniquity of wealth which attacks the general public, and even threatens the national life. It is the employment of vast sums of money for the purchase of high places of political trust and the control of the results of important elections. Places that should be of the highest dignity, as they certainly are of the largest influence, are pretty well known to be obtained by direct bribery of the electors in whose gift they are. Posts of much distinction are more than suspected to be the consideration of enormous contributions to electioneering funds. Great sums are generally believed to be raised to carry elections by those who are accumulating excessive fortunes through a system of revenue which not only casts the burden of taxation upon the industry of the country, instead of its property, but, far beyond the legitimate requirements of government, burdens the many for the benefit of the few. And these sums, which could not possibly be requisite for any proper election expenses, are well understood to be employed in the direct purchase of votes in the market, to a decisive extent.

The political power of the country is thus in danger of passing into the hands of a plutocracy, composed not of the best class of the rich, but of the worst, to be used not for the general welfare, but for the still further aggrandizement of those who have bought it, and for the elevation to high places of men who are not fit to be there. These are plain words. But it is time plain words began to be spoken on this subject. Here is not the place to pursue it. Thoughtful men can consider it for themselves, and can satisfy themselves how far the general understanding is supported by the facts. They who believe that the business of government can be thus demoralized, and the general mass thus oppressed, with fortunate and peaceful results, have read the history of mankind to small purpose. The longer the storm broods before it breaks, the more dangerous it becomes. Already clouds much larger than a man's hand have risen above the horizon. How portentous they may prove no man can tell. Forces move rapidly in these days. There is nothing in government or institutions under our system that is not within the ultimate reach of the numerical majority. We are in danger, not of revolution or bloodshed, but of the not less destructive power of frantic and ruinous legislation, controlled by demagogues, and involving in its consequences the just as well as the unjust.

These are the abuses and the mischiefs of wealth, not its necessary results. If from them we can be protected, we need have little concern about its charities. It is certainly not a just ground of reproach against the rich men of this nation, as a body, that they have been niggardly either in benevolence or in public spirit. We have only to look about us to see ample proof to the contrary. What country is so abundant in the institutions of religion, of education, of all known forms of human charity? Where else are to be seen so many and, on the whole, such excellent examples of wise and thoughtful beneficence? Their visible monuments adorn almost every town. Nearly all are the offspring of private liberality. And though much has been contributed by those who have to earn their living, the munificence of the rich is everywhere conspicuous. It is but fair that this should be remembered, and that the prevalent idea that the wealthy are wanting in generosity should be reconsidered. There is a charity of thought and speech that is due to them, as well

as a charity of benevolence that is due from them. One is quite as apt to be neglected as the other. We often hear of those who are said to be poor but honest. It is but just to bear in mind that there are many who are rich but honest, and generous to boot. In that class of society, as in all others, there are men of widely different character. There are those for whom mankind is no better; who use money only to make more money, and would carry it all with them when they die, if they could. They are "the cankers of a calm world." It is for their sins that their whole order is reproached. But we know that there are and have been many Americans whose large estates, honorably inherited or honestly acquired, are like springs in a dry land, freely flowing for the general relief; whose public benefactions are judicious, liberal, and often princely, and whose private charities are as generous as they are unostentatious. The race is not yet extinct in this country of those who "do good by stealth and blush to find it fame."

The idea that prevails in some quarters that large fortunes are in themselves detrimental or opposed to sound public policy is a mistake. So far from being dangerous or justly obnoxious, great estates in good hands are a most important advantage to the community. The world at this day could hardly do without them. If there was no such class, much of the grandest work of our time must come to a halt. The springs of charity would in a large measure dry up. The livelihood of many thousands of workers would fail. The burdens of life would fall heavily on the poor. All that society has a right to demand of the opulent (whatever it may ask) is that they should universally remember what so many of them illustrate in their lives, and yet so many forget—that if riches tend to ennoble, they likewise oblige. There are ways enough to use and enjoy wealth wisely, beneficially, at least harmlessly, as it must be used in the long run if it is to be tolerated, not to say protected. The choice among them belongs to the individual. But there are ways in which it leads to destruction, and devours its own offspring—ways of oppression, of extortion, of corruption. It is upon these that public opinion and public law ought to set their foot, not mildly, but decisively.

E. J. PHELPS.

FAVORABLE ASPECTS OF STATE SOCIALISM.

BY THE RIGHT HON. J. CHAMBERLAIN, M. P.

THE advance of democracy during recent years in all popularly-governed countries has brought what is called the social question into great prominence. The greatest happiness of the greatest number, which was formerly only the benevolent aspiration of a philosopher, has become a matter of urgent practical politics.

Under the general name of socialism, the redistribution of wealth, the relations between labor and capital, and the extension of the functions of the state in regard to the industrial and domestic life of the people, have assumed a real and pressing importance.

New theories have been developed, and their practical application is already becoming a dividing-line between political parties. Exaggerated fears have been excited, and not less exaggerated hopes. On the one hand, timorous people have conjured up a vision of a desperate proletariat combined for the purpose of extorting from wealth a compulsory division of property, with the result that capital will leave its present investments, industry will be disorganized, trade diverted to other channels, and general insecurity will prevail, to be followed in due course by national disaster and ruin. On the other hand are to be found enthusiasts who indulge the hope that the legislation of the future, banishing to Saturn all the laws of political economy, will be able, as by a magician's wand, to exorcise the evils of our political system, and to redress the inequalities which individual character and circumstances, more often than the action of the state, have created in the lives of men.

These antagonistic views are supported by very different estimates of the present position of the masses of the people. The opponents of further state intervention point with confidence to the present position of the working classes as a satisfactory result of the sturdy maintenance of individual liberty and of the absence

of grandmotherly restriction and control. They assert that by the practice of reasonable industry and self-denial the ordinary workman may live and enjoy his life. He may find opportunities for recreation and intellectual improvement, and may hope to rise in the social scale, and to leave his children with prospects better even than his own. According to these optimists, this is the best of all possible worlds, in which only the knaves and the fools fail to secure some of its numerous prizes.

The socialists, on the contrary, see in the condition of the wage-earners the evidence of the terrible struggle for life in which the weakest go to the wall and only a few exceptional natures can survive and prosper. They allege that the great modern developments in science and invention have only benefited a handful of favored individuals, while the vast majority have gained nothing, and have even suffered by comparison; their misery seeming more profound in the shadow of the enormous prosperity of the successful minority. According to this view, the rich have grown richer and the poor poorer, so that the gulf between classes is wider than it ever was before.

If either of these views is accepted as absolute and complete, the logical conclusion would appear to be the same; and the statesman would be justified in both cases, although for different reasons, in abandoning the hope of improvement by ordinary legislative means. In the first case, the argument would be to let well alone, and not to disturb arangements which had produced so thoroughly satisfactory a result. In the second case, the proof that all the legislation of the last generation, much of it socialistic in its character, had failed to make any impression on the general mass of misery and discontent would justify the refusal to proceed further along lines which had led to no beneficial result.

It will, therefore, be a matter of interest to ascertain at the outset the true facts of the case, and to see whether the information at our disposal enables us to decide with confidence whether or no the condition of the people at large has improved during the last fifty years. Such a comparison is the more necessary because the present generation is always too apt to concentrate its attention on the times in which it is living, and, while appreciating keenly its own difficulties and distress, to forget the greater evils of the past, and thus to ignore the methods of im-

provement which have been tested by experience, and which may therefore be safely continued in the future.

I took occasion, at a recent jubilee of the greatest and oldest of the friendly societies of Birmingham, to make such a contrast, drawn from the history of our town as well as from the general history of the country; and, although the picture is necessarily imperfect, it is suggestive both of the character and extent of the changes which have been already effected, and also of the legislation which has been chiefly instrumental in bringing them about.

Fifty years ago Birmingham was a town of 180,000 inhabitants, or about 40 per cent. of the present population. The ratable value was between £500,000 and £600,000, or rather less than one-third of what it is at present. There were at that time hardly any public edifices of any magnitude or importance. There were no parks, there were no free libraries, there were no baths, there was no art gallery or museum, there were no board schools, there was no school of art, and no technical institute or college. The era of street improvement had hardly begun. A large area in the centre of the town, which is now traversed by magnificent streets and occupied by some of the finest shops and warehouses, was one of the worst districts in the city, both from a social and a sanitary point of view. The streets themselves were badly paved, imperfectly lighted, and only partially drained. The foot-walks were worse than the streets. The gas and the water belonged to private monopolies. Gas, which is now sold at an average of two shillings and fourpence, cost then about five shillings per thousand cubic feet. Water was supplied by the company on three days in the week; on the other days those of the inhabitants who had no wells were obliged to purchase this necessary of life from carts which perambulated the town and supplied water from polluted sources at ten shillings the thousand gallons. It is not surprising that under these circumstances the annual mortality reached thirty in the thousand; now it is twenty in the thousand, and sometimes less. The only wonder is that it was not much greater, for there were whole streets from which typhus and scarlet fever, diphtheria, and diarrhœa in its worst forms were never absent. There were thousands of close, unventilated courts which were not paved, which were not drained, which were covered with pools of stagnant filth, and in which the ashpits and middens were in a state of indescribable

nastiness. The sewage of the town was so partial that it only extended over about one-third of the area. In fact, to sum up this description, it may truly be said that fifty years ago Birmingham, although it was no worse than any other of the great cities in the United Kingdom, was a town in which scarcely anything had been done either for the instruction, for the health, for the recreation, for the comfort, or for the convenience of the artisan population.

Now, let us measure the change which has taken place in these conditions within the memory of living men, and we shall see that nothing less than a revolution has been peacefully accomplished. It is hardly too much to say that the Birmingham of to-day is everything that old Birmingham was not. The sewerage has been completed, a system of sanitary inspection is strictly carried out, the private monopolies have been acquired by the corporation, their supply has been improved and cheapened, and the surplus profits have been carried to the credit of the rates. The town is well paved with wood in the principal streets, and with stone where there is the heaviest traffic. The footpaths have everywhere been put in order. The courts have been paved and drained. An infectious-hospital has been established, to which all contagious diseases are at once removed. In every district of the city there have been provided baths and wash-houses, parks and recreation-grounds, and free libraries which count their readers by hundreds of thousands. A magnificent art gallery and museum has been erected, the visitors to which number nearly a million in a single year. Schoolhouses, under the management of the School Board, with large playgrounds attached, have sprung up everywhere, and now accommodate 40,000 children, the rest being provided for in the voluntary schools. Technical education is offered at the Midland Institute and the Mason College, and art education at the School of Art and its branches. The great local endowed school of King Edward's foundation has been reformed and placed under representative management, and by means of scholarships offers the opportunity of higher education to the poorest of our citizens. In fact, the ordinary artisan finds now within his reach the appliances of health, the means of refinement, and the opportunities of innocent recreation which formerly were at the disposal of only the more wealthy inhabitants.

This striking improvement has been brought about by the operation of what may be called municipal socialism. It is the result of a wise coöperation by which the community as a whole, working through its representatives for the benefit of all its members, and recognizing the solidarity of interest which makes the welfare of the poorest a matter of importance to the richest, has faced its obligations and done much to lessen the sum of human misery, and to make the lives of all its citizens somewhat better, somewhat nobler, and somewhat happier.

Popular representative local government is the powerful instrument by which these reforms have been effected. Unlike the imperial legislation, it is very near to the poor, and can deal with details and with special conditions. It is subject to the criticism and direct control both of those who find the money and of those who are chiefly interested in its expenditure. In Great Britain, at any rate, it has been free from the suspicion of personal corruption, and it has always been able to secure the services of some of the ablest and most disinterested members of the community, who have been ready in this way to do the duty that lies nearest to them, and to do it with all their might.

It may, however, be supposed that this great work has been attended with enormous cost, and that property has been taxed unduly to provide for the wants and pleasures of those who contribute little or nothing to the necessary expenditure. There is no ground for such an opinion. The rates of Birmingham (if the charge due to the school rate and required to provide for a new service in the shape of elementary education be deducted) are less than they were thirty years ago, and the growth of the town and the increase in its wealth and ratable value have sufficed to meet these new developments of municipal functions. The present cost of all local work in the city, including poor-relief, education, and all the corporation expenditure, is about six shillings and sixpence in the pound on the assessed annual value of real property, which is probably 25 per cent. less than the actual value. Putting it in another way, the total charge is rather more than twenty shillings per head of the population, or about one-fifth of the charge of local administration in the city of Boston. Complaints of the burden of the rates are still heard from time to time, but they are less frequent and less forcible

than in the past. It is more and more coming to be recognized that the expenditure is in the nature of an investment, and that dividends are to be found in the improved health and comfort and the increased contentment of the people.

An interesting evidence of popular appreciation was afforded some years ago when the corporation promoted a bill consolidating their acts and in many cases extending their powers. Among other provisions was one repealing the general law which limits expenditure on art and education to a rate of one penny in the pound, and substituting unlimited powers of taxation for the purpose. The bill was opposed, and a poll of the ratepayers was demanded. The promoters boldly admitted their intention to spend more money in this direction, and made it their chief claim to support; and the ratepayers of Birmingham came in great numbers to the poll and by a large majority approved the bill, which has since been passed into law.

We must now turn from the special case of Birmingham to a more general survey of the comparative state of the whole kingdom. In reading histories which deal with the first half of the century, and especially those which refer to the period between 1830—before the first Reform Bill—and 1846, when the Corn Laws were repealed, one thing particularly strikes the observer, and that is the constant allusion to the turbulence of the times. Riots seem to have been of almost daily occurrence, and they were accompanied by long periods of exceptional distress. In the manufacturing districts there were serious disturbances, and it is significant both of the ignorance of the people and also of their destitution that these disturbances were generally attended by the destruction of machinery and the plunder of bakers' shops. In the agricultural districts the state of affairs was, if possible, still worse. There was not actual riot, but there were frequent outrages which took the form of incendiarism, so that on many occasions and during considerable periods the country districts were lighted up at night by burning ricks and flaming barns. The shopkeepers, especially the small shopkeepers who supplied the poor, were almost ruined by excessive taxation and by bad debts. The workingmen in the towns toiled for long hours and for an insufficient subsistence. In the country the agricultural laborers did not even secure the barest livelihood, but were compelled, not by way of exception, but as a matter of rule, to eke

out their wages by the assistance which they derived from the Poor Law.

In his history of the time Mr. Spencer Walpole thus speaks of the state of the laboring poor :

"For many years the condition of the laboring classes in Britain had been growing more and more intolerable. The old conditions of labor had been changed, and the laborer had suffered from the change. Before the latter half of the eighteenth century the great mass of the laboring poor had been scattered throughout the country, owing to an almost feudal allegiance to, and deriving some corresponding advantages from, the neighboring landlord. But the discoveries of the eighteenth century terminated these conditions. The manufacturing industries of the country were collected into a few great centres, and the persons employed in these manufactures necessarily accompanied them. In one sense they had their reward : the manufacturers gave them better wages than the farmer, and better wages were of no slight advantage to the laborer. In another sense their change of occupation brought them nothing but evil. Forced to dwell in a crowded alley, occupying at night-time a house constructed in neglect of every known sanitary law, employed in the daytime in an unhealthy atmosphere, and frequently on a dangerous occupation, with no education available for his children, with no reasonable recreation to cheer his leisure, with the blue sky of heaven shrouded from his view by the smoke of an adjoining factory, with the rich face of Nature hidden from him by a brick wall, neglected by an overworked clergyman, regarded as a mere machine by an avaricious employer, the factory operative naturally turned to the only places where relaxation was possible, and sought in the public-house, the prize-ring, or the cock-pit the degrading amusements which were the business of his leisure. . . .

"It so happened that, while the condition of the town operative was gradually becoming more and more wretched, the position of the country laborer was also changing for the worse. The old feudal ties which had hitherto connected the squire with his peasantry were being gradually loosened by the teachings of political economy. Improved agriculture and the introduction of machinery into farming were also altering the economy of rural districts. In the eighteenth century there were few large farms,

there were comparativedy few large fields; the corn was reaped by hand; the winters were passed in threshing it out by the flail; and the farmers had consequently work for their laborers at every season of the year. Threshing-machines altered this condition. They deprived the laborers of the demand which had previously existed for their work in the winter; and the farmers, in consequence, altered their system of hiring, and engaged the men, whom they had previously taken for a year, by the week. It so happened, too, that the vast reclamations of waste land which were made during the war pressed severely on the laboring poor. The common, on which every cottager had kept his cow, was annexed to the huge estate of the adjoining landlord, and the laborer found himself compelled to give up the beast which he had no longer the means to support. In many cases enclosures deprived the rural laborers of much more than their cow. They had been permitted, when the land was supposed to be worthless, to erect a little building on one side of the common, and to convert the patch of ground around it into a garden. In the eye of the law these men were squatters: they had no title to the cottage which they had erected or to the ground which they had reclaimed. The good of the country required the reclamation of wastes, and the little garden in the middle of the common came within the new fence-line of the rich squire. The cottage was demolished, the garden was ploughed up, and the cottager sank, at one blow, from the position of a small farmer, with a little house of his own, into that of a lodger at another cottage, whose sole source of livelihood was the wage which he received for his labor.

"The enclosures had been the indirect means of occasioning a considerable injury to the poor. But the Legislature, when it sanctioned them, had not foreseen the injury; on the contrary, it was universally imagined that the additional land which was brought into cultivation would increase the demand for labor, and so produce a permanent benefit to the laboring classes. The result, however, did not justify these expectations. The better wages which the laboring classes in a few instances received for a time were a poor compensation for the cow, the pig, and the goose which they were no longer able to keep. 'Before the enclosures,' said a laborer to Arthur Young, 'I had a good garden, kept two cows, and was getting on. Now I cannot keep so much as a goose, and am poor and wretched.' In a short time, moreover,

the miserable laborers were deprived of the solitary advantage which increased wages had given them. The prospect of additional work led to early marriages, and to a consequent multiplication of their numbers. The peace, and the lower prices which succeeded it, did away with the new work and added to the number of laborers. Arable land was thrown into pasture; paid-off soldiers and sailors returned to their parishes; and the rate of wages fell and fell continually. Dazzled by the prospect of increasing the food of the people, the Legislature had enabled the landowners to plough up the common, and to throw down the humble enclosure of the cottager. The common was again turned into pasture; but it was supporting the squire's beasts, and not the peasant's. The peasant had seen his garden seized, his cottage demolished, his cow sold, his family impoverished, but the land growing no more corn, and receiving no more culture than before. The cry which Isaiah had raised 2,000 years before came home to the miserable laborer, and was repeated by the most eloquent, though not the wisest, of his advocates in Parliament: 'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth.'"

This wretched condition of things was aggravated by the state of the Poor Law. Pauperism had reached perfectly frightful dimensions. At one time in 1833 the poor rate amounted to twelve shillings per head of the whole population, and it was estimated that one in seven, counting every man, woman, and child, was in receipt of Poor-Law relief. Crime rose in the same proportion as pauperism. In spite of an atrocious criminal code, which, at the beginning of the century inflicted capital punishment for no less than 200 offences, and which was not materially changed till twenty years later, the number of criminals continued to increase. Even the ameliorations which were made in the code produced at first no diminution in the number of criminals, which reached its highest level in 1842, when there were 31,000 committals for trial in a single year. In fact, it is probable that the stringency of the law in the earlier period led to laxity in its administration, and many persons escaped altogether because the penalty prescribed was altogether disproportionate to the offence. It has been reserved for modern times to reap the full advantage both of the alteration of the laws and the improvement in the character of the popula-

tion. Last year, with a population which has nearly doubled, the total number of committals was only 13,000, while the nature of the crimes committed was certainly less serious than in former periods. In a single year—in 1834—480 human beings were sentenced to death, and the great majority were executed. Last year the capital sentence was pronounced in thirty-five cases, in twenty-one of which the full penalty was exacted.

It is no wonder that crime was rife when all the conditions were unfavorable to civilized existence. The working classes were expected to toil from early morning till late at night in buildings unprovided with the most ordinary sanitary arrangements. Wages were sometimes paid in truck, and often at the public-house, where a large part of the weekly earnings was spent before they were actually received. There was no leisure for any kind of mental improvement; there was no opportunity for innocent recreation. Brutal punishments and brutal amusements offered the chance of excitement to wearied bodies and jaded minds. Thrift was an unknown virtue, and when the wages were more than enough to keep body and soul together they were spent in coarse dissipation or cruel pastimes. There were no Factory Acts; there was no Mines Act; and there was no Truck Act. Women and children were forced to work as long as, or longer than, the men, and they were brutalized and degraded by the conditions of their labor. In the mines it was worse than it was above ground. We read of women almost without clothing laboring for sixteen hours a day, and of little children, with chains round their waists, dragging heavy weights along passages worse than the ordinary common sewer. Not only the health of the living was destroyed, but the health of future generations was seriously threatened.

I have spoken of the sanitary condition of Birmingham; but this was certainly no worse than the rest of the country. Typhus, which is the consequence of overcrowding and insufficient food, was prevalent in all the large towns and in many country places. In Liverpool alone 30,000 people were living in 8,000 underground cellars; while in Manchester one-eighth of the people were housed, if housing it can be called, in the same fashion. It was in these circumstances that an intelligent foreign observer—a German economist who visited England between forty and fifty years ago—wrote that he found by personal observation that the

state of the working classes of Great Britain was deplorable and intolerable, and he predicted an inevitable and imminent revolution. English witnesses no less impartial and intelligent were equally gloomy in their predictions of approaching evil, and they seemed to be justified by the fact that the state of the laboring poor was getting worse instead of better. Mr. McCulloch, the economist, writing in 1845, expressed the belief that the condition of the laboring classes had deteriorated in the previous twenty-five years; while Lord John Russell in 1844 said: "If we compare the condition of the working classes with what it was a century ago,—say 1740,—it is impossible not to see that, while the higher and middle classes have improved, and increased their means of obtaining comforts, of obtaining foreign articles of luxury and facilities of travelling from place to place, the laboring classes—the men who either till the soil or work in factories—have retrograded, and cannot now get for their service the quantity of the necessaries of life they could a century ago."

Happily, things were at their worst. The tide turned, and it has flowed in the direction of improvement ever since. Legislation has done much, philanthropy has done something, and the intelligent efforts of the working classes themselves have done more. All these things combined have helped to make our country a healthier and happier and a better place than it was half a century ago. The burden of national taxation has been reduced, especially the proportion paid by the poorer classes. At the present time, if a workingman does not smoke or drink, he can hardly be said to be subject to any taxation at all beyond the four pence per pound which he pays on his tea and the small contribution which he makes indirectly through the post-office. Pauperism has greatly diminished, and the poor rate is certainly less than half of what it was before the new Poor Law. Crime has diminished in quantity, and has, on the whole, been mitigated in its character. Education has been brought within the reach of every workingman's child and within the means of every parent. Protection has been afforded against excessive toil and overwork; and the observance of proper sanitary conditions for labor has been universally enforced. The laws against combinations have been repealed, trades-unions have been legalized, and the workmen are able to meet the employers on more equal terms in the settlement of the rate of

wages. The care of the public health has been recognized as a public duty and enforced both upon individuals and the local authorities. The trammels have been removed from industry; the taxes on food and on all the great necessaries of life have been repealed; facilities of travel and of inter-communication have been largely extended and developed; opportunities of self-improvement and recreation have been afforded to all at the cost of the community; and last, but not least,—since this is perhaps the indirect cause of many of the other results named,—the suffrage has been widened, until now every householder, however poor and however humble, has a voice in the government of his country and his full share of influence in the making of its laws.

It is not easy to measure the change which has taken place by statistics, but it may be illustrated by the following figures: Mr. Giffen, our most eminent living statistician, made a careful inquiry some time ago into the rate of wages at different periods, and he found that in the last fifty years they had advanced from 50 to 100 per cent. In the same time the hours of labor have been reduced on an average by 20 per cent. In very few trades do they now ever exceed ten hours, while in the majority they average nine hours, and in many they have been reduced to eight. The means for an innocent and profitable use of the leisure which has thus been afforded have been supplied by the action of the municipal and local authorities. Not only have the wages improved, but the cost of living has diminished. Bread is 20 per cent. cheaper on the average; sugar is 60 to 70 per cent. cheaper; tea, 75 per cent. cheaper; clothing, 50 per cent. cheaper. The cost of fuel, as represented by coal, has been diminished by one-half. Light, in the shape of gas or petroleum, is infinitely better and very much cheaper than in the time when tallow rushlights were the only illumination within the reach of the poor. Locomotion has become easy and is placed within the reach of all; while the postage of letters, which averaged a shilling apiece, is now reduced to a uniform penny, or, in the case of postcards, to one halfpenny for each communication. Only one article of commerce of great importance has increased in price, and that is meat in the shape of mutton and beef. Fifty years ago, however, mutton and beef did not enter into the ordinary consumption of the working classes; and if they tasted meat at all it was only in the shape of bacon. House rent has also risen, and in the course

of the time of which we are speaking it has probably doubled. But house rent is a test of prosperity; and it is just because the working classes can afford to give themselves better accommodation that we find this great increase in the rate of house rent.

On the whole, it may truly be said that not only have the working classes more to spend, but that they are able to get more for the money which they do spend. This is confirmed by the extraordinary increase which has taken place in the consumption of the chief articles of food. Thus, for instance, the consumption of sugar is four times per head as much as it was fifty years ago; tea, three and a half times as much; rice, sixteen times; eggs, six times; and tobacco, twice as much. And lastly, in consequence, perhaps, of the better food and living and of the better house accommodation, as well as on account of the improved sanitary conditions, the death-rate has diminished, the health of the country has improved, and the expectation of life at the different age-periods is now from two to four years better than it was.

In the same fifty years the habit of thrift has been considerably developed. The working classes have had more money, and they have found it possible and advantageous to reserve a portion of their income as a provision against sickness and old age. During the half-century the depositors in the savings-bank have multiplied tenfold, and the amount of funds which have been placed there for security has increased from thirteen millions sterling to considerably over a hundred millions. In addition, there are coöperative societies with a million of members and fourteen millions of capital; building societies with fifty millions of liabilities; and friendly societies almost innumerable. With regard to the last, it is difficult to obtain exact returns, but in 1880 the Registrar reported that he had received returns from 12,687 societies, with 4,800,000 members and £13,000,000 invested funds. It is probable that the total figures are at least double those shown by these imperfect returns.

An impartial consideration of the facts and figures here set forth must lead to the conclusion that there has been a very great improvement in the condition of the people during the period under review, and that this improvement has been largely due to the intervention of the state and to what is called socialistic legislation. The acts for the regulation of mines and the inspec-

tion of factories and workshops, the Truck Act (preventing the payment of wages in kind), the acts regulating merchants' shipping, the Artisans'-Dwellings Act, the Allotments Act (enabling local authorities to take land and to provide allotments for laborers), the Education Act, the Poor Law, and the Irish Land Acts are all of them measures which more or less limit or control individual action. The pedantic adherence to supposed fixed principles of political economy has been so frequently invaded by this legislation that few people would think it worth while to appeal to them as conclusive against further action, and it is recognized that each case must be decided on its merits, and cannot be determined on purely abstract grounds. The late Professor Stanley Jevons, in his essay on "The State in Relation to Labor," lays down the modern doctrine in these words: "The state is justified in passing any law, or even in doing any single act, which, without ulterior consequences, adds to the sum total of happiness. . . . The liberty of the subject is only the means towards an end. Hence when it fails to produce the desired result, it may be set aside and other means employed."

It appears, then, that experience has shown that in many instances great advantages have followed the extension of the functions of government, and that no sufficient objection exists to their further application when good cause can be shown. It must not be supposed that such cause does not still exist, or that the reforms already accomplished have exhausted the possibilities of statesmanship. Unfortunately it still remains true that in the richest country of the world the most abject misery exists side by side with luxurious profusion and extravagance. There are still nearly a million persons in the United Kingdom who are in receipt of parish relief, and as many more who are always on the verge of poverty. In our great cities there are rookeries of ignorance, intemperance, and vice, where civilized conditions of life are impossible, and morality and religion are only empty names. In certain trades unrestricted competition and the constant immigration of paupers from foreign countries have reduced wages to a starvation level, while there are other industries—as, for instance, shipping and railway traffic—where the loss of life is terrible, and the annual butcher's bill is as great as in a serious war. In the agricultural districts the divorce between the laborer and the soil he tills is still the fruitful source of distress to the poor and danger to the state.

The Corn-Law rhymer, Ebenezer Elliott, represents the laborers of his time as

> "Landless, joyless, restless, hopeless,
> Gasping still for bread and breath,
> To their graves by trouble hunted,
> Albion's Helots toil till death";

and it will not be asserted that any marked or general improvement has yet taken place in the conditions of their labor.

These are the facts with which we have yet to deal; and the hope of the future lies in the awakening of the public conscience, and in its recognition of the duty of the community to its poorest and weakest members. We may be encouraged by the success of past efforts to persevere on similar lines, and to continue a policy which has been shown to afford practical results.

There is no need to abase the rich in order to raise the poor, and it is neither possible nor expedient to drag everything down to one dead level. We cannot, if we would, equalize the conditions and the capacities of men. The idler, the drunkard, the criminal, and the fool must bear the brunt of their defects. The strong, the prudent, the temperate, and the wise will always be first in the race. But it is desirable that the government, which no longer represents a clique or a privileged class, but which is the organized expression of the wants and wishes of the whole nation, should rise to a true conception of its duties, and should use the resources, the experience, and the talent at its disposal to promote the greater happiness of the masses of the people.

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

THE WIMAN CONSPIRACY UNMASKED.

BY SIR CHARLES TUPPER.

DURING the last four years Mr. Erastus Wiman, a Canadian by birth, living in New York for twenty-six years, and claiming to be a British subject still, has conducted an active campaign, both in the United States and Canada, with the avowed object of bringing about complete free trade between those two countries.

The Hon. Mr. Laurier, the leader of the opposition in the Canadian House of Commons; Sir Richard Cartwright, who held the office of Finance Minister in Mr. McKenzie's administration from 1873 to 1878; and Mr. Edward Farrer, the principal writer on *The Globe* newspaper, the organ of the opposition, have been vigorously coöperating with Mr. Wiman, in the press of the United States and Canada and at public meetings and banquets in both countries, in an endeavor to excite the hostility of the administration, Congress, and the people of the United States against the Liberal Conservative government and party of Canada, and to show that the opposition have been the friends of the United States, and are now prepared to establish free trade between the two countries.

In the January number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW Mr. Wiman says:

"A condition of commercial belligerency exists along the entire northern border of the United States. . . .

"Whatever may have been the motive, or whatever may be the outcome, the policy of the Tory party has certainly been in the direction of isolation. To this must be attributed the harsh and antiquated interpretation of the fishery treaty—the refusal of hospitality to a few fishing-smacks in Canadian ports, while enjoying an unbounded hospitality for British and Canadian ships in every port of the United States. To this policy must be credited the denial of bonding privileges for a few quintals of fish, while enjoying unlimited bonding privileges from the United States, without which Canadian railroads would rapidly reach bankruptcy. The same idea prevails in the discrimination against United States vessels in the canals, the creation of which

was only justified by the patronage of these craft. . . . This catalogue of Tory achievements, supplemented by the guerrilla railroad warfare which, owing to the enforcement of the United States inter-State regulations, threatens to ruin American railway investments, and which the Canadian government is accused of encouraging, makes the indictment complete. . . .

"What, therefore, under the circumstances is the best plan by which to abate the commercial belligerency that prevails along the northern border of the United States? If the people in this country cannot conquer, cannot purchase, and cannot lure to a political alliance the people of Canada, can a commercial bargain be made with them by which free access can be had to their sources of enormous wealth, and to the profits of a trade that their development will create? The answer is that nothing is easier of accomplishment than this commercial bargain. . . .

"It is most important, at this juncture, that the results of a Liberal victory should be perfectly understood. In the first place, the Liberal party are unequivocally committed to the principle of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. . . .

"Again, unrestricted reciprocity with the United States implies that American goods are not only to be admitted free of duty, but for the purposes of revenue, and to prevent Canada from being the back door of smugglers into the United States, the duty on foreign goods will be maintained at the present rates. . . . Thus there is proposed a discrimination in favor of American manufactures, which are to be admitted free, while British goods are practically prohibited by the exaction of a duty.

"Is it possible to conceive of a movement more significant in British North America than this attempt at fiscal freedom from British control? . . .

"That the people of Canada will consent to this arrangement there can be little doubt, especially since the agricultural section of the McKinley Bill has afforded an object-lesson of such stupendous import as to perfectly convince them that the commercial hostility heretofore indulged in can have but one result—that of complete isolation, loss, and disaster to the most important interests of the Dominion."

It may be added that Mr. Wiman has persistently denounced the Reciprocity Act of 1854 on the ground that it was unfair to the United States.

Sir Richard Cartwright has joined Mr. Wiman in denouncing the government for hostility to the United States, and in declaring their determination to secure unrestricted reciprocity with that country.

Mr. Laurier, at a public meeting at St. Hyacinthe, asserted: "The Conservative party has always shown itself hostile to the United States."

At Montreal on January 27, 1891, Mr. Laurier said: "Our relations with the United States are unworthy of a civilized country. We have not only not free commercial intercourse, but everything possible has been done by the government at Ottawa

to render our relations with our neighbors disagreeable. In the future I wish it to be understood that there is in this country a political party well disposed to friendly intercourse with the Americans."

At a recent public meeting at St. Thomas he said :

"The President only asks to retaliate. Why retaliate ? Why, sir, because in his judgment he would be compelled to do so by the unfriendly action of the Canadian government. If we are met with this state of things with which we are threatened, it is due to the vicious policy of the Canadian government in the administration of the rights secured to us by the treaty of 1818."

Mr. Wiman's charge of commercial belligerency is controverted by the fact that the tariff of Canada only averages about one-half of that of the United States. The public records of Canada effectually disprove the statement that the Liberal Conservative government of Canada has been unfriendly to the United States.

The Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, the present Premier, was a member of the government that obtained the ratification of the treaty of 1854.

Under that treaty an enormous expansion took place in the trade between the United States and Canada. It was denounced by the United States, and terminated in 1866, although the balance of trade during its operation was no less than $95,575,957 in favor of the United States, in addition to their use of the fisheries of British North America.

Mr. Wiman, nevertheless, denounces that treaty as "a jug-handled policy" which should not be renewed by the United States.

On the 5th February last Mr. McCreary, a distinguished member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, said in Congress, as reported in *The Congressional Record*: "Bound together as this nation and Canada are by race, language, tradition, and similar institutions, with Canadian territory running hundreds of miles into the United States, and the United States territory running hundreds of miles around Canada, with great transcontinental lines of railway connecting and cementing the two countries, it is difficult now to understand why the reciprocity treaty between the United States and Canada should have been terminated in 1866. Canada is a grand market for our products, and a magnificent source of supply."

The government of Sir John A. Macdonald, in its great desire to avoid the interruption of the harmonious relations that had grown up under the operation of that treaty, allowed the fishermen of the United States the free use of our fisheries for a year after Canadian fish were compelled by the United States to pay duty.

Sir John A. Macdonald was one of Her Britannic Majesty's Joint High Commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Washington in 1871, which settled the "Alabama" claims and all questions then pending between the United States and Canada.

On submitting that treaty for the approval of the House of Commons, he was attacked by the so-called Liberal party, and charged with basely sacrificing the rights of Canada in his desire to promote friendly relations with the great republic.

Through that spirit which has always actuated his government, the American fishermen were allowed to enjoy the privileges accorded by the treaty for three months before it came into operation. When, twelve years afterwards, it was terminated by the United States, their fishermen were allowed to continue to enjoy our fisheries, without any consideration, for a full season.

Although Canada was then compelled to protect her rights under the treaty of 1818, upon which we were thrown back by the action of the United States, the following article from the Toronto *Globe*, the organ of the opposition, will show the spirit in which it was done :

"As their Congress refused to consent to the President's recommendation to nominate an international fisheries commission, there was no escape for Canada from the conclusion that the United States would not deal on the matter. Hence Canada had no option but to give up just as much as the Americans chose to take or to protect practically. Our complaint against the Ottawa ministers is that they did not protect the fisheries more completely."—*Globe* editorial, March 3, 1887.

When I had the honor, as one of Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries, to assist in the negotiation of the Washington treaty of 1888, we agreed to a treaty which President Cleveland declared was a fair and just settlement, and recommended its ratification. He thanked the British plenipotentiaries warmly for the *modus vivendi* voluntarily offered by us, under which all friction in reference to the Atlantic fisheries was removed.

President Harrison expressed in his inaugural address approval of that measure.

When, however, I submitted that treaty and *modus vivendi* to the House of Commons, I was fiercely denounced by Mr. Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright, and other members of the Liberal party, for having surrendered everything in my desire to obtain friendly relations with the United States.

These are the evidences to be found on the public records of the country of the real attitude of the two parties in Canada towards our neighbors. How ill informed Mr. Wiman is when he undertakes to instruct the people of the United States and Canada may be learned by the perusal of his sworn testimony before the committee of the Senate appointed July 31, 1888, where he stated that American vessels had taken out 500 licenses each year under the *modus vivendi*, and that those licenses gave them power to catch bait and fish—the fact being that the largest number of licenses taken out in Canada in any one year was 119, and that they gave no power to catch bait or fish!

Again, Mr. Wiman has endeavored to excite hostility in the United States by charging the Canadian government with discriminating against American vessels using our canals. No such discrimination exists. Canada has expended $41,000,000 on the canals from Lake Erie to Montreal, and is now expending $12-000,000 more to complete a fourteen-foot navigation throughout. Of this, $24,000,000 have been spent on the Welland Canal. Of the 1,104,553 tons of freight which passed through that canal in 1889–90, more than eleven-twelfths came from or was going to United States ports. All vessels coming from and going to the same ports pay the same tolls on our canals, whatever their nationality may be.

The assistance given by the Canadian government to railways has never been in any spirit of hostility to the United States, but simply as a means of developing Canada. The manner in which Mr. Wiman gloats over the McKinley Bill as a great object-lesson to aid in "The Capture of Canada" leaves no room to doubt that this measure, so far as it affects Canada, was prompted by Mr. Wiman and his associates, Sir R. Cartwright and Mr. Farrer. True to their vocation of preventing good feeling between the United States and Canada from being brought about by any reciprocal-trade arrangement between the two countries, they endeavored to paralyze the Canadian government in any negotiations with the United States by the declaration that they would be swept from

power by the voice of the people in twelve months. Sir John A. Macdonald, seeing the injury that such a statement would inflict upon any negotiations at Washington, promptly remitted that question to the people at the polls. Brought face to face with the people, Mr. Wiman was at once discarded by his associates, Mr. Laurier and Sir R. Cartwright, who declared against the adoption of the United States tariff. Mr. Laurier's address to the electors and country contained these words: "Moreover, the assertion that unrestricted reciprocity means discrimination against England involves the proposition that the Canadian tariff would have to be assimilated to the American tariff. I deny the proposition." The organ of the opposition in Nova Scotia took the same ground as did Sir R. Cartwright and the party generally. The New York *Tribune* at once denounced the position taken by Mr. Laurier and his party in the following terms:

"It [the Halifax *Morning Chronicle*] argues in favor of unrestricted and absolute reciprocity between Canada and the United States, with each country at liberty to adopt such tariff as it may prefer, and represents this, and no more than this, as the deliberate purpose of one party in the Canadian contest. If this is the fact, one party of Canadians closely resemble the baby which cried for the moon and got into a rage because the moon would not consent to be grasped. This nation has not the slightest notion of allowing Canada to open the back door as wide as it may please, while tariff enactments by the United States are closing the front door against sundry importations at New York and Boston. If any one is silly enough to suppose such a plan is entertained by Americans, he does not live in this country. All such representations may as well be put aside as utterly and widely at variance with anything Americans can possibly be brought to adopt."

Yet the country has witnessed the singular spectacle of Mr. Wiman, thus thrown over, apparently, and discredited by all his associates except Mr. Farrer, devoting all his time and energies to lobbying Congress, begging it to pass a resolution to influence an election in a foreign country. To the honor of Congress, it refused thus to degrade itself, and left Mr. Wiman to manipulate his unveiled treason without the aid which he had so unblushingly sought.

The charge of "traitorism" is one which Mr. Wiman has fastened upon himself. In his brochure in your January number, entitled "Can We Coerce Canada?" Mr. Wiman says:

"It should always be borne in mind that the whole body of politics in Canada is permeated through and through with loyalty to the British throne,

for which universal sentiment there is hardly cause for surprise. It must be remembered that Great Britain has treated Canada with the utmost liberality; that the Canadians are a practically self-governing community; and that, in addition to loans of British money in amounts second only to the vast credits given the Argentine Republic, which have recently brought such disaster in financial circles in London, no interference has been made, and nothing but kindness and generosity extended. To contemplate the cessation of a sentiment of loyalty to Great Britain, and to transfer the allegiance of a whole people to her great rival, is simply to contemplate a condition of traitorism that no political party could for one instant afford to assume."

Mr. Wiman boasts that he is a British subject; yet after he had propounded his scheme for commercial union in an address to the Boot and Shoe Club at Boston in January last, when exception was taken to it by Mr. Murray on the ground that it did not insure the annexation of Canada to the United States, the Boston *Herald* of January 22 reports:

"Mr. Wiman briefly replied to the arguments used by Mr. Murray. The speaker urged that, if it was desired to lessen the power of England, that end could not be accomplished better than by Canada trading with the United States and ceasing to trade with Great Britain. 'The very thing Mr. Murray wants to accomplish,' said Mr. Wiman, 'will be better accomplished by the plan I propose than by the plan he proposes.'"

If that is not sufficient, read Mr. Wiman's sworn evidence, page 752 of testimony taken by the Senate commission.

"Suppose your commission should report in favor of unrestricted reciprocity between Canada and the United States; then suppose at the next general election, which takes place within the next eighteen months, the Liberal party, adopting that as the sole plank in their platform, should be returned by a large majority, and Parliament should take on a commercial-union or unrestricted-reciprocity complexion: they would be in control of the government; they would meet your invitation by a vote; that would have to go to England to be consented to by the royal authorities. . . .

"Suppose the English government refused; then the Canadians would be relieved from their fealty, which would be as much a justification for a Boston tea-party as there was in 1776 or prior. . . .

"So that nothing could contribute so much to bring about annexation, if it is thought in the end to be desirable, as to have closer commercial relations."

Brought face to face in the recent campaign with the electors, Sir Richard Cartwright declared that the opposition would not take the United States tariff, and repudiated his own henchman,

Farrer. Mr. Laurier went further and denied that their policy of unrestricted reciprocity involved discrimination against England. But the ugly fact remained that Mr. Wiman, convicted by the letters of Mr. Farrer and Mr. Hitt of being engaged in a treasonable conspiracy to subvert British institutions in Canada, still implored for "moral support" from Congress and the people of the United States for the Laurier-Cartwright party, and the government were sustained by a larger majority than they had at the previous general elections. To complete the discomfiture of the opposition, this was followed by the publication of a letter from the Hon. Edward Blake, one of the most able and respected members of that party, who, rather than bind himself to their policy, had ceased to be their leader, and who now declares that his refusal to go into the battle with them was because he was "unable to fight under false colors." Mr. Blake, who to-day represents the great body of the opposition, who, with few exceptions, are loyal to British institutions, has rudely torn the "mask" to which Farrer alluded from the faces of the conspirators, and the delusion of unrestricted reciprocity may be regarded as dead and buried.

CHARLES TUPPER.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

BY THE MOST HON. THE MARQUIS OF LORNE.

We in England and in Canada always desire to be most respectful to America, and to all Americans, including Mr. Wiman, whom we would still like to think of as the engaging Toronto youth he once was. But little boys will grow up, and some young Canadians will become full-grown Americans, and we do not feel disposed to quarrel with this decree of Providence, however often we may heave a sigh and say, "What a nice little boy it once was!" Especially in the pages of The North American Review are we always most respectful to our cousins of the United States; else we should not be admitted into the pages of that patriotic print, nor could our words reach the sixty millions of readers everybody knows it commands.

Thus disposed in our mind, we were prepared to find that Mr. Wiman, writing in these pages, would be more American than the Americans; just as Mr. Van Horne, of a good old New York family, is now, as president of the Canadian Pacific, more Canadian than are many "Kanucks." We did not expect to find any trace of the exuberance of Ontario in his pages, but, to our surprise, we do. He still remembers some of the phrases of his neighbors of early days, and he still speaks of the dividing-line between the United States and Canada crossing the continent rather to the south of a line of equal division between the two nationalities. He says with pride that Canada possesses more than half of the continent, thereby placing the warm side of his heart close against the north pole. He also concedes that Canada is "loyal" in the sense of liking the old country, although he thinks that a mantle of union jack conceals a waistcoat and coat of stars and stripes.

But where his Americanism comes in is where he generously disposes of all the north to the United States after a generation has passed away. Then will there be but one country, in his belief, and all the frozen portion of the continent shall be thawed by being placed in Uncle Sam's lap. Although he thinks the United States are as yet indifferent to the great good he means

to bring them by this annexation in another score of years, he insists that they shall have Labrador, the shores of Hudson's Bay, and the Mackenzie River. So much cold water may well damp annexation ardor; but are not all Americans said to be fond of drinking iced water, and what, under these circumstances, can the prospect of owning so much of it bring but pleasure? Ungenerous doctors sometimes say that a great deal of dyspepsia comes from over-indulgence in iced water; but no, Mr. Wiman does not believe it, and Uncle Sam must drink of the waters of the St. Lawrence, Athabasca, and Mackenzie, and call them his. He must "cast his shoe" over this land he is said not to want, and trample out all individualism in French Canada, and among the descendants of the English loyalists, because trade connections along a strip of frontier can be made better. "Great God, what do we see and hear, the end of things created?" Yes; all yields to a little more trade connection. Patriotism, loyalty, pride in country and in the continuity of its history, in its institutions, in its freedom, that gives its people now a sovereign power, all—all must go before a little more—if only a percentage—of increased trade connection!

Horace said that they who crossed the sea changed the sky only, not the mind. But our friend has only gone a few hundred miles from his old home, and lo! a changed mind indeed. Do his old fellow-countrymen agree with that mind? Let the continuance in power of the Prime Minister who is opposed to Mr. Wiman's ideas answer the question. Sir John Macdonald has been at the head of the government for much more than the time, "the passing of a generation," which Mr. Wiman claims as sufficient for the plans he favors, and has been kept in power for that long period because Canada believes that she would be called upon to sacrifice her independence if she had her tariff dictated at Washington instead of at home.

There are many reasons why the United States should regard with indifference any attempt to "round up" Canada into the Union. The American policy has always been to make her people as homogeneous as possible. It is not possible to do so in the South, where the negroes, in spite of ancient Southern prophecies to the contrary, will go on increasing in a far greater ratio than can in a hot country, the white population. But elsewhere the United States system is to grind into one English-

speaking democratic community all foreigners and their descendants who settle in America. German boys are chaffed at school out of their German. Frenchmen hardly attempt to go as settlers, and their fate is the same if they do; for even in the South, where conditions are more favorable to the retention of peculiarities, where there are few but negroes around, witness the decay of French in Louisiana. English, English everywhere,—in school, in the counting-house, in all affairs of life.

Now, in Canada there is a great population of French-speaking Catholics, who refuse thus to be amalgamated, and who rejoice in their province of Quebec, in their own laws, language, institutions. It is a population constantly growing, and the most sturdy in physique on the continent. To try to absorb this population would be one of the cold-water draughts that would give Uncle Sam dyspepsia. It is difficult to say whether they would vote Republican or Democratic. Certain it is that they would puzzle the wire-pullers, and, owing to their rapid natural increase in numbers,—few families among them having less than eight children,—the problem of their management would be more difficult to solve as time passed.

But even without taking into account the difficulties involved in the absorption of a wholly foreign race such as the French Canadian, there are other reasons which may well excuse the indifference with which any project for the annexation of Canada is regarded in the United States. The country in that mighty union of commonwealths is already so vast that it provides itself easily with all that is needful, and gives its central government already sufficient occupation. It is often remarked how indifferent the Mississippi-valley population are to the interests of the East, as shown in the manner in which they question the utility of spending money on a powerful navy and the arming of the Atlantic ports. The same tendency may be observed among the rapidly-increasing people of the Pacific coast. And this happens in spite of the more rapid communication constantly insured to an ever-increasing degree by the construction of railroads.

The tendencies to what the Germans call "particularism" are always latent in so huge a bundle of sticks. Patriotism may scout the idea as traitorous, but there are other causes besides that which produced the Southern "Rebellion," capable of being nurtured into disaffection to a central government. Phrases are

awkward things when they have a wide bearing, and the "sovereignty" of each State is a phrase that may be grown into a growth not wholly compatible with a due relegation into the shades of obedience. Is it worth while to add to the vast districts already under the sway of the Washington government one that has cherished a separate sentiment and constitution for a time equal to the period of the life of the American nation itself?

Augustus knew when to check the wings of victory, so that the empire he ruled should not be overweighted with its own immensity. The peoples on the north of the St. Lawrence and the lakes have lived for a century and a half under a rule which is wholly different from that type brought into existence in the States. It is one where the democracy, proud of the continuity of their history as symbolized by the crown, has no strong bureaucracy fixed in power over it. It changes the government as it chooses by the votes of its representatives, sitting in an assembly where the ministers have also seats, and can be questioned by the independent or by the opposition members. This is a species of liberty unknown in the constitution of the United States; and it may fairly be said that the Canadians, when they formed their union of colonies in 1867, took most of what is best in the British constitution, most of what is best in the American, and left behind them the antiquated absurdities of the British, at the same time rejecting the more novel defects which have become apparent in the American. They had the benefit of the experience of the old world and the new world for their guidance. Goldwin Smith and a few other essayists may sneer at the Governor-General as a figurehead, and at the title "Sir" given to eminent men in office or at the head of the learned professions in Canada; but they must be conscious that these trivial personalities must be taken for the crotchets they represent by their utterance, and that a system which is alive because it suits a free people cannot be hindered by the few bacilli who do not find their surroundings suited to the further propagation of their little crooked species.

Whatever we may think as to the relative advantages of the two types of government to the north and the south of the international boundary, certain it is that the northern type is one that has educated a whole people to regard it as good, and to look upon the southern type as faulty. Is it for the advantage of the United States that there should be within its borders a northern tier

or two of new States looking to the Canadian form of monarchical institutions as insuring more liberty than can be obtained under a republican form? or is it not best to keep on developing these countries under the flag of the federal government at Washington, whose people have grown up under and been accustomed to the presidential type, more autocratic than the monarchical? It will be long before the territories now under the southern government are so filled with men that more elbow-room is wanted. Until that time comes, would it not be best for the most enthusiastic believer in the old Monroe Doctrine to waive the right of conquest, whether by arms or by bribery?

It will be said that there is little use in discussing an annexation for which nobody specially cares; the American people having enough to do at home, and not being possessed of any covetousness for their neighbor's goods. So it is in the main; but if the main body allow a few energetic individuals, whether they be secretaries of state from near the frontier or humbler members of Congress, to pursue a policy of pressure through diplomatic devices, or congressional acts raising the tariff against their agricultural neighbors over the frontier line, there may well be misunderstanding as to the attitude of indifference. It is more likely that it will be assumed that, judging from appearances, there is a fair amount of disposition to engulf the smaller nation.

It is probably only the northern row of States who desire it. But if, as the official announcement says, there is no desire on the part of the United States to engulf Canada, or on the part of Canada to be annexed, is there no intermediate result aimed at by the heightening of the American tariff, and the refusal to consider the free interchange of raw products only? Yes; there is, first, commercial union, which the advocates of annexation believe will lead to their object being attained.

As I write, the news of the result of the elections in the Dominion is published, and a sufficient working majority returned to support Sir John Macdonald's policy has told the world that Canada wishes to pursue her own path. Commercial union cannot be based on any abiding certainty, as Mr. Blake has pointed out, so long as there are two points of control, one at Washington and one at Ottawa. So long as such a dual management exists, commercial union would repose on no assured foundation. The Washington management would necessarily demand more and

more power over the joint arrangement, which might be liked in the southern capital, but would hardly be appreciated in the northern. The paddling of your own canoe becomes a manifestly unnecessary performance when the canoe is hauled along by a powerful propeller ahead of her.

"Quite so; then why paddle at all?" the reader will ask; and the answer must be that the paddlers think their mode of propulsion rapid enough, and that their craft is better adapted than is the steamer to their waters, and can exploit them better, as answering better to the exigencies of the currents and more easily launched on fresh waters that may open up before the voyager. It is, in other words, the love of their own; the love of that land their fathers went to and believed in when no one else believed in her; the love of fulfilling the hopes of their fathers; the love in the pride of much done under many difficulties; the love of freedom which is assured to them by the rule they themselves have fashioned as they chose; the proud affection of manly hearts for the promise of a great future to be greatly earned—this is the sentiment that makes Canada wish to paddle her own canoe. Now, let us see if this is altogether the folly that our too comfortable critic, Mr. Wiman, imagines it to be.

Canada was "once upon a time" a mere string of settlements stretching along the United States boundary, disconnected with each other, and cherishing rather the memory of early trials than the hope of any assured fortune. What is she now? The string of settlements has widened out into a splendid zone of prosperous provinces, steadily increasing in wealth, in population, in power of intercommunication, and in the development of undreamed-of mineral and agricultural wealth. The article Mr. Wiman wrote in this REVIEW may talk in too lofty a strain about more than half a continent, when part of it is likely to be used only to supply the world with ice; but he does not exaggerate when he speaks of the large value of Canada's raw products. Coal, gold, silver, nickel, copper, iron, belong to her in immense quantities. Wheat, wood, and barley are abundant, and the furs of the far north almost justify the phrase we have just taken exception to as being too magniloquent. These resources she possesses in a territory which, under the old flag, she has made her own in peace and happiness. More land towards the "divide" that separates the St. Lawrence from the Hudson's Bay slope is always being occupied.

A railway reaches now one hundred miles north of Quebec. Behind the Ottawa there is plenty of land as good as that which has made the French Canadian happy in his earlier home. Lines, again, penetrate now to the North Saskatchewan. Great tracts of oil-bearing strata have been discovered even further north. It is evident that the vein of good country is no shallow or niggardly strip, but a broad belt in which the white man, like the wheat, attains the greatest strength of body.

Grumblers there always will be. Some point to emigration to the States. But with a redundant increase does not every prosperous state pour its "overflow" into the United States? Does any one say that Germany is a decaying power because her superabundance finds an outlet in the States? So in Canada does her abundance overflow, taking its way along the railways to places where wages are highest at the moment. But she is, at the same time, steadily filling her own borders. I hear a moan from Toronto, from one too hasty patriot, about the "empty" northwest. If he had travelled there when I traversed that country, only ten years ago, and compared its state then with its state after one decade, he would not have called it "empty," but "preëmpting." There is eagerness to get the best lands there, because they are being taken up. Then the revenue throughout the provinces at large has been steadily augmenting, and the vast sums spent in promoting public works belong to that class of state expenditure called in India "reproductive."

Ten years ago not a single member of the Canadian government had ever seen the northwest. The present Minister of the Interior, to whose thoughtful energy much of the success of our Indian policy is due, was not then in the cabinet, but at the head of the Indian administration on the plains. If any one had predicted, only in Lord Monck's time, that in 1891 there would not be a buffalo on the prairies, but thousands of prosperous farms, he would have been considered a queer crank. In every department of national prosperity, in settlement, good agriculture, enterprise in mining and lumbering industry, in the fisheries, everywhere from east to west definite and steady progress of the best type, not spasmodic, but sure and lasting, is visible to the stranger, if certain natives shut their eyes to it. The factories that have arisen have sprung into being since a certain tariff has been imposed on foreign manufacturers. Undoubtedly in a country capable of much

development, and exposed to the hostile action of more powerful rival factories, such a measure of protection is legitimate, if by this only the beginning of industrial enterprise of this description can be planted. Some economists speak of supply and demand as if those terms included all circumstances. But through human ingenuity, "rings" and devices of combination can keep all the supply to themselves, and do much to regulate the demand. It is no answer to this that in the long run the eternal principles will reassert themselves. So they may when the generation who sees them insulted are in their graves.

Canada has had ample cause to know that combination in trade among her more powerful neighbors may "slaughter" her factories, and that the prices show, in spite of the massacre of their innocent infant factories, no abatement. I repeat, therefore, that, when a country has great natural wealth to safeguard and exploit for her own people, the protective tariff may often be necessary to plant factories. This is considered heresy in England, but England, under similar circumstances to those of Canada, would do precisely the same. She is now a seething factory in mid-channel between the old and the new world, and her interests now are to take all she can of raw and manufactured goods, because her territories are too small to let her people live except as general brokers on their own and other nations' products. Canada is small in population, but vast in land and latent resource, and she gets the capital of the old world to develop her latent wealth. She can well afford to draw most of her revenue from import duties, for she becomes stronger every year to bear any strain.

Let it not be imagined, then, that a high tariff against her agricultural products enacted in the States will turn more than a few frontier countries in favor of a plan that would deprive her of "ruling her own roost." Her border countries have developed faster than those of the New England States contiguous to her. The progress of the Quebec population has been mentioned with the admiration it deserves. Ontario has sent many of her sons to the northwestern territories and Manitoba, as well as to the United States, and is quite as well off as corresponding districts south of the line. Yes, everywhere the conviction is growing that along those grand parallels of latitude can be built up a nation worthy to find its place in the world, worthy to stand near its great neighbor to the south, able to achieve what it designs,

and to make itself respected by an independence which is too real to be aggressive, and too honest to be subservient. Thus Canada tells the mother-land that she wishes to live on in alliance with her, and under her flag to make the treaties which shall be correlative to her own extending commerce. Thus she tells the States that she desires to be friendly with them, to live alongside of them and work with them for the civilization of the continent, in all amity and good neighborhood.

And here I must protest against the utterly unfounded language Mr. Wiman is pleased to use regarding what he calls Canada's unfriendly attitude to the United States in some matters, such as the fisheries, salvage on the lakes, and such like. If he had taken the smallest pains to look through the history of these small matters of difference incidental to the rivalries, not of nations, but of all neighboring communities, he would have found in the past of his own people, whose conduct he thus shamefully traduces, the most eager desire to be generous to their neighbors while just to themselves. In regard to protection of fisheries, does not Maryland protect her oyster-beds by armed cruisers against poaching? Do the salvage combinations of the cities southwest of the lakes do less than do the Canadians to guarantee the proper earnings of their salvage vessels? Is he unaware of the special order issued by Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Customs, as long ago as 1880, that no vessel should ever be left in distress, and that it did not matter whence came the aid, from Americans or Canadians, so long as the succor was afforded?

To represent the Canadian government in any other light than as a most friendly neighbor is a mischievous and wholly unfounded statement. The underwriters on both sides of the lakes have a trade interest in salvage, and the northern vessels are quite competent to assist any ship in trouble; but the government have gone out of their way to assure the southern salvage companies that all assistance will be welcomed in case of trouble where the local succor may be retarded. It is wholly wrong to attribute, in this or any other international relation, the slightest want of friendship. So it is represented that goods in bond are not equally allowed to pass the frontiers. Again this is not the case, all goods in bond being allowed to pass, except those few articles reserved by treaty, such as fish and fish oil. Again, it is not the case that there is unequal treatment in regard to canal traffic. All vessels

are allowed to pass all canals under equal rates, whether Canadian or American. It is difficult to conceive the motive of these imputations, coming as they do from a Canadian born ; and perhaps it is best in this case to stick very rigidly to the polite rule of comity that asks us not to impute any motive.

The *modus vivendi*, or license system, at present in force is a most striking instance of the desire of the northern people to be friendly. No country can ever be worthy of friendship if it does not respect itself by enforcing its undoubted rights, and this is all that has been done. And this is the action that must necessarily be pursued. Any unrestricted reciprocity would benefit alone the few farmers in frontier countries. It would swamp the manufacturers and give the more numerous nation to the south entire control of the northern market, while Canada would not have the market of the 60,000,000, but be at their mercy as to the disposition of her trade. She prefers to direct her own destiny, and is conscious of her duty to herself. Her trade with the United States increased greatly during the term of the treaty negotiated in 1854 and broken off by the Americans in 1866. The breaking of that treaty, which we suppose Mr. Wiman would reckon among the most neighborly of the acts of the Washington government, was one of the causes that led to the union of the Canadian provinces.

Since those days the provinces have yearly become more and more knit together, and the practical common-sense of their peoples has told them that they can form a nation, and have a voice to which men shall listen. The old world, as well as the new, believes this confidence to be well founded, and freely invests in her mines, her railways, and her municipal bonds. New lines of steamers are about to connect her yet more with the trade of Europe and Asia. Should the United States be neighborly, they will arrange that some such treaty as that which lasted for twelve years, and was advantageous to the border countries on both sides, be again enacted. Should they refuse, the interruption will but make more visible that bright spark of patriotism whose light has before now illuminated the darker passages of Canada's history, and will become yet more intense as the mighty motive power of national life makes her move with an ever-firmer step towards that future she is conscious she will inherit.

LORNE.

NAPOLEON'S VIEWS OF RELIGION.

BY H. A. TAINE.

THE church is a mighty force, a distinct, permanent social influence of the highest order, and every political calculation in which it is omitted, or in which it is treated as of little consequence, is unsound. Every head of a state, therefore, who would estimate the vastness of this influence must consider its nature.

I.

This is what Napoleon does. As usual with him, in order to see deeper into others, he begins by examining himself. "To say from whence I came, what I am, or where I am going, is above my comprehension. I am the watch that runs, but unconscious of itself." These questions, which we are unable to answer, "drive us onward to religion; we rush forward to welcome her, for that is our natural tendency. But knowledge comes and we stop short. Instruction and history, you see, are the great enemies of religion, disfigured by the imperfections of humanity. . . . I once had faith. But when I came to know something, as soon as I began to reason, which occurred early in life, at the age of thirteen, I found my faith attacked and that it staggered." This double personal conviction is an after-thought, when preparing the concordat. "It is said that I am a Papist. I am nothing. In Egypt I was a Mussulman; here I shall be a Catholic, for the good of the people. I do not believe in religions. The idea of a God!" And then, pointing upward: "Who made all that?" The imagination has decorated this great name with its legends. Let us content ourselves with those already existing; "the disquietude of man is such that he cannot do without them; in default of those already made he would fashion others, haphazard, and still more strange. The positive religions keep man from going astray; it is these which render the supernatural definite and

precise; he had better take it in there than elsewhere, . . . at Mademoiselle Lenormand's, in the stories got up by every adventurer, every charlatan, that comes along." An established religion "is a kind of vaccination which, in satisfying our love of the marvellous, guarantees us against quacks and sorcerers; the priests are far better than the Cagliostros, Kants, and the rest of the German mystics." In sum, illuminism and metaphysics, the speculative inventions of the brain and the contagious overexcitement of the nerves, all the illusions of credulity, are unhealthy in their essence, and, in general, anti-social. Nevertheless, as they belong to human nature, let us accept them like so many streams tumbling down a slope, except that they remain in their own beds, and, in many of them, no new beds, and not in one bed alone by itself. "I do not want a dominant religion, nor the establishment of new ones. The Catholic, Reformed, and Lutheran systems, established by the concordat, are sufficient." With these one need not grope one's way in the unknown. Their direction and force are intelligible, and their irruptions can be guarded against. Moreover, the present inclinations and configuration of the human soil favor them; the child follows the road marked out by the parent, and the man follows the road marked out by the child. For instance:

"Last Sunday, here at Malmaison, while strolling alone in the solitude enjoying the repose of nature, my ear suddenly caught the sound of the church bell at Ruel. It affected me, so strong is the force of early habits and education! I said to myself, What an impression this must make on simple, credulous souls!" Let us gratify these; let us give back these bells and the rest to the Catholics. After all, the general effect of Christianity is salutary. "As far as I am concerned, I do not see in it the mystery of the incarnation, but the mystery of social order, the association of religion with paradise, an idea of equality which keeps the rich from being massacred by the poor. . . . Society could not exist without an inequality of fortunes, and an inequality of fortunes without religion. A man dying of starvation alongside of one who is surfeited would not yield to this difference unless he had some authority which assured him that God so orders it, that there must be both poor and rich in the world, but that in the future, and throughout eternity, the portion of each will be changed."

Alongside of the repressive police exercised by the state there is a preventive police exercised by the church. The clergy, in its cassock, is an additional spiritual *gendarmerie,* much more efficient than the temporal *gendarmerie* in its stout boots, while the essential thing is to make both keep step together in concert. Between the two domains, between that which belongs to civil authority and that which belongs to religious authority, is there any boundary line of separation? "I do not see where to place it; *its existence is purely chimerical.* I look in vain; I see only clouds, obscurities, difficulties. The civil government condemns a criminal to death; the priest gives him absolution and offers him paradise." In relation to this act both powers operate publicly in an inverse sense on the same individual, one with the guillotine and the other with a pardon. As these authorities may clash with each other, let us prevent conflicts and leave no undefined frontier; let us trace this out beforehand; let us indicate what our part is and not allow the church to encroach on the state.

The church really wants all; it is the accessory which she concedes to us, while she appropriates the principal to herself. "Mark the insolence of the priests who, in sharing authority with what they call the temporal power, reserve to themselves all action on the mind, the noblest part of man, and take it on themselves to reduce my part merely to physical action. They retain the soul and fling me the corpse!" In antiquity, things were much better done, and are still better done now in Mussulman countries. "In the Roman republic, the senate was the interpreter of heaven, and this was the mainspring of the force and and strength of that government. In Turkey, and throughout the Orient, the Koran serves as both a civil and religious bible. Only in Christianity do we find the pontificate distinct from the civil government." And even this has occurred only in one branch of Christianity. Everywhere, except in Catholic countries, "in England, in Russia, in the northern monarchies, in one part of Germany, the legal union of the two powers, religious control in the hands of the sovereign," is an accomplished fact. "*One cannot govern without it;* otherwise, the repose, dignity, and independence of a nation are disturbed at every moment." It is a pity that "the difficulty cannot be overcome as with Henry VIII. in England. The head of the state would then, by legislative statute, be the supreme chief of the French church."

Unfortunately, France is not so disposed. Napoleon often tries to bring this about, but is satisfied that in this matter "he would never obtain national coöperation"; once "embarked," fully engaged in the enterprise, "the nation would have abandoned him." Unable to take this road, he takes another, which leads to the same result. As he himself afterwards states, this result "was, for a long time and always, the object of his wishes and meditations. . . . It is not his aim to change the faith of his people; he respects spiritual objects and *wants to rule them* without meddling with them; his aim is *to make these square with his views, with his policy,* but only through the influence of temporal concerns." That spiritual authority should remain intact; that it should operate on its own speculative domain, that is to say, on dogmas, and on its practical domain, namely, on the sacraments and on worship; that it should be sovereign on this limited territory, Napoleon admits, for such is the fact, and we have only to open our eyes to see it. Right or wrong, spiritual authority is recognized sovereign through the persistent, verified loyalty of believers, obeyed, effective—in other words, a powerful force. It cannot be done away with by supposing it non-existent; on the contrary, a competent statesman will maintain it in order to make use of it and apply it to civil purposes. Like an engineer who comes across a prolific spring near his manufactory, he does not try to dry it up, nor let the water be dispersed and lost; he has no idea of letting this remain inactive; on the contrary, he collects it, digs channels for it, directs and economizes the flow, and renders the water serviceable in his workshops. In the Catholic Church, the authority to be won and utilized is that of the clergy over believers and that of the sovereign pontiff over the clergy. "You will see," exclaimed Bonaparte, while negotiating the concordat, "how I will turn the priests to account, and, first of all, the Pope!"

"Had no Pope existed," he says again, "it would have been necessary to create him for the occasion, as the Roman consuls created a dictator under difficult circumstances." He alone could effect the *coup d'état* which the First Consul needed, in order that he might constitute the new head of the government a patron of the Catholic Church, to bring independent or refractory priests under subjection, to sever the canonical cord which bound the French clergy to its exiled superiors and to the old order of things, "to break the last thread by which the Bour-

bons still communicated with the country." "Fifty *emigré* bishops in the pay of England now lead the French clergy. Their influence must be got rid of, and to do this the authority of the Pope is essential; he can dismiss or make them resign." Should any of them prove obstinate and unwilling to descend from their thrones, their refusal brings them into discredit, and they are "designated as rebels who prefer the things of this world, their terrestrial interests to the interests of heaven and the cause of God." The great body of the clergy along with their flocks will abandon them; they will soon be forgotten, like old sprouts transplanted whose roots have been cut off; they will die abroad, one by one, while the successor, who is now in office, will find no difficulty in rallying the obedient around him, for, being Catholic, his parishioners are so many sheep, docile, taken with externals, impressionable, and ready to follow the pastoral crook, provided it bears the ancient trademark, consists of the same material, is of the same form, is conferred from on high, and is sent from Rome. The bishops having once been consecrated by the Pope, nobody save a Gregory or some antiquarian canonist will dispute their jurisdiction.

The ecclesiastical ground is thus cleared through the interposition of the Pope. The three groups of authorities thereon which contend with each other for the possession of consciences—the refugee bishops in England, the apostolic vicars, and the constitutional clergy—disappear, and now the cleared ground can be built on. "The Catholic religion being declared that of the majority of the French people, its services must now be regulated. The First Consul nominates fifty bishops whom the Pope consecrates. These appoint the curés, and the state pays their salaries. The latter may take the oath, while *the priests who do not submit are sent out of the country.* Those who preach against the government are handed over to their superiors for punishment. The Pope confirms the sale of clerical possessions; he consecrates the Republic." The faithful no longer regard it askance. They feel that they are not only tolerated, but protected by it, and they are grateful. The people revere their churches, their curés, the forms of worship to which they are almost instinctively accustomed, the ceremonial which, to their imagination, belongs to every important act of their lives, the solemn rites of marriage, baptism, burial, and other sacramental offices.

Henceforth mass is said every Sunday in each village, and the peasants enjoy their processions on Corpus-Christi day, when their crops are blessed. A great public want is satisfied. Discontent subsides, ill-will dies out, the government has fewer enemies; its enemies, again, lose their best weapon, and, at the same time, it acquires an admirable one, the right of appointing bishops and of sanctioning the curés. By virtue of the concordat and by order of the Pope, not only, in 1801, do all former spiritual authorities cease to exist, but again, after 1801, all new titularies, with the Pope's assent, chosen, accepted, managed, disciplined, and paid by the First Consul, are, in fact, his creatures, and become his functionaries.

Over and above this positive and real service obtained from the sovereign pontiff, he awaits others yet more important and undefined, and principally his future coronation in Notre Dame. Already, during the negotiations for the concordat, La Fayette had observed to him with a smile: "You want the holy oil dropped on your head"; to which he made no contradictory answer. On the contrary, he replied, and probably too with a smile: "We shall see! We shall see!" Thus does he think ahead, and his ideas extend beyond that which a man belonging to the ancient *régime* could imagine or divine, even to the reconstruction of the empire of the west as this existed in the year 800. 'I am not the successor of Louis XIV.," he soon declares, "but of Charlemagne. . . . I am Charlemagne, because, like Charlemagne, I unite the French crown with that of the Lombards, and my empire borders on the Orient." "Had I returned victorious from Moscow, I intended to exalt the Pope beyond measure, to surround him with pomp and deference. I would have brought him to no longer regretting his temporality; I would have made him an idol. He would have lived alongside of me. Paris would have become the capital of Christendom, and I would have governed the religious world the same as the political world. . . . I would have had my religious as well as legislative sessions; my councils would have represented Christianity; *the Popes would have been merely their presidents.* I would have opened and closed these assemblies, sanctified and published their decrees, as was done by Constantine and Charlemagne." The Pope, as with the marshals and the new dukes, must have a landed income settled on him, consisting

of "property *in different parts of the empire*, two millions of rural revenue free of all taxation." Necessarily the Pope must have two palaces, one at Paris and the other at Rome. He is already nearly fully installed in Paris, his person being all that was lacking. On arriving from Fontainebleau, two hours off, he would find everything belonging to his office; "the papers of the missions and the archives of Rome were already there." "The Hôtel Dieu was entirely given up to the departments of the court of Rome. The district around Notre Dame and the Ile St. Louis was to be the headquarters of Christendom." Rome, the second centre of Christendom, and the second residence of the Pope, is declared "an imperial and free city, the second city of the empire"; a prince of the empire, or other grand dignitary, is to reside there and "hold the court of the emperor." "After their coronation in the cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris, the emperors" will go to Italy before the tenth year of their reign, and be "crowned in the church of St. Peter at Rome." The heir to the imperial throne "will bear the title and receive the honors of the King of Rome." Observe the substantial features of this chimerical construction. Napoleon, far more Italian than French, Italian by race, by instinct, imagination, and souvenir, considers in his plan the future of Italy, and, on casting up the final accounts of his reign, we find that the net profit is for Italy and the net loss is for France. Since Theodoric and the Lombard kings, the Pope, in preserving his temporal sovereignty and spiritual omnipotence, has maintained the sub-divisions of Italy; let this obstacle be removed and Italy will once more become a nation. Napoleon prepares the way, and constitutes it beforehand by restoring the Pope to his primitive condition, by withdrawing from him his temporal sovereignty and limiting his spiritual omnipotence, by reducing him to the position of managing director of Catholic consciences and head minister of the principal cult authorized in the empire.

In carrying out this plan, he will use the French clergy in mastering the Pope, as the Pope has been made use of in mastering the French clergy. To this end, before completing the concordat and decreeing the organic articles, he orders for himself a small library, consisting of books on ecclesiastical law. The Latin works of Bossuet are translated for him, and he has drawn up an exposition of the Gallican parliamentary doctrine. The

first thing is to go down to the roots of the subject, which he does with extraordinary facility, and then, recasting and shaping the theories to suit himself, he arrives at an original, individual conception, at once coherent, precise, and practical; one which covers the ground and which he applies alike to all churches, Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and even Jewish, to every religious community now existing and in time to come. So long as belief remains silent and solitary, confined within the limits of individual conscience, it is free, and the state has nothing to do with it. But let it act outside these limits, address the public, bring people together in crowds for a common purpose, manifest itself visibly, it is subject to control; forms of worship, ceremonies, preaching, instruction, and propagandism, the donations it provokes, the assemblies it convenes, the organization and maintenance of the bodies it engenders, all the positive applications of the inward rosary, are temporal works. In this sense, they form a province of the public domain, and come within the competency of the government of the administration, and of the courts. The state has a right to interdict, to tolerate, or to authorize them, and to direct their activity at all times. Sole and universal proprietor of the outward realm in which single consciences may communicate with each other, it intervenes, step by step, either to trace or to bar the way; the road they follow passes over its ground and belongs to it; its watch, accordingly, over their proceedings is, and should be, daily; and it maintains this watch for its own advantage, for the advantage of civil and political interests, in such a way that concern for the other world may be serviceable and not prejudicial to matters which belong to this one. In short, and as a summary, the First Consul says, in a private conversation: "The people want a religion, and this religion should be in the hands of the government!"

II.

A few months after the publication of the concordat, Mademoiselle Chameron, an opera-dancer, dies, and her friends bear her remains to the Church of St. Roch for interment. The curé, very rigid, "in a fit of ill-humor," refuses to officiate, and he shuts the doors of the church; a crowd gathers, which shouts and launches threats at the curé; an actor makes a speech to appease

the tumult, and finally the coffin is borne off to the Church of Les Filles St. Thomas, where the curé, "familiar with the words of the gospel," performs the funeral service. Incidents of this kind disturb the tranquillity of the streets and denote a relaxation of administrative discipline. Consequently the government, doctor in theology and canon law, intervenes and calls the ecclesiastical superior to account. The First Consul, in an article in the *Moniteur*, haughtily gives the clergy their countersign and explains the course that will be pursued against them by their prelates. "The Archbishop of Paris orders the curé of St. Roch into a retreat of three months, in order that he may bear in mind the injunction of Jesus Christ to pray for one's enemies, and, made sensible of his duties by meditation, may become aware that these superstitious customs, which degrade religion by their absurdities, have been done away with by the concordat and the law of Germinal 18." Henceforth all priests and curés must be prudent, circumspect, obedient, and reserved, for their spiritual superiors are so, and could not be otherwise. Each prelate, posted in his diocese, is maintained there in isolation; a watch is kept on his correspondence; he can communicate with the Pope only through the Minister of Worship; he has no right to act in concert with his colleagues; all the general assemblies of the clergy, all metropolitan councils, all annual synods, are suppressed.

The church of France has ceased to exist as one corps, while its members, carefully detached from each other and from their Roman head, are no longer united, but juxtaposed, confined to a circumscription like the prefect; the bishop himself is simply an ecclesiastical prefect, a little less uncertain of his tenure of office; undoubtedly his removal will not be effected by order, but he can be forced to send in his resignation. Thus, in his case, as well as for the prefect, his first care will be not to excite displeasure, and the next one, to please. To stand well at court, with the minister and with the sovereign, is a positive command, not only on personal grounds, but for the sake of Catholic interests. To obtain scholarship for the pupils of his seminary, to appoint the teachers and the director that sent him, to insure the acceptance of his canons, cantonal curés, and his candidates for the priesthood, to exempt his sub-deacons from the conscription, to establish and to defray the expenses of the

chapels of his diocese, to provide parishes with the indispensable priest, with regular services, and with the sacraments, requires favors, which favors cannot be enjoyed without manifestations of obedience and zeal, and, more important still, without devotedness.

Besides all this, he is himself a man. If Napoleon has selected him, it is on account of his intelligence, knowing what he is about, open to human motives, not too rigid and of too easy conscience; in the eyes of the master, the first of all titles has ever been a supposable, docile character, associated with attachment to his person and system. Moreover, with his candidates, he has always taken into consideration the hold they give him through their weaknesses, vanity, and necessities, their ostentatious ways and expenditure, their love of money, titles, and precedence, their ambition, desire for promotion, enjoyment of credit, right of petitioning, of prestige, and the establishment of social relationships. He avails himself of all these advantages and finds that they answer his purpose. With the exception of three or four saints like Monseigneur d'Avran or Monseigneur Dessolles, whom he has inadvertently put with the episcopate, the bishops are content to be barons and the archbishops counts. They are glad to rank higher and higher in the Legion of Honor; they loudly assert, in praise of the new order of things, the honors and dignities it confers on these or those prelates who have become members of the legislative corps or been made senators. Many of them receive secret pay for secret services, pecuniary incentives in the shape of this or that sum in ready money. In total, Napoleon has judged accurately; with hesitation and remorse, nearly the whole of his episcopal staff, Italian and French, sixty-six prelates out of eighty, are open to "temporal influences." They yield to his seductions and threats; they accept or submit, even in spiritual matters, to his final determination.

Moreover, among these dignitaries, nearly all of whom are blameless, or, at least, who behave well and are generally honorable, Napoleon finds a few whose servility is perfect, unscrupulous individuals ready for anything, whatever an absolute prince could desire, like Bishops Bernier and De Pancemont, one accepting a reward of 30,000 francs and the other the sum of 50,000 francs for the vile part they played in the negotiations for the concordat; or miserly, brutal, cynic-like Maury, archbishop of Paris; or an intriguing, mercenary sceptic like De Pradt, arch-

bishop of Malines; or an old imbecile, falling on his knees before the civil power, like Rousseau, bishop of Orleans, who indites a pastoral letter declaring that the Pope is as free in his Savona prison as on his throne at Rome. After 1806, Napoleon, that he may control men of greater suppleness, prefers to take his prelates from old noble families—the frequenters of Versailles, who regard the episcopate as a gift bestowed by the prince and not by the Pope, a lay favor reserved for younger sons, a present made by the sovereign to those around his person, on the understood condition that the partisan courtier who is promoted shall remain a courtier of the master. Henceforth nearly all his episcopal recruits are derived from "members of the old race." "Only these," says Napoleon, "know how to serve well."

From the first year the effect arrived at is better than could be expected. "Look at the clergy," said the First Consul to Roederer; "every day shows that in spite of themselves their devotion to the government is increasing, and much beyond their anticipation. Have you seen the pastoral declaration of Boisgelin, archbishop of Tours? He says that the actual government is the legitimate government, that God disposes of thrones and kings as he pleases; that he adopts the chiefs whom the people prefer. You yourself could not have said that better." But, notwithstanding that this is said in the pastoral letter, it is again said in the catechism. No ecclesiastical publication is more important; all Catholic children have to learn this by heart, for the phrases they recite will be firmly fixed in their memories. Bossuet's catechism is good enough, but it may be improved,—there is nothing that time, reflection, emulation, and administrative zeal cannot render perfect! Bossuet teaches children "to respect all superiors, pastors, kings, magistrates, and the rest." "These generalities," says Portalis, "no longer suffice. They do not give the proper tendency to the subject's submission. The object is to centre the popular conscience on the person of Your Majesty." Accordingly, let us be precise, make appointments, and secure support. The imperial catechism, a great deal more explicit than the royal catechism, adds significant developments to the old one, along with extra motives: "We specially owe to our Emperor, Napoleon the First, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and tributes ordained for the preservation of the empire and his throne. . . . For God has raised him up

for us in times of peril that he might restore public worship and the holy religion of our fathers and be its protector." Every boy and girl in each parish recite this to the vicar or curé after vespers in their tiny voices as a commandment of God and of the church, as a supplementary article of the creed. Meanwhile the officiating priest gravely comments on this article, already clear enough, at every morning or evening service; by order, he preaches in behalf of the conscription and declares that it is a sin to try to escape from it, to be refractory; by order, again, he reads the army bulletins giving accounts of the latest victories; always by order, he reads the last pastoral letter of his bishop, a document authorized, inspired, and corrected by the police. Not only are the bishops obliged to submit their pastoral letters and public instructions to the censorship; not only, by way of precaution, are they forbidden to print anything except on the prefective presses, but again, for still greater security, the bureau of public worship is constantly advising them what they must say. First of all, they must laud the Emperor; and how this must be done, in what terms, and with what epithets, so that without indiscretion or mistake they may not meddle with politics, may not seem like a party managed from above, may not pass for mouthpieces, is not indicated, and it is a difficult matter. "You must praise the Emperor more in your pastoral letters," said Réal, prefect of police, to a young bishop. "Tell me in what measure." "I do not know," was the reply. Since the measure cannot be prescribed, it must be ample enough. There is no difficulty as regards other articles.

On every occasion the Paris bureaux take care to furnish each bishop with a ready-made draft of his forthcoming pastoral letter —the canvas on which the customary flowers of ecclesiastical amplification are to be embroidered. It differs according to time and place. In La Vendée and in the west, the prelates are to stigmatize "the odious machinations of perfidious Albion," and explain to the faithful the persecutions to which the English subject the Irish Catholics. When Russia is the enemy, the pastoral letter must dwell on her being schismatic; also on the Russian non-recognition of the supremacy of the Pope. Inasmuch as bishops are functionaries of the empire, their utterances and their acts belong to the Emperor. Consequently he makes use of them against all enemies, against each rival, rebel, or adversary,

against the Bourbons, against the English and the Russians, and finally against the Pope.

Similar to the Russian expedition, this is the great and last throw of the dice, the decisive and most important of his ecclesiastical undertakings, as the others are in political and in military affairs. Just as, under his leadership, he forces coalition of the political and military powers of his Europe against the Czar,—Austria, Prussia, the Confederation of the Rhine, Holland, Switzerland, the kingdom of Italy, Naples, and even Spain,—so does he force, under his lead, a coalition of all the spiritual authorities of his empire against the Pope. He summons a council, consisting of eighty-four bishops that are available in Italy and in France. He takes it upon himself to drill them and make them march. Toward the end the council is suddenly dissolved because scruples arise, because it does not yield at once to the pressure brought to bear on it, because its mass constitutes its firmness, because its members, standing close together, side by side, stand all the longer. "Our life is not good in the cask," said Cardinal Maury; "you will find it better in bottles." Accordingly, to make it ready for bottling, it must be filtered and clarified, so as to get rid of the bad elements which disturb it and cause fermentation. Some of the opposition are in prison, many have retired from their dioceses, while the rest are brought to Paris and cunningly worked upon, each member in turn, cautioned in a mess-room, *tête-à-tête* with the the Minister of Worship, until all severally sign the formula of adhesion. On the strength of this, the council, purged and prepared, is summoned afresh to give its vote sitting or standing, in one unique session; through a remnant of virtue it inserts a suspensive clause in the decree, apparently a reservation, but the decree is still passed as ordered. Like the foreign regiment in an army corps which, enlisted, forced into line, and goaded on with a sharp sword, serves, in spite of itself, against its legitimate prince, unwilling to march forward to the attack, meaning at the last moment to fire in the air, so does it march and fire its volley notwithstanding.

Napoleon, on the other hand, treats the Pope in the same fashion, and with like skill and brutality. As with the Russian campaign, he has prepared himself for it long beforehand. At the outset there is an alliance, and he concedes great advantages to

the Pope as to the Czar, which will remain to them after his fall; but these concessions are made only with a mental reservation, with the instinctive feeling and predetermination to profit by the alliance, even to making an independent sovereign, whom he recognizes as his equal, his subordinate and his tool. Hence this time, also, quarrels and war. His strategy against the Pope is admirable,—the entire ecclesiastical territory studied beforehand, the objective point selected, all disposable forces employed and directed by fixed marches to where the victory is to be decisive, the conquest extended and the seat of the final dominion established; the successive and simultaneous use of every kind of means—cunning, violence, seduction, and terror; calculation of the weariness, anxiety, and despair of the adversary; at first menaces and constant disputes, and then flashes of lightning and multiplied claps of thunder, every species of brutality that force can command; the states of the church invaded in times of peace, Rome surprised and occupied by soldiers, the Pope besieged in the Quirinal, in a year the Quirinal taken by a nocturnal assault, the Pope seized and carried off by post to Savona and there confined as a prisoner of state almost in cellular seclusion, subject to the entreaties and manœuvres of an adroit prefect who works upon him, of the physician who is a paid spy, of the servile bishops who are sent thither, alone with his conscience, contending with inquisitors relieving each other, subject to moral tortures as subtile and as keen as old-time physical tortures, to tortures so steady and persistent that he sinks, loses his head, "no longer sleeps and scarcely speaks," falling into a senile condition, and even more than senile condition—"a state of mental alienation." Then, on issuing from this, the poor old man is again beset; finally, after waiting patiently for three years, he is once more brusquely conducted at night, secretly and incognito over the entire road, with no repose or pity, though ill, except stopping once in a snowstorm at the hospice on Mont Cenis, where he comes near dying, put back after twenty-four hours in his carriage, bent double by suffering and in constant pain, jolting over the pavement of the grand highway until almost dead, he is landed at Fontainebleau, where Napoleon wishes to have him ready at hand to work upon. "Indeed," he himself says, "he is a lamb, an excellent, worthy man whom I esteem and am very fond of." A *tête-à-tête* not ex-

pected may probably prove effective with this gentle, candid, and tender spirit. Pius VII., who had never known ill-will, might be won by kindly treatment, by an air of filial respect, by caresses; he may feel the personal ascendency of Napoleon, the prestige of his presence and conversation, the invasion of his genius, inexhaustible in argument, matchless in the adaptation of ideas to circumstances, the most amiable and most imperious of interlocutors, stentorian and mild, tragic and comic by turns, the most eloquent of sophists, and the most irresistible of fascinators, who, on meeting a man face to face, wins him, conquers him, and obtains the mastery. In effect, after seeing the Pope for six days, Napoleon obtains by persuasion what he could nót obtain afar by constraint. Pius VII. signs the new concordat in good faith, himself unaware that, on regaining his freedom and surrounded by his cardinals, who inform him on the political situation, he will emerge from bewilderment, be attacked by his conscience, and, through his office, publicly accuse himself, humbly repent, and in two months withdraw his signature.

Such, after 1812 and 1813, is the duration of Napoleon's triumphs and the ephemeral result of his greatest military and ecclesiastical achievements—Moskowa, Lutzen, Bautzen, and Dresden, the council of 1811, and the concordat of 1813. Whatever the vastness of his genius may be, however strong his will, however successful his attacks, his success against sections and churches never is, and never can be, other than temporary. Great historical and moral forces elude his grasp. In vain does he strike, for their downfall gives them new life, and they rise beneath the blow. With Catholic institutions, as with other powers, not only do his efforts remain sterile, but what he accomplishes remains inverse to the end he has in view. He aims to subjugate the Pope, and he led the Pope on to omnipotence. He aims at the maintenance and strength of the Gallican spirit among the French clergy, and he caused the dominion of the ultramontane spirit. With extraordinary energy and tenacity, with all his power, which was enormous, through the systematic and constant application of most diverse and extreme measures, he labored for fifteen years to sunder the ties of the Catholic hierarchy, tear this to pieces, and, in sum, the final result of all is to bind them together faster and hasten their completion.

H. A. TAINE.

COMMON-SENSE ON THE EXCISE QUESTION.

BY WILLIAM S. ANDREWS, FORMER COMMISSIONER OF EXCISE IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, AND THE REV. HOWARD CROSBY, D. D.

INTEMPERANCE in the use of intoxicants is among the chief promoters of poverty and crime, and constitutes one of the greatest evils of civilization. Society not only has the right—it is its duty—to protect itself, collectively and individually, against that evil. Such protection is not possible without a just and practicable system of excise regulation. In determining what that system should be, it must not be considered as a question of morals or sentiment, but purely as a matter of police—that is, what is necessary and best to protect the community from disorder and to prevent any encroachment by one person upon the rights of another. The intervention of law must be restricted to those things which concern the relations of men to other men. In those things which concern themselves only, human beings who have reached years of discretion and are of sound mind must govern themselves. It is only when the acts of the individual affect others that the State has any right to interfere; and then only so far as may be necessary to guarantee or protect the equal rights of all. Every attempt at excise regulation or restriction that does not recognize and obey this fundamental law of governmental science must fail.

If these essential principles be conceded, but two things are necessary for the successful operation of a just and practicable excise law. First, the law must be adapted to the requirements, habits, and customs of the people who are to live under it. Secondly, it must be strictly and impartially enforced.

The mere act of selling intoxicants does no harm. Evil or injury results from their use—or, more strictly, their misuse. It is necessary, therefore, to reach and control those who misuse them to the injury or detriment of others. As to the seller, it is sufficient that he shall neither induce nor permit the drinkers to

go to excess, and that he shall maintain perfect order, decency, and cleanliness in and about his premises. The great majority of drinkers do not go to excess, and do not, as a result of their drinking, encroach upon the rights of others. The question as to whether they injure themselves is not to be considered, any more than if they eat too much or smoke too much, or do any other thing resulting in personal injury in which others are not involved. One man cannot be justly prevented from using anything because another man did, or may, abuse it. Not only is it a violation of the rights of the individual to attempt such prevention; it is worse than useless, because laws for such a purpose cannot be successfully enforced under a government like ours.

The habits of men can be regulated in a very limited degree by statute. Public opinion is more potent than all other forces combined in compelling enforcement of and obedience to law. Custom and fashion influence the conduct of the people in a far greater degree than legislative enactments. Legislative enactments not in conformity with the customs and desires of the people, and therefore not approved or sustained by public opinion, are uniformly disregarded. The attempt to enforce them under those conditions becomes a farce. It is not possible to compel obedience to them so long as there is ability to resist or evade.*

Such laws are far worse than no laws. They tend to engender a contempt for all law. But a much greater evil results—they inevitably breed corruption in the public service. Those whose duty it is to enforce them not only escape popular condemnation for their failure to do so, but frequently receive public approval and commendation for such failure. While thus relieved from all compulsion to enforce the law, its existence gives to corrupt officials the power to harass and pursue those who disobey it; not to compel obedience, but to extort pay for immunity in their disobedience. It is cheaper and easier for those who defy the law to purchase the privilege of doing so without molestation than it is

* In the recent able and learned address, delivered since the foregoing was written, by James C. Carter before the American Bar Association, that distinguished jurist said: "When a statute conflicts with the opinions, customs, and habits of a large part, although it may be a minority, of the community, it is difficult, and often wholly impossible, to enforce it. In many instances such enactments are absolutely futile. . . . No legislature can make what laws it will—that is, such laws as will be obeyed, and no others are properly laws. The substance of them [*i. e.* laws that will be obeyed] must be already found in the customs and habits of the people."

to attempt to evade interference. This leads to a most dangerous and demoralizing collusion between the official and the offender. For while this partnership may commence in an understanding regarding some minor requirement of law, the oath of office once broken and official honor once compromised, it is an easy step to more serious complicity, until crime in its worst forms finds immunity and shelter where it should meet detection and punishment.

An excise law, to be just and practicable, should have for its sole purpose the maintenance of public order without imposing or permitting any infringement upon the personal liberty of the citizen. It must not put restriction upon the peaceful and orderly pursuits or recreations of the people, but must interpose with a strong hand for the immediate and effectual suppression and punishment of disorder. It must protect the sober and orderly and deal summarily with the drunken and disorderly. Severe penalties should be inflicted upon all whose excessive use of alcoholic drink results in the neglect or injury of others dependent upon them for support. The occasional drunkard should be punished, and habitual inebriety treated either as a disease or a crime, the offender to be confined in an asylum or under legal restraint until cured or reformed. Any failure of an officer of the law to do his duty should be punished by immediate dismissal from and disqualification for office, and if a corrupt motive is shown, he should be mercilessly dealt with as a felon.

Strict and inflexible rules must be observed in granting licenses to sell alcoholic liquors. Public officials should be, as far as possible, deprived of discretionary power over licensees, either to ignore or condone offences against the law. The number of licensed places should be restricted within a limit to be determined solely with reference to public convenience.* The hours for opening or closing licensed places should be regulated with

* In 1886 the Board of Excise of the city of New York, of which the writer was then a member, made a rule that a new license for a drinking-place should not be issued except upon the expiration or surrender of an existing license. The operation of this rule not only prevented any increase in the number of existing drinking-places; it resulted in a gradual but certain decrease, because of the frequent expiration of licenses that were not renewed. In this way an actual reduction of several hundred saloons was effected during the term of that board. The rule is maintained by the present board, and must continue to work a reduction in the number of bar-rooms as long as it is faithfully enforced. This decrease, together with the growth of the city, will in a few years reduce the ratio of saloons to population below that of any other city in the State.

due regard to the convenience and legitimate requirements of the neighborhoods where they are situated and of the citizens who patronize them. There are, for instance, in the city of New York certainly not less than fifty thousand persons whose ordinary occupations of life require them to labor during the night. About ferries and railway stations, in and about the markets and milk depots, and employed upon morning newspapers, they are compelled to labor while others sleep. They eat their meals in the night time, and there is no reason why they should not have the same opportunity to obtain such drink as is necessary for their comfort, during the hours when they labor, as other persons have during the day. The chief requisite of excise legislation is good order and the absence of any cause of annoyance and discomfort either to residents in the immediate vicinity of the licensed place or to the general public, whether it be day or night. The maintenance of those conditions is of far more importance than any restrictions as to the hours of selling.

A license should be revoked peremptorily and without discretion upon proof of the following offences: permitting the licensed premises to become disorderly, or to be used for any unlawful purpose, or to be connected with any place so used; or selling liquor to an intoxicated person, or knowingly permitting an intoxicated person to enter or remain upon the licensed premises; or knowingly selling liquor to an habitual drunkard. Upon the complaint of any citizen, or upon the knowledge or information of any excise or police official, of any nuisance or annoyance occurring in or arising from any licensed place, the licensee should be immediately summoned before the proper tribunal, and, if the complaint be sustained, for the first and second offences fined, and for the third offence the license should be revoked. An excise license should be transferable from one person to another, or to the legal representatives of a deceased licensee, upon the approval of the proper officers. The place should be licensed as well as the person, and a revocation of a license should carry with it a prohibition against relicensing either the person or the place for a term of years.*

The provision that when a license is revoked the place cannot be relicensed is more important than any other. It would do more than anything else to regulate and restrict the retail liquor

* That is the law in Great Britian.

traffic, and to drive disreputable and irresponsible persons out of the business. Premises licensed to sell liquor command higher rents than for any other purpose. The limitation of the number increases the value. The revocation of the license would mean to the landlord a loss of rent unless he was secured for the term during which the place must remain unlicensed, and he would therefore demand security. Only a responsible man of good character could, as a rule, give such security. In any case the licensee would be compelled to conduct his business properly, as a revocation of the license would involve him in a loss of the amount given in security, in addition to being driven out of the business for the term imposed. It would be a disaster to be avoided, very different from the consequence of a revocation where the business may be continued at the same place under another name and involving no loss beyond the value of the unexpired license.

The fees charged for licenses should not be excessive. The permission to sell intoxicants should not depend upon the ability to pay a large amount of money. It is proper to charge a fee for issuing the certificates of license, to pay the cost of the excise service; but the granting of the privilege to sell intoxicants should be based wholly upon the personal fitness of the applicant, upon the good order with which he conducts his business, upon the absence of annoyance to the public and to his neighbors, upon the fact that he does not sell liquor to habitual drunkards or to any person under the influence of liquor. There can be but two justifications for demanding a large money consideration for the privilege of selling liquor—either revenue or restriction. If for revenue, then the more places there are licensed the better. Revenue should be raised by tax. It should have nothing to do with permission to sell liquors. That is a matter which concerns the good order and well-being of the community, and should depend, as has been said before, wholly and solely upon the character and fitness of the person and place licensed. Restriction should be secured by limiting the number of licensed places.

Our existing excise laws bear most heavily upon our foreign population, who are for the most part good citizens, and not lawbreakers except when the laws appear to them unnecessary and opposed to their customs, habits, or religious convictions, or constitute an infringement upon their personal liberty, and when

they find it is not in their power to effect a change. Under such conditions our adopted citizens do just what native citizens do—they simply disregard the law so far as possible. Take, for example, the city of New York, a large proportion of whose citizens came from foreign lands, bringing with them the feelings, the habits, the sentiments, and the morals of the countries from which they came. The attempt to conform those people to our views, whatever they may be, must necessarily fail. The law, to be just and practicable, must be adapted to the habits, customs, and morals of all orderly and reputable persons in every community, however much they may differ in nationality and religion.

It is the duty of the government—and its only duty in that direction—to provide excise regulations adapted to the diverse elements comprising our population ; giving to each individual, and each separate nationality or class, the utmost liberty to do that which to him or them seems right and proper to do, consistent with good order, the personal rights of each, and the well-being of the whole.

WILLIAM S. ANDREWS.

THE article on this subject by Mr. William S. Andrews is a masterly one, as might have been expected from a prominent member of the only good Excise Board the city of New York ever possessed. That board faithfully carried out the just principles enunciated in Mr. Andrews's article, and in consequence greatly reduced the number of saloons in New York. Mr. Andrews has had a large and intimate experience of the working of excise laws in a great city, and with that experience shows a philosophic and discriminating mind. I feel loath to object to anything put forth by so good an authority, and yet I am inclined to submit a few thoughts on his paper to his impartial judgment.

The fundamental principle which he upholds, that excise laws are for *police* purposes, and not for moral teaching, I most fully indorse. Law cannot make men moral. Law has as its end the quiet and order of the community, and as its means external and repressive applications. This principle is illustrated in excise laws by the limitations of a traffic readily abused, and so tending to disturb the community. So also I heartily agree with Mr. Andrews in his two propositions, that the law must be adapted to the requirements, habits, and customs of the people who are to live

under it, and that it must be strictly and impartially enforced. But in the first of these two propositions I should have to add a sentence to prevent a misunderstanding from its present breadth. I should write it, that the law must be adapted to the requirements, habits, and customs of the people, *so far as those requirements, habits, and customs are not harmful to the public from a police stand-point.* Once in New York city it was the habit and custom of the citizens to let hogs run loose in all the streets. For many years this was the unhindered habit and custom. It was a dirty custom, and very prejudicial to comfort. When some citizens attempted to put an end to it, the cry was raised: "This is a time-honored custom, and by stopping it you would inflict a blow on our poorer population and on the liberty of the American citizen." Nevertheless, the handful of citizens carried their point and the filthy custom and habit of the city was squelched. Will any one to-day say that that law was unjust in stopping a venerable habit and custom?

A foreign population of a very low character come into New York, bringing with them some very objectionable customs and habits. They become a large portion of the community, settling in districts by themselves. Are we to indorse their customs and habits, however detrimental they may be to the public welfare? In all common-sense these people must give up their harmful customs and conform to the American standard. Laws made for that purpose are not be considered tyrannical, but reasonable. A local opposition must yield to the general will. Our Sunday laws belong to this category. The American people have from the start enjoyed a quiet Sunday, and they have found thrift and comfort by it. They will not give up the day to noise and riot, and foreigners cannot come here and destroy this day of refreshing and rest. Our laws protect us in it, and they who come to enjoy our prosperity must trust us in maintaining this important element of it. It is no law for religion, but for social order and refreshment. It only teaches religion by giving the religious majority, who keep the day religiously, a quiet day. It is also a hazardous thing to have the saloons open on any day when the people have nothing to do. The temptation is too great to drink to excess and promote public disorder. These are the solid bases of the Sunday laws, and all true Americans understand and appreciate their wisdom.

Mr. Andrews says that the great majority of drinkers do not go to excess, and that is very true. But I would add here: "However, the great majority of drinkers *who frequent saloons* do go to excess." The saloon invites *excessive* drinking. Every inducement is held out for this. There the workingman is tempted to spend his wages and ruin his family. There the *treats* are made, and then come base words and quarrels and violence. Saloon-drinking is a great peril to the city, and thus comes under police surveillance. We can so far regulate by law the habits of the people as to remove the common cause of bad habits, and this is all that we propose that laws should do.

It is most wise advice of Mr. Andrews that public officials should, as far as possible, be deprived of discretionary power over licensees. The law's restrictions should be their only guide, and all opportunity of favoritism and bribery be removed.

I most strongly object to Mr. Andrews's plea for night saloons to accommodate persons who work at night. Night is the grand opportunity for crime. Our police system should especially be vigilant in the dark hours. Those who work at night should deny themselves some day privileges for the safety of the public. Night saloons would *necessarily* be the stamping-ground of the baser elements of the populace. There they would "prime up" for their nefarious deeds. The virtuous night-laborer would keep out of them, or, if he entered, would be contaminated by them. The police can tell us how even the hours from dark till 1 A. M. (when saloons in New York may be legally open) are the most dangerous hours in their experience. The grosser crimes of the city are largely traceable to the saloons in the night hours.

The only argument for high license-fees is the reduction of the number of the saloons. That this shuts out the poorer sellers is what all taxes do. It is a necessity of the case. We submit to it in all other departments of business. Poor men cannot run a rich establishment because the taxes are heavy. Poor men cannot enter the diamond trade. The taxes keep poor men from houses they might otherwise occupy. Where the welfare of the community is at stake, that argument cannot hold. If the number of saloons can be reduced otherwise than by high taxes, it ought to be done. The revenue argument for high license is worthless, unless we regard the amount raised as a help toward the extra expenses of the government caused by the evils of the trade. The number of

saloons ought to be so limited that the police (faithfully performing their duties) might have complete oversight of every one of them. One saloon for every 1,000 of the community would give New York city 1,600 saloons, and that number is ample to supply all the drinkers. We now have 7,000. If we can bring down the number in this way, we need charge only such a license-fee as may help make the licensee careful to obey the law.

We all know that the retail liquor trade is a constant threat to the community. We all know that it needs, therefore, careful watching. But while we thus know, we would treat the sellers with all courtesy and justice, and maintain their rights.

Although I have offered some criticisms on Mr. Andrews's article, I repeat my thorough approval of the general principles he has so well laid down, and the admirable and impartial manner in which he has treated the subject, on which he is a valuable authority.

HOWARD CROSBY.

THE MODERN EXTINCTION OF GENIUS.

BY JULIEN GORDON.

I READ in a daily journal a short time ago an article of gloomy portent upon the decline in the number of writers of genius, and the yet sadder decadence in the quality of their gifts. The most deplorable aspect of tirades like this is the fact that there are many persons who will not only peruse, but believe them. It is only the very presumptuous who assert that they are uninfluenced by what they read. The cursory reader is but too prone to accept hastily the views and decisions at which he carelessly glances. The power of the pen is immensurable; one drop of printer's ink carries more weight than rivers of eloquence. Few men have the time, and few women the culture and patience, to think for themselves. They lack a certain stoutness of self-respect; they have a timorousness which pushes them to accept the narrowing iteration of platitudes. Our opinions are usually formed for us by somebody else, one thinker being sufficient for a community. Strangely enough there is in the average reader a low vitality, a certain tendency to the foreboding of evil, which serves to easily imbue him with unsound and fallacious dogmas in the domain of criticism.

To the inconsolable Jeremiahs who insist upon the superiority of writers of the past I would suggest that there are estimable elderly ladies who declare that men have lost all ardor, not to say politeness, in their commerce with the other sex; and at a dinner party last winter an old gentleman was heard to remark that he marvelled that truffles were still eaten, in the face of the fact that they had lost their flavor. There may be those who prefer the prose of Pherecydes of Syros to that of the present day. I would not molest them. There may be those who insist that the diction of our modern thinkers and poets and philosophers lacks the freshness of a Herodotus, the power of a Livy, the firework blaze of a Tacitus. To come nearer to our own day, there may be those,

again, who admire the writer—we will say of Addison's time—who began a poem or an oration by wildly invoking himself, his muse, and other people, with rending of the garments and tearing of the hair, lest his own or his reader's imagination should fail to be awakened. I will not go to the opposite extreme and underrate the old writers because their taste differs so frequently from ours; but when I compare one of these old-fashioned contortionists with the terse, breezy, and simple modern, with the directness and dignity with which he at once launches upon his theme, I cannot but feel that there has been growth. The modern has learned, it would seem to me, to avoid the bombast which exalts *outre mesure*, as well as the shoals of an undue frigidity which degrades and belittles all that it touches.

I will speak now only of modern fiction, and will dwell briefly even upon this theme. My space would not allow, if my modesty would permit, me to attempt the difficult task of a serious dissertation.

It would seem that, during the last hundred years, fiction, from being a mere trick of story-telling, has been raised into a loftier realm. It has, in fact, become a high art. The fine, close analysis of motive, the keen, trenchant observation of the human heart, the psychological study of the passions, so much in vogue at the present day, have placed it and its aims upon a different plane. It is no longer possible that an earnest and reflective generation should seriously occupy itself in following through three books and thirty chapters the rompings of an ill-conditioned schoolgirl with two or three insipid and mildly-adoring young gentlemen, until she is finally captured by one of them, at eighteen, and led to the altar, when the curtain falls to slow music upon a wedding-breakfast. I am not, of course, speaking now of a literature for the schoolroom and nursery. These have their uses. I am speaking of a literature for men and women of mature powers. Those who cannot find among living writers suitable aliment must be, indeed, peculiarly devoid of acumen and appreciation. Who, indeed, could have the courage to-day to wade through hundreds of pages full of peasants' dislocated dialect and servants' insignificant squabbles to find that a heroine of fifteen and her boy lover of seventeen, after a sufficient number of vicissitudes and hair-breadth adventures, were to be forever contented? I have often asked myself if in

past days—since it is to be presumed that novelists paint the sentiments at the period in which they find them—it were possible that the tumults and tempests of the emotions filled the hearts of mere children at an age when our young men are preparing for college and our maidens playing with dolls. Either children matured earlier than now, or novelists were careless observers and noted little of the deeper and subtler experiences of ripe character.

Is it not absurd that we, who have the honor and the happiness of breathing the same air as a Tolstoï, a De Maupassant, a Meredith, a Stevenson, a Bret Harte, a Kipling, should be paralyzed and thwarted by this constant plaint of the insufficiency of present achievement? Why need the partisans of the departed be always under arms in an atmosphere charged with missiles? The past standards and our own cannot be the same; the necessary outcome of the times must make them different. When we have said that the present tendency is to simplicity and terseness, to the story and the *nouvelle* instead of the ponderous three-volume tome of the past,—we except the two longer romances of the great Russian,—we have said that change is in the order of life; that novelty is the touchstone which awakens imagination. We cannot believe that the afflatus of inspiration is even momentarily voiceless.

And first to turn to the Russians. I would wish to speak of Dostoïëvsky, the incomparable, the immortal, perhaps yesterday the greatest of modern novelists, but whose strange personality, whose restless, fevered brain, has found the hard-won victory, wrested at last from strife with poverty, injustice, and despair. But I will confine myself to living authors and narrow myself down to an anguish of modernity. First and foremost stands before us Tolstoï, the author of "War and Peace," of that sombre, soul-stirring story of "Katia," whose immeasurable art is almost drowned in the dark waves of its ineffable melancholy, and of the greatest novel of the century, "Anna Karénina." Shall it be said of Tolstoï that there is any one in the past who can overshadow him? make one star of his diadem to pale?—the pure moralist, the great artist, the poet-realist, who has laved his garments in the woes of humanity and held a world's pulsing heart in his giant palm?

Or, turning to the most perfect school of modern literary art, what have we in the past which can equal the vigor of the French style, conjoined with its exquisite elegance and finish? Who has

surpassed Daudet, with his masterpiece of "Les Rois en Exile"; De Maupassant, with his gems of "A Cheval," "Au Bois," and his late *étude* of a frightful, impotent warfare waged against a Providence which has doomed man so cruelly to watch the gradual processes of his own decay? Then have we not Paul Bourget, the baffled, cynical man of the world, masking the *naïf* with his protest of love and tears? How cool and clear his hand! how chaste his style, devoid of affectation of the turgid and the exaggerated!

And what shall be said of Robert Louis Stevenson, with his lurid questionings, whose answers have made men tremble? Has he no genius? And shall we not be thankful for our own Bret Harte, with his beautiful idyl, "In the Carquinez Woods," or his still deeper story of temptation and repentance, "The Twins of Table Mountain"?

What proves to us the abundance of contemporaneous talent is that such creations as Valera's "Pepita Ximenez" and Chesney's "Dilemma" are but the wonders of an hour. Mrs. Burnett, Charles Egbert Craddock, Howells, and a score of others—I name but half a dozen from a galaxy of brilliant writers—are artists whom it would be a folly to rank below their precursors. This depreciation of present art is not only uncritical; it is destructive. Has it not barked into dismay that fair child of the South whose genius we could ill spare? Talent cannot be killed: it may be silenced.

This pessimistic view is in some of the mourners a sign of senility, in others of immaturity. But while the plaints of age are always pathetic, those of the young are pointless and foolish—an oft-repeated magpie's cry, as exhausting to the bird upon the bough as to the man who sits under it. Beauty, sublimity, elegance, humor, wit, are not mere chimeras; they still breathe. We shall not learn them; they are ours. Let us dare, then, to be ourselves, to avoid those restraints, those timidities, imposed upon us by a generation which, having done with life, insists that life is done. The Lord said, "Let there be light," and there was light. The fiat for darkness has not yet gone forth, nor for a general amnesty of those forces which create the joy-giving beam. Life and light are eternal, and genius, immortal child, still beckons to all youth, smiling, with its divine invitation.

JULIEN GORDON.

OUR BUSINESS PROSPECTS.

BY HENRY CLEWS.

THE prospects of business throughout the country, although they have been seriously clouded by a variety of causes during the past few months, are now in a fair way of appearing in a clearer and more definite light.

The retarding influences have either been removed or so modified as to render them less obstructive to the operation of the agencies at work to produce a healthy condition in the numerous arteries of trade and commerce.

Business is now recovering from a rather severe attack of "la grippe," as it were, and though it is yet only convalescent, the signs of perfect recovery presage a more healthy condition of that complex system of human interests called "trade and commerce" than it has experienced for more than a year.

A great cry has been raised in certain financial circles about anticipated stagnation in business, owing to the recent outflow of gold. I don't apprehend any trouble from this cause, nor any unusual depression. Referring to the Treasury Department's refusal to part with gold bars, it has been argued by some of the prophets of business evil that this action on the part of the treasury would be unfavorably regarded in London. I fail, however, to see it in that light. The effect over there should be the very reverse, as the action of the treasury implies the highest compliment, that of imitation, to the Bank of England, this being simply a precedent long since established by that institution.

The principle of sending coin in preference to gold bars has been for some time adopted by the Bank of France also, and it has been found to work advantageously for both, the chief reason being that the coin suffers in value from the attrition. This loss, however, I have reason to believe, has been greatly exaggerated. Europe must have gold at present, and it seems that this country is now the only available source of supply.

We are abundantly able to send gold to accommodate them on the other side. It will have a favorable effect on the situation in Europe, which will again react favorably upon us, and when we want the gold back, it will in all probability be ready for us. So we have very little to fear from this source in the way of material disturbance to the progress of business.

It is not unusual to make shipments of gold at this time of the year when Europe has been supplied with almost all the other products that we can send her.

The occasional return of a limited amount of American securities, also, will necessitate exports of more gold during the spring, but there is no prospect of such an outflow as will be calculated to clog the wheels of business prosperity. On the contrary, it will be more likely to aid us through the law of reciprocity and the mutual recognition of benefits received.

The financial world has risen to a great extent above the depressing effect of the threatened collapses of many banks and firms growing out of injudicious investments and speculations in the Argentine Republic, and there are prospects within the last few days of that enterprising country being financially wound up so that it will cease to be a disturbing element in the great financial centre of England, which, prior to last fall, seemed to exercise a controlling power over the progress of business throughout the world.

There are many indications that the power which that great centre formerly wielded is being transferred to New York, which has been a worthy candidate for it, the plutocracy of the Rothschilds notwithstanding.

It is worth while, I think, to glance at this highly probable feature of the financial situation, as it would be one of the most powerful factors in imparting that degree of stability to business which would insure almost unvarying progress on this side at least, and render the periodical occurrence of panics less likely in the future. New York is in every respect fitted to become the great financial centre of the world. It is here that the star of financial empire is likely to become a fixed star. If the contemplated "merging, consolidating, and incorporating" of the able commission now at work on this interesting problem is a success, this city will soon have nearly three millions of inhabitants, and take rank as the second city in the world in population, and perhaps in

wealth. Another decade or two will make it a close rival of London, at least in population, with elements of progress that will enable it to outstrip that gigantic growth of centuries, probably before the close of our bi-centennial.

With the reciprocity idea in commerce of the present government intelligently carried out, our spacious harbor affords us an opportunity for the creation of the greatest merchant marine in the world, in comparison with which the argosies of Tyre and Sidon and the mammoth fleet of England would assume moderate dimensions.

I am attempting to regard New York now not only as a centre of business, but as a regulator of those financial conditions upon which the steady progress of business throughout the country depends ; and for this purpose it is necessary to compare the relative importance of our metropolis with the great financial centres of Europe, as their interdependence is becoming more and more emphasized every day, especially in a season of threatened panic to any one of them.

There is material for a book on this subject alone. If we are strong enough at present to accommodate and relieve the great capitals of the whole world when their financial machinery is out of gear, what a power we should be in the financial world under the development contemplated through consolidation, and a merchant marine that would enable us to compete for a fair share of the hundreds of millions of commerce monopolized by a few European nations!

I know there are profound thinkers who are convinced that a marine of any kind, either military or merchant, would only be a source of weakness, but I am unable to take this economic view of the subject, either as a patriot or as a financier. Those who take this opposite view argue very cogently : "If you have a merchant marine, you must have a naval power to defend and protect it." Very well, I say, let us have both if necessary. They will eventually be good-paying investments, merely from a business standpoint, and impart vigor and additional healthy action to business ; and they may, moreover, be indispensable so long as the millennium is postponed. Even the empty threat of Italy recently illustrated how the want of a naval power can cast a serious damper on the progress of business. In view, therefore, of a repetition of this kind of trouble, I would suggest *en passant* that, if foreign

nations propose to hold the United States government responsible for all their subjects that come to this country as an asylum and to better their condition, then we must see to it that hereafter none are permitted to land on our shores excepting they bring with them proper credentials and a full record of their past lives. In such an event we can draw the line between reputable immigrants, that will not get us into trouble, as against brigands, cutthroats, highway robbers, and sneak-thieves, who are sure to do so.

The solemn warning of the late Hon. Samuel J. Tilden, in a letter to the Hon. J. G. Carlisle, and the startling calculation therein set forth in reference to our coast defences, are entitled to due consideration, irrespective of party politics. The Sage of Greystone wrote: "The value of the property in our seaboard cities exceeds $5,000,000,000. A conflict with any of the great naval powers would lead to its destruction. To neglect the adoption of precautions for the national safety is to invite assault and heavy sacrifice."

This calculation shows that even the liberal appropriations of a "billion-dollar" Congress sink into moderate dimensions compared with the financial loss that might be entailed by an invasion of our seaboard cities and towns, to say nothing of the disastrous consequences to business, and making no allowance, from the business stand-point, except what may affect it, for the loss of honor and destruction of life. So, I say, on economical grounds alone, let us have two marine fleets, or more if necessary. They will be a good investment, even at the generous estimates of the late Congress, and will redound to the honor and glory of the nation, as well as of its business prosperity and permanent material interests.

But to return to the more immediate causes bearing upon the prospects of business in the near future, the following may be accepted, I think, as a maxim, so far as the money situation is concerned: The European money-centres, such as London, Paris, Frankfort, and Berlin, cannot fail to recognize the fact that New York is at present the strongest financial point in the world, and, whatever financial troubles are in store for Europe, their influence upon us can only be temporary and not very deep-seated. This may seem to be a high position to take, but the history of the late financial troubles, I think, will show that it is the true one. The only specially weak spot on this side at present is the short corn

crop of last year. There is every indication of a good crop this year; therefore last year's deficiency will soon be a matter of history that will shortly cease to have any unfavorable influence. If the favorable crop indications in general now prevailing continue a short time longer, the good effect upon business of every description will become so apparent as to attract universal recognition, and Wall Street will feel the beneficent result more impressively than any other sphere of business activity.

Silver is now on a satisfactory commercial basis, and one of our articles of export. The failure of the late Congress to pass the free-coinage bill has retained all securities on a gold basis, and averted the risk of those wide fluctuations in prices which constitute one of the most fertile causes of failures in business, and consequent panics.

The Baring failure did not affect us very unfavorably except in a few isolated instances, for the reason that we were in an unusually good position to take back all our own good marketable securities that were offered, and, though the effort may have pinched many for the time being, it will ultimately confer a great benefit on those who had the courage and the confidence to invest, as they obtained the securities at low prices, and the latter have since appreciated in value, and will probably go still higher. London was thus relieved of the greater portion of American securities in speculative hands, and both parties were financially benefited, the English being lightened of their extra load in a season of money stringency, and the Americans getting back valuable securities upon which fair, and in some instances handsome, profits were to be realized. The larger portion of American securities remaining in British hands are investments either for a lifetime or very large profits. Another class of investments made by enterprising Englishmen, which has accrued to the benefit of this country, was that of industrials, including a large number of American breweries. Although many of them have not realized expectation, some of them have been put on a good paying basis. They were the means of bringing a large amount of British money or its equivalent into this country, variously estimated from $100,000,000 to $150,000,000, thus enabling us the more easily to pay the Britishers for our returned securities in their own coin during the panic. This was a great help in sustaining the financial equipoise when the Baring bombshell burst so unexpectedly, in a

season of comparative prosperity. The money received from these industries was one of the protective factors that enabled us to resist the shock of the London explosion and to recuperate so quickly afterwards.

One of the things that have contributed in a large degree to make London the great money centre of the world has been the power of the few great banking-houses of that metropolis, such as the Baring Brothers and others that might be named, with connections all over the world, to afford facilities through mercantile credits for an interchange of commodities, London being the clearing-house for the world's transactions. Prominently at the head of these great financial concerns was the house of Baring Brothers for more than a century. The prestige of the Barings is gone, and the house has lost that universal confidence which was the mainstay of its greatness. It was considered impregnable, but it is hardly possible that it will soon be able to inspire that feeling again. The prestige of London as a reliable money-centre, to some extent, went with the fall of the Barings. Where, then, can the financial world look for a substitute? Hardly to the French capital, owing to the unsavory memory of the copper syndicate, the Panama Canal fiasco, and other collapses of a kindred nature. Frankfort and Berlin are not big enough, though backed by the powerful treasury of the Rothschilds. Manifest destiny would then seem to point to New York as the great future clearing-house of the world.

There is another geographical fact connected with New York, besides its spacious harbor, which makes it both conspicuous and powerful as a commercial and business centre. About one-fourth of the population of the United States cluster within a radius of 200 miles of the city, a large portion of those being engaged in mercantile pursuits. So a very considerable part of the business people of the country are within a smaller compass than the ordinary observer might imagine by taking a view of our extensive domain and comparing the entire population of 65,000,000 therewith. This fact has the advantage of imparting greater impetus to business activity at this point than if this important fraction of the population were more evenly distributed, and it is therefore entitled to careful recognition in the appreciation of New York as a financial and business centre. This is one of the circumstances which enables New York to act as a

financial regulator and distributer with greater facility than any other city in the country. To sum up the chief reasons, then, for confident expectations of brighter business prospects during the remainder of the year, it may be safely presumed that the basis of this belief is the assurance of plethoric money throughout the summer; next, the evident prospect of good crops, while the European crops are a partial failure; third, the defeat of Western legislators in their attempts to pass unwise and unconstitutional laws against the railroads and the best interests of their own States; and, fourth, the issue of $5,000,000 legal tenders every month by the government, which is equal to $60,000,000 a year of new money thrown into the active circulation, in addition to the increase arising from our native production of gold.

While the creation of money is going on, the manufacture of securities such as are acceptable to the New York Stock Exchange has almost ceased. Hence the good properties now dealt in at that great mart are entitled to a substantial advance, and the present rising wave in the market strongly indicates that tendency.

The concurrence of the conditions here briefly sketched, I think, is calculated to develop a more confident and universal feeling with reference to the favorable future of business, and there is undoubtedly a sound basis for appreciation in the values of solid securities, the majority of which are now below the average of their intrinsic value.

The country at large has seldom or never been in a more prosperous condition, prospectively considered, and its foreign relations from a business point of view are almost as satisfactory as could be desired.

The bill passed by the House at Albany to reduce the legal rate of interest in this State to 5 per cent. is regarded as a very important measure in financial circles, and it is to be hoped that it will not pass the Senate. Its tendency would be to drive away capital from this city and State, and to considerably diminish the supply of funds required to relieve occasional stringencies in the outside districts. The pernicious influence of the bill would therefore extend far beyond the limits of this State, and would exercise a depressive effect on business wherever borrowers from capitalists in this city and State might reside.

HENRY CLEWS.

LYNCH LAW AND UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION.

BY THE HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

On Sunday, March 15, the people of the United States were startled and shocked by hearing that on the preceding day a mob in New Orleans, led by men of good standing in the community, had broken into one of the prisons and with cool deliberation had killed eleven Italians who were confined there. The victims of this attack were accused of complicity in the recent murder of the chief of police. Two had never been brought to trial, and the trial of the others had resulted in the acquittal of six and a mistrial as to three. The mob acted on the belief that these men were guilty of the crime with which they were charged; that that crime was the work of a secret society known as the Mafia; and that the failure of the jury to convict was due either to terror of this secret organization or to bribery by its agents.

Americans are a law-abiding people, and an act of lawlessness like the lynching of these Italians is sure to meet with their utmost disapproval. There is no doubt that every intelligent man deplores the lawless act of the New Orleans mob. But to stop there would be the reverse of intelligent. To visit on the heads of the mob all our reprobation, and to find in its act alone matter of anxiety and regret, would not only be unjust, but would show a very slight apprehension of the gravity and meaning of this event. Such acts as the killing of these eleven Italians do not spring from nothing without reason or provocation. The mob would have been impossible if there had not been a large body of public opinion behind it, and if it had not been recognized that it was not mere riot, but rather that revenge which Lord Bacon says is a kind of wild justice. The mob was deplorable, but the

public sentiment which created it was more deplorable still, and deserves to have the reasons for its existence gravely and carefully considered.

What, then, are the true causes of the events of the 14th of March at New Orleans? One, certainly, was the general belief that there had been a gross miscarriage of justice in the trial of the accused Italians. Whether the jury rendered their verdict against the evidence or not, it is certain that the people of New Orleans pretty generally thought that they had done so. It is, unfortunately, only too evident that there is a profound lack of confidence in the juries of New Orleans. Lawlessness and lynching are evil things, but a popular belief that juries cannot be trusted is even worse, for it is an indication that the law is breaking down in its ordinary operations. This condition of public opinion is, no doubt, due in very large measure to the extremely bad condition of politics in New Orleans; a fact of which the country has had for some time a vague idea, but upon which, since the 14th of March, it has received a great deal of very definite information. A city in which political meetings concerned only with the affairs of a single party are held under the conditions which attended the caucuses at the time of the struggle between Governors Nicholls and McEnery, and where a great gambling enterprise has been sowing the seeds of corruption in every direction, is in a very bad way. Violence breeds violence, and corruption engenders corruption. Wrong-doing of this sort always returns to plague the inventors. At the same time, the condition of municipal politics in New Orleans is something that the people of that city must deal with themselves. If they do not set matters right in this respect, no one else can, and they will suffer by their bad city politics more than anybody else.

The other exciting cause of the mob was the belief that the men who were killed were members of the Mafia, a secret society bound by the most rigid oaths and using murder as a means of maintaining its discipline and carrying out its decrees. Of the existence of such a society no reasonable man can, I think, have any doubt. That it has, as a rule, confined its operations to the people who brought it here is, I think, equally beyond question. But there is nothing to keep it necessarily within such bounds. It is anything but self-limited, and in a political soil like that of New Orleans it was pretty sure to extend. Now,

if there is one thing more hateful to Americans than another, it is secret, oath-bound societies which employ assassination as a recognized means for carrying out their objects. The killing of the eleven prisoners had in it no race feeling whatever. There has been no hostility to the Italians in America, as such. On the contrary, they have been generally regarded hitherto as an industrious people, prone to fierce quarrels among themselves, but, in the main, thrifty, hardworking, and well behaved. The men were not killed in the New Orleans prison because they were Italians, but because they were believed to be members of a secret-assassination society responsible for a brutal murder. There was a further popular belief that this society was not only responsible for the murder of the chief of police, but that it was extending its operations that it was controlling juries by terror, and that it would gradually bring the government of the city and the State under its control. This belief, no doubt, was exaggerated, but it was certainly not without foundation.

We have, therefore, three facts here of the gravest import. First, an outbreak of lawlessness which resulted in the death of eleven men; second, a belief that juries could not be depended upon to administer justice and protect the lives of the citizens; third, the existence of a secret society which was ready to use both money and murder to accomplish its objects, even to the point of perverting the administration of the law. It is my purpose to deal only with the last phase of this question. I believe that, whatever the proximate causes of the shocking event at New Orleans may have been, the underlying cause, and the one with which alone the people of the United States can deal, is to be found in the utter carelessness with which we treat immigration to this country.

The killing of the prisoners at New Orleans was due chiefly to the fact that they were supposed to be members of the Mafia, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that the Mafia stands alone. Societies or political organizations which regard assassination as legitimate have been the product of repressive government on the continent of Europe. They are the offspring of conditions and of ideas wholly alien to the people of the United States. Nevertheless, to certain minds they present a permanent attraction, and there are classes of men sufficiently illiterate and sufficiently criminal to reproduce them wherever they may happen

to be, even when there is no repressive government to serve as an excuse. The last twenty years have shown the existence of these societies at various times in one form or another in the United States. They have appeared in different parts of the country, and have usually been put down and their deeds punished by ordinary process of law. We have had, for example, the Molly Maguires in Pennsylvania, the Anarchists in Chicago, the Mafia in New Orleans, and, according to a recent statement in the New York *Times*, there is a similar organization among some of the Poles.* It is idle to say that, like all other honest citizens, the great mass of men belonging to the races which have been most pointedly connected with these organizations heartily disapprove them. There is no question that this is true; and yet none the less these dangerous societies spring up and commit murders, and are either put down by the law or crushed out by wild deeds of lawlessness and bloodshed like that at New Orleans. They come not from race peculiarities, but from the quality of certain classes of immigrants of all races. If we permit the classes which furnish material for these societies to come freely to this country, we shall have these outrages to deal with, and such scenes as that of the 14th of March will be repeated.

In the January number of this REVIEW I brought together some statistics in regard to immigration and the changes in its character, as shown by the official reports of the last few years. Since the appearance of that article a special report by Mr. F. L. Dingley upon the subject of European immigration has been issued by the State Department, and some of the statements which he makes are well worth consideration. They have an especial

* A dispatch to the New York *Times* dated Shenandoah, February 10, and headed "Secret Polish Avengers," says: "It is now well known that a secret Polish society, organized for the purpose of defending their people and avenging their wrongs, has existed in this valley for the past two years. The police officers of this place have made the discovery, which in details is as sensational as anything connected with the Molly Maguire troubles." Then follows an account of a disturbance in a Polish saloon in which one Balsekavage was beaten and robbed by John Anskitis. After the arrest of the latter seven of his friends started out to avenge him, and made a murderous assault upon a party of Balsekavage's friends, but were attacked by the police and arrested. "The society to which these men belong consists of about forty members. They have no place of meeting, but congregate in gangs on the street corners and in saloons. If one of the members gets into trouble, whether he is right or wrong the society is obliged to stand by him and get him out of it at any cost. The police state that one of the most important objects of the society is subornation of perjury, and the rules of the society appear to have been most boldly enforced of late."

weight, because Mr. Dingley takes a very rosy view of the immigration to this country and is decidedly friendly to it, although he is not blind to its evils, and advises that precautions should be taken to sift and direct it. In the previous article to which I have just referred I made the point that the immigration of those races which had thus far built up the United States, and which are related to each other either by blood or language or both, was declining, while the immigration of races totally alien to them was increasing. Mr. Dingley's very recent facts strengthen this conclusion, and I desire to call attention to some of the evidence his report furnishes.

The French, Belgian, and Dutch immigration, all of which has proved valuable to this country, is, as it has always been, so small as to be of comparatively slight importance. The German immigration, which has been not only one of the largest, but one of the best, has continued to decline. In the first five months of 1890 it fell off 6,000 as compared with the corresponding months of 1889. Of the Scandinavian immigration Mr. Dingley says: "The emigration from Sweden to the United States for several years averaged from forty to fifty thousand annually, but it is now slowly receding." From Great Britain and Ireland the figures are even more suggestive.

"For the eight months of 1890 ending August 31, as compared with the corresponding months of 1889, there was a decline of 7,426 in the total number of English emigrants to the United States; in Scotch emigrants, a decline of 3,348, and a decline of 6,321 in Irish emigration. The total decline of emigrants of British origin in this period, as compared with the corresponding period of 1889, was 17,195; the total for this period of eight months in 1890 was 106,123."

On the other hand, the immigration of Poles, Bohemians, Hungarians, Russians, and Italians is increasing. Here is a description which Mr. Dingley gives of some of them:

"Says one of the observers of the emigrant movement to the writer:

"'There are forty young fellows in that group yonder whom I saw returning from the United States last fall. They are now about returning together to the United States. I cannot prove that they are contract laborers, but I believe they are. They form an illustration of a good many emigrants. They have a leader; if the boarding-house gets that leader, he gets the whole party —they follow him as the sheep follow their leader. These parties formerly went to Holland to make brick by contract; now they do better by going to the United States. Do you see that woman who goes along with them with that huge pack on her back? She does the drudgery for the workmen, cooks

for them, and carries their rags. Every group of ten of these contract workers has an old woman to do their cooking.

"'Who are they? They are generally Poles, generally young, generally ignorant. They are warranted work in the States at better wages than they used to get in Holland. They scrape together considerable money in the States and return to Poland each autumn to stay until they are again wanted in the ensuing spring in the United States. They travel from Poland to Bremen in fourth-class cars, like cattle and at live-stock rates. They can get rich on low wages, live on pork and stale bread, and are killing competitors of unskilled American labor.'

"Perhaps the most pitiable lot in the emigrant groups which I am describing is a party of Russian Jews, starved out of Russia, going to the United States to join the congested ranks of middlemen. They are almost revolting, mainly pedlers of the smallest scale. Nobody wants them, even in the poorest emigrant lodging-houses. The more one observes this movement the more he is inclined to say that the place to stop it is not at Castle Garden, but in Russia.

"I learn that in England students of this subject are now urging that the question be made a subject of diplomatic attention, for England is suffering from pauper immigration more notably according to its population than ourselves.

"A comparison of the personnel of the various natural [national?—ED.] groups in Bremen emigrant lodging-houses shows at a glance the superiority of the Germans and Scandinavians. These Germans have an average of $50 in their pockets, besides their tickets to the American destination, some of them as far as Missouri and Dakota, but the Jews and Poles are practically penniless.'

Worse than all, perhaps, is the movement of low-class labor from the far East. On this point Mr. Dingley says:

Perhaps the most discouraging feature of the statistics from Marseilles is the decided increase in the oriental movement—Syrians and Armenians.'

The same increase holds true of Italy as of Hungary, Russia, and Poland.

"The total emigration from Naples to the United States in 1889 was 15,709. In the first three months of 1890 the total emigration was ten times larger than for the corresponding period of 1889. From Naples, during the first three months of 1890, there emigrated to the United States 12,633 Italians and Sicilians. The movement from Sicily has been rapidly increasing during the past few years. From Palermo, in 1887, 2,201 Sicilians embarked, destined for the United States; in 1888 the number advanced to 3,713, while in 1889 it moved up to 6,017; while during the present year the number is likely to be as great or larger.

"The American consul at Palermo, speaking of Sicilian emigrants, says: 'The Sicilian emigrants to the United States are generally rustic and of the lowest type of the Italian as to character and intelligence, few, if any, being able to read or write. They have not, as a rule, a cent of money after paying their fare.'"

These are some of the figures, and Mr. Dingley further states

that 85 per cent. of the Italian immigration is from Sicily and southern Italy. These facts which I have quoted from Mr. Dingley's report all show the truth of what I said in my previous article—that not only was our immigration changing in point of race, but that it was deteriorating.*

There is also another side to the Italian immigration pointed out by Mr. Dingley which deserves a passing notice. This is the large number of Italians who stay but a short time in the United States, and who then return to their native country with such money as they have been able to save here. I quote the report again :

"What amazes is the size of the countercurrent. Sometimes as many as 1,000 Italians came back from the United States to Naples in the month of December. . . . Hence, when they have made a few dollars in the United States beyond the present wants, they hasten to their old homes. They love to spend their savings in Italy ; it seems to them almost a sacrilege to spend them elsewhere."

This, of course, is a most unwholesome feature in any immigration. Persons who come to the United States, reduce the rate of wages by ruinous competition, and then take their savings out of the country, are not desirable. They are mere birds of passage. They form an element in the population which regards as home a foreign country, instead of that in which they

* The latest statistics from the last treasury statement are as follows:

	Month ending January 31.		Seven months ending January 31.	
COUNTRIES.	1891.	1890.	1891.	1890.
Austria-Hungary:				
Bohemia	197	50	4,693	1,268
Hungary	1,299	767	13,695	10,228
Other Austria (except Poland)	1,034	1,302	14,106	13,670
Total	2,530	2,119	32,494	25,166
Denmark	173	127	3,874	3,217
France	241	3 5	4,065	4,029
Germany	2,685	2,236	50,261	45,739
Great Britain and Ireland :				
England and Wales	1,548	1,590	31,125	32,700
Scotland	408	3'7	5,776	6,317
Ireland	543	550	21,116	20,734
Total	2,499	2,457	58,017	59,751
Italy	1,766	1,627	27,282	16,44)
Netherlands	78	107	1,510	1,451
Poland	1,252	294	12,321	2,699
Russia (except Poland)	2,017	1,121	22,951	16,746
Sweden and Norway	405	258	18,678	16,229
Switzerland	186	163	3,250	3,428
All other countries	955	484	10,273	6,785
Total	14,287	11,298	244,976	201,680

live and earn money. They have no interest or stake in the country, and they never become American citizens.

More serious, however, than these statements as to the general character of the present immigration are, perhaps, the startling facts which Mr. Dingley brings to light as to the utter failure of any laws or regulations which we now have to exclude members of the criminal classes. I will give a few extracts to show how serious this objection is. He says on this point in regard to Germany, whence comes so much of our best immigration:

"One sees some pardoned criminals. A lawyer who was sentenced to imprisonment for swindling was pardoned and sailed hence for the United States to start anew. Such persons are advised to leave their country for the joint good of country and self.

"An American resident in Bremen states:

"'I know of one case where two ex-convicts were assisted to leave Germany for the United States by a benevolent society. There are in every large German city societies to help ex-criminals to get a new start in the world. The United States consul at Bremen detected one case where two convicts had a new outfit and tickets for New York furnished by a benevolent society. These men were returned to Germany, but probably they have since gone to New York by some other line. They are birds of prey; you may see them in new suits and new outfits, handbag, etc., and generally they are tramps or ex-criminals who are being helped out of Europe, not by the government, but by so-called benevolent societies, whose object in part, I fear, is to get rid of undesirable population more than to bless all mankind. . . .'

"A German-American in Hamburg speaks as follows:

"'Many criminals and socialists have gone to the United States from Germany in recent years, because they are not so thoroughly hounded there, while the American laws are less impertinent than the German.'"

The same is true of the Scandinavian immigration, which has also been one of our best sources of immigration.

"Although such things are difficult to substantiate, still, from my own observation and from circumstances I have heard related and occasional incidental accounts in the press, I am thoroughly satisfied that criminals, vicious characters, paupers, and other objectionable persons have been and are constantly being assisted to America for the purpose of getting rid of them; and I doubt very much if there is a single hamlet, village, or any other community, not to speak of the large cities, in the whole kingdom which could not furnish instances of such a practice.

"I believe this is principally done by private subscription by members of the community to rid themselves of objectionable characters; but I also am perfectly confident that it is done as well by the officials of prisons, poorhouses, and other institutions, for the reason that, careful as the press is about publishing anything reflecting unfavorably upon their country or institutions, occasional instances inadvertently, or in other connections, appear in print."

The worst showing is made at Liverpool, as might be expected from the very large number of immigrants leaving that port. Mr. Dingley quotes on this point the statement of an emigrant agent:

"I think that at least one hundred very objectionable emigrants leave Liverpool every week for New York. Some of these, and perhaps the most objectionable, are British paupers assisted by benevolent societies; some of them are ex-convicts, but the most of them are paupers from the Continent—I mean persons without a cent of money or an outlook or trade or habits of industry or of self-support. There is an agent in Liverpool who takes ex-convicts, sees them on the ship, and pays them their 'good-behavior money,' after paying their passage to the United States. They are furnished with a new suit of clothes, and are given to understand that they can do better abroad than at home. They have something over and above their tickets. The government is not concerned in this matter, but they get to America on British funds."

The Mormon immigration is declining, and yet Mr. Dingley found 120 on a single ship, and was told by one of their missionaries that they brought over 700 a year. If these are the facts in regard to our best sources of immigration, we can imagine what they must be in regard to the worst. In the excitement growing out of the affair at New Orleans one Italian newspaper said there were galley-slaves at every point on the Atlantic coast, and there can be little doubt that there were ex-convicts among the New Orleans Mafia.

It would require more space than THE REVIEW could give if I were to quote what is said in this report on the subject of disease among immigrants, but it has the same bearing as the statements in regard to the immigration of convicts and criminals. Ports in Europe where we used to have a consular medical examination are now entirely unguarded, and even at places where cholera has appeared nothing is done by the United States to prevent the shipment of persons from infected districts.

The increase of paupers is more alarming than that of criminals and diseased persons. Most of the Italians, Poles, and Hungarians have no money at all. They land in this country without a cent in their pockets. The condition of the Russian Jews seen by Mr. Dingley is even worse. Yet it has been stated in the newspapers that plans are on foot to remove these unfortunate people from Russia to the number of four millions and land them in the United States.

I do not think that it is necessary for me to make any comment upon the extracts which I have quoted from Mr. Dingley's very interesting report; but if we reflect that on his own statement

one-half the pauper population of Massachusetts and New York is of foreign birth, I think we can see how deeply alarming the present condition of affairs is.

The last Congress passed an act to regulate immigration. It aims at nothing more than an attempt by better organization to enforce existing laws, which are not carried out now with any efficiency. It is well to have this done, of course, on the principle that something is better than nothing, but the act falls far short of what is needed. Here in this report we have the statement of an expert, who has made a most careful investigation, that the immigration of the races who have peopled the United States, and among whom the standard of education and character is comparatively high, is falling off, and that the immigration of people removed from us in race and blood is rapidly increasing, and that these people are almost wholly illiterate and for the most part without resources, either in skill, training, or money. We also learn that many of them come here merely for a temporary purpose, and that by one channel or another the paupers and criminals of Europe, covertly assisted in many instances by government or by benevolent societies, are pouring into the United States. It is not to be wondered at that from such elements secret societies, with assassination among their tenets, spring up, and that such bloody work as that of New Orleans or the slaughter of the policemen in the Chicago Haymarket ensues.

Surely the time has come for an intelligent and effective restriction of immigration. No one wishes to exclude a desirable immigrant who seeks in good faith to become a citizen of the United States ; but it certainly is madness to permit this stream to pour in without discrimination or selection, or the exclusion of dangerous and undesirable elements. There are great States in the West and Southwest naturally anxious to have their lands occupied and their population increased, but there is something more important than rapidity of settlement or the quick development of wealth. These advantages will be dearly bought if we pay for them a price which involves the lowering of the standard of American citizenship. More important to a country than wealth and population is the quality of its people. Far more valuable than sudden wealth is the maintenance of good wages among American workingmen and the exclusion of an unlimited supply of low-class labor with which they cannot compete.

In the present state of things, not only are we doing nothing to protect the quality of our citizenship or the wages of our workingmen from an unrestricted flood of immigration, but we are permitting persons so ignorant and criminal to come among us that organizations like the Mafia are sure to rise in our midst. The time has come for an intelligent restriction. Mr. Dingley advises—what every person who has looked carefully into the subject suggests—consular inspection in the country of departure. To this, I think, should be added some such fair and restrictive test as that of ability to read and write. What is needed now most of all, however, is an intelligent and active public opinion to which Congress will respond. If we do not act, and act intelligently, we must be prepared for just such events as that at New Orleans, not merely bringing in their train murder and sudden death, but breeding race antagonisms and national hostilities which never existed before, and which need never have an existence if we deal properly with this momentous problem.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

THE POLITICIAN AND THE PHARISEE.

BY THE HON. J. S. CLARKSON, LATE FIRST ASSISTANT POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

THE United States government is first a political and second a business organization. If it is purely an affair of business, it could not be noble enough in the larger things in human ambition and existence to protect life, insure liberty, and promote human happiness. It is something which, under the blessing of God and the wisdom of man, comprehends and serves first greater aspirations than any mere sordid thing of business, finance, or commerce. Therefore it is not primarily a business machine. It is something with a soul, and that soul, let the reformers cant as they may, is put into it through politics.

For this is a representative government based on party responsibility. The people at the polls, deciding between certain parties, decide in favor of certain political or party principles. When they elect a Republican candidate for President, they indorse the Republican platform of principles, and expect to see those principles carried out in the government during the term of that President. When they elect a Democratic candidate for President, they expect to see the Democratic principles carried out in the government during his term. This was the intention of the fathers of the republic and the makers of the constitution, and this idea controlled, and party principles ruled in government, under the limitations of reason and law, for the first hundred years of the republic, to the satisfaction of the people and the vindication before the world of the capacity of man for self-government.

In these first hundred years partyism was encouraged and applauded; not discouraged and flouted according to the new intellectual fashion of this latter day. Indeed, the early men of

the republic felt and taught that honorable party zeal was an active and practical form of public patriotism. In truth, the larger fear of the fathers in establishing a republic was that the indifference of the average voter might imperil and prevent the actual rule of the people. For a hundred years American boys were taught love of country, pride of party, and promotion and protection of liberty through patriotism of party. The man who took constant interest in public affairs, who sought by constant industry to make his government better, locally or nationally, who worked with unselfishness and generosity for his country by working for his party, who had such pride in party record that he vigilantly employed every honorable endeavor to keep it pure and honest, was called in those better days the better citizen.

The people saw clearly then that their only way to exert influence in government was to identify themselves with party. If they believed in certain principles, they allied themselves with all others who believed in the same principles, and this assembling of people of kindred belief and aspiration formed a political party. The first impulse toward it was one of patriotism. The constant incentive in it was love of country. So the first Americans found political parties necessary, and both from honor and from party interest saw that they must be kept pure in order to gain the approval and retain the confidence of the people. It was this spirit and this pride of party which made the first hundred years of the government in business record, as well as in record for liberty and human rights, unequalled in the world, whether a comparison be made with other governments, as to the faithful transaction of business and the minimum of loss in the collection and disbursement of revenues, or with the most perfect and scrupulous methods and systems of the business or commercial world.

In that good old fashioned time of simple faith and open belief, when any political party assumed power in the government, whether of city, State, or nation, it assumed full responsibility. That which was good in its administration of the government went to its credit; that which was bad went to its discredit. The people did not ask, after they had given it full power, whether it would choose faithful and friendly agents to serve under it. They took it for granted that in human wisdom it would follow the lesson of human experience that a friend is safer than an enemy. It was never believed, in the first hundred years of

America, that any national administration could carry on the government better with people who did not believe in its principles than with people who did. Otherwise, in those days it was not believed that Democrats could carry out Republican principles in the government better than Republicans. The plain people of that period had never read in the Bible, nor in human history, that an enemy is more dependable or more serviceable, either in public or private life, than a friend. The people always knew, when they elected the Democratic party, that they had indorsed Democratic principles. They knew they were to have a Democratic administration; and let it be said that the Democratic party has never disappointed this expectation up to date.

The Pharisee, who made his appearance in American politics at the same time that the Democratic party—the smartest thing in human guile which this young country has ever known—purchased several Republican newspapers and set them to teaching the Democratic doctrines while still bearing the Republican name, proclaimed that the first hundred years of the republic had been all wrong. Under the American fashion the elder men had sought the interest of the younger men in public affairs. Frequent changes in public office were also advocated. All told, in nation, State, county, district, city, and precinct nearly a million of offices were created. It was taught that it was not only the privilege, but the duty, of every intelligent and patriotic citizen to engage in politics, and to hold office when his fellow-citizens demanded it. Under this theory every active and earnest citizen of the republic, especially in the rural communities, was almost sure at some time to hold some office and be educated in government, and to learn the conservatism of government. It was also cherished as one of the glories of the republic that the humblest family in the land might furnish the best public officer. The Pharisee came to reverse all this. He came to teach that partyism, or love of party, or activity in politics, was a peril to the republic; that constant political agitation was hurtful to the nation; that the political caucus in the township, otherwise the town meeting, was a menace to the republic; and that activity and politics made a man dangerous in government. So the argument goes on to-day.

For my own part, I believe in the old theory. I believe in the politician—otherwise, in the American who takes an active

personal interest in public affairs, beginning with the smallest office and continuing through to the largest—rather than in the Pharisee, who would introduce into the republic the doctrine that private or individual interest in government is wrong, that officeholding does not concern the people, and that life tenure in office is both wise and necessary. I believe, too, that every good American citizen is a politician. It is a good word, although the Pharisee would make it an epithet. He scouts the word politician and uses the word statesman. Our accepted dictionaries make little difference between politician and statesman. In the sense that any one who takes an interest in politics is a politician, as he is, we have millions of politicians in America. In the sense that a man, to be a statesman in any country, must be known in the whole world of statesmen, we have very few.

As the town meeting, the initial movement in our government, is the unit of public welfare, so may it be that the politician of the town meeting may be not only the best citizen of his own community, but the most useful citizen of his State. For the town meeting is not only the basis of liberty in American government, but without it liberty would soon go. It is the absence of the town meeting in the South which is responsible for the absence of both home rule and liberty in that portion of the country. If the South had the town meeting, as the North has it,—otherwise, if its thousands of precincts or small communities had the right to rule in their own affairs,—what is called the Southern question now in politics would be speedily settled. For if the hundreds of thousands of free men in the South among the white men there, as well as the millions of free men among the black people, could make a start in politics, if they could make this precinct Republican, or this county Republican, or that district Republican, each according to its honest majority, the leaven would soon spread, and the South be put in line with its own true interests, and no longer left an oligarchy, governed by centralized tyrannies at the various State capitals. The coercion and disfranchisement of the black men of the South are the cruelty of this age. Yet nearly as alarming is the coercion of hundreds of thousands of Southern white men who do not believe in the bourbonism of Democratic rule or in the cruelty of Democratic methods, but who are terrorized into stifling their own consciences, suppressing their own

principles, and acting with the party in whose doctrine and destiny they do not believe.

I am not of those who think that millions of Americans may be politically smothered. There is a palsy of political parties just now ; but God can cure this palsy, as he can the other plagues that fall upon men. It is an axiom of the ages that unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of nations ; and any soothsayer of this timid time who thinks that six millions of colored people in the South, twice as many as composed the people of the colonies at the time of the Revolution, can be degraded into a servile peasantry, and a million voters permanently disfranchised, little comprehends the final justice of man or the overwatching justice of God. Time will settle this question. Timorous politicians or lawmakers of to-day may postpone the settlement, as timorous men once before referred the question of slavery from a settlement of statesmanship to one of blood. If the South had the town meeting, and with it its half-dozen politicians, with pride of party and love of liberty, in every town and precinct, it would be settled on Southern soil and by Southern men, and would not clog the way all the time in the national capital.

I believe in the politician, and am not afraid of the word. The American politician who loves his country is the best American. This country will never be in danger from the man who honorably spends his time to see that his party has the best men for candidates and his government the best men for officers. Give this kind of politicians free course, and we shall have less of the danger that comes through rich men buying high offices with money, and then complacently scouting either obligation to party or duty to the people in filling them. Nor is the country in any danger from any citizen who, having seen that nine times in ten rascality in office follows long continuance in office, demands frequent changes in the interest of the public service.

The Pharisee would change all this, would take away from the people this interest and education in politics, would take away from the million Americans holding office every year the education they thus gain in government, and would teach the masses of Americans to be indifferent to public affairs. He would also make a poor citizen of a man in order to make him a good officer. The people themselves have no fear of the politician. He is the man nearest to them. He has to renew his life at every

caucus and in every convention and at every election. The more publicity in politics the better; the more activity the better. When the white light of publicity is on anything, the danger is gone. A rathole is no longer a rathole after the sun shines into it. Instead of narrowing the number of men who shall hold public office, instead of taking away public affairs from the people, instead of educating the people to be indifferent in political matters, I would renew the custom of the fathers, and teach in the home, even before the caucus is reached, and again in the caucus, and again in the local convention, and again in every convention and election, until the top is reached, that every boy and every citizen should take an interest in the proceedings at every step, and that every family in the land should be informed in regard to it as well. It is on the hearthstones of this country that all great political questions are finally settled.

I defend also the honesty of the politician. I know personally of the generosity of the men of politics. Twenty-five years' participation in active politics has given me a chance to look in the lion's mouth. I can recall to-day, looking back over this long stretch of time, scarcely any men who have made money in politics. I know of no politician who has become rich as a politician. To find those who find fortune and gear in politics, you must go to the corrupt rule of Tammany or some other large city. I believe that it may be asserted as true that ninety-nine men in every hundred spend more money in politics, and in public affairs and for the public good, than they ever gain in politics or from any sort of office-holding or profit-sharing in government. The presence of corruption in politics is greatly overestimated. There are very few men who want to violate the honor of the Republic or dishonor the record of their party. No man who would debauch the American ballot should be respected by his own family. For the purity of the suffrage, the honesty of this government, the preservation of it in power and patriotism to our children, are far more to any and all of us than anything of party success or power or personal ambition could possibly be. Not merely the essayists who write for reform on salary are honest. The great masses of the people are honest. The rivalries of politics, the quarrels of party, the jealousies and enmities of politicians over office, are many and often shocking. But so in this poor world are the rivalries and jealousies and

enmities of the professions, of the business world, and even of the church. We are all poor mortals, and God must have some charity for us all in our mortality and weakness, whether we be politicians, Pharisees, or persevering saints.

It is the cant of the Pharisee to speak of the cruelty and heartlessness of politics and politicians. I have seen the other side of the shield. I have studied human nature in politics for a quarter of a century. The result has been constantly to refresh my faith in mankind, in the good intention of my neighbor, in the honesty of the masses of the people. I have seen more of generosity displayed in politics, more of self-sacrifice, than in anything else. I have seen men display more activity and more generosity to gain office for friends than for themselves. I have seen, too, as so many blooming flowers on the wall between parties, that freemasonry between men of honor and soul in different political parties which leads constantly to the practice of human charity and individual generosity. You may go to the departments in Washington, and you will find there that the world of politics takes care of those who in any sense appeal to its heart. Nearly every distinguished family in America has some representative in those departments. It is one of the customs of men in politics, when they find the descendant of a man who has served his country well and gone his way to another world, leaving his family poor, to care for that descendant; and the politics of the ancestor is never asked, much less discussed.

By what right does the Pharisee sneer at the politician? By what right does the professional moralist sneer at politics? The hundred years or more of American politics and government is disproof of the sneers of both. The business affairs of the people have been conducted more scrupulously and more accurately than the private business of commerce in the same time. There have been fewer defalcations and fewer rascalities in office, in proportion, than in private life. Who are the politicians who have made money and fortune trafficking in the public name or national honor? Of the six thousand seats that have been filled in Congress in the last thirty years, who are the politicians who have proved dishonest? Is it not true that, where one public official has been found unworthy, twenty men in public life have served the government for a third of the return which they could have gained in the business world or the professions?

What was Samuel J. Randall but a politician?—the man who served his country and kept himself poor; refused a gift of fifty thousand dollars from opulent merchants, and died on a bed worth ten dollars. Who has been a more typical politician in the last fifty years than Oliver P. Morton or John A. Logan, each rendering his nation and his people great service, and dying poor and in a mortgaged home? Hannibal Hamlin is another fair and representative type of the politician, and the whole country reveres the American in him to-day, and forgets the Republican and honors the politician. So might we cite hundreds of thousands of others. Who is the boss in politics, or the local or State leader—that great bogy who is now conjured up by the Pharisees and reformers with which to frighten the people? In the small neighborhood he is the man who does for his party what the class-leader does for his church. He keeps its political lamps trimmed and burning. In the district or State he is generally the most generous man, and has the most ambition in party and pride in country, who does a work so good and from a motive so pure that money could not hire it done, nor merely money find a man able to do it. Why should every other organization of human affairs have a leader, and not politics? The church has a leader; every active organization must have a leader: so must politics. Here and there is found a leader who may be unworthy. He is not a boss until he gets to be unworthy, and then the people, acting in their primary capacity, very quickly dispose of his dishonesty and his lordship. No boss can live more than a year in this country, because every leader has to renew his life at the hands of the people at least once every twelve months. To say that political leaders are dishonest, that they keep a long and corrupt reign of power, extending over years, is to say that the people themselves are either too ignorant to know a dishonest leader or too dishonest to demand honest leadership.

I believe also in practical politics. I believe that when Benjamin Harrison was elected President of the United States, on a platform of Republican principles, he was elected to carry out those principles, and was expected to believe that Republicans could carry them out better than Democrats. Whether he desires it or not, the Republican party is held responsible for his every act. Every Democrat that he retains in office he becomes responsible for, and makes the Republican party responsible for. If any

Democrat proves a rascal in holding office under a Republican administration, the Republican party, and not the Democratic, becomes responsible for his rascality, and the people will so hold. This is the sense found at the level of common-sense, and the people believe in it. President Harrison, one of the truest of Americans and most progressive of men, has from the first sought to test to the marrow the good that was reported to be in the new reform. He has tried it honestly and not in half ways. What has been the result? While his administration was in its honeymoon, or for the first year and a half, it had the polite attention and courtesy of a neutral time. Everybody wished it well but the Mugwump, who never wishes well to anything Republican. Yet the executive persevered in faithful, patient trial of the new idea. President Harrison is a sincere Republican; as sincere and earnest as any one in the party, past or present. He believes more in the modern theory than many of us do; and he may be right or he may be wrong. Yet the first two years of his administration, with all its missionary spirit of kindness and sacrificing party spirit, has not placated the Pharisee nor made the Mugwump any more tolerant. Over half the federal offices, places, and clerkships under the control of the administration—a hundred thousand or more—are held by Democrats still, and yet no Mugwump paper and no moral essayist ever lets this fact come into the light. Nearly or quite half the places abroad are still filled by Democrats, who are telling the outside world that the Rebellion was right, that the election of Harrison was an accident where it was not gained by fraud, and that the honest people of the United States will come into power again in '93. Democrats have not only been retained in the offices that they held in the beginning, but many Democrats have been appointed or reappointed to place.

Among the earliest and most tolerant and most missionary of President Harrison's acts was the commissioning of ninety-eight Democratic presidential postmasters who had been appointed by Cleveland. Yet the Mugwump paper never has murmured of these facts in the record of the President. The Inter-State-Railway Commission, an agency of vast power, remains Democratic still. The Civil-Service Commission is more unfriendly and more opposed to the Republican party under Harrison than it was under Cleveland. Several others of the stronger national commissions

or official boards remain Democratic in the Republican time. And yet the President is not saved from the constant and unsparing censure of the Mugwump and Democratic press and people by reason of this or anything else in his administration which spares the Democrat or exalts the Mugwump. The experiment of lowering the temperature of the Republican party to get it cold enough for the Mugwump has failed to capture him or strengthen the party. If the present administration has any weakness to fleck its otherwise spotless record, it is that it has not had enough of politics or politicians in it, nor enough of that cordial, infectious, inspiring party fellowship, contributing to party self-respect and party pride, always so necessary to keep any political organization alive and self-respecting.

The politicians of the Republican name are those who believe in their party, who love its principles, and work always for its glory and success; and there are six millions of them — a strong and splendid army, capable of anything which is good, if rightly led. They do not like the Mugwump or his fads. They have seen that a man in becoming a Mugwump first becomes better than his party, and next better than his country. The average Republicans are content to be as good as their party, and to try to be as good as their country. They would always stand in the open in politics—frank, fearless, candid, positive, and plain. They would choose Republicans to carry out Republican principles. They too would have a rigid civil-service examination, and retain faithful public servants, and make promotions on merit. But they would have an examination which is practical, which would be conducted by the different departments under which the appointees are to serve, and which would test the men and women practically in the duties they are to discharge; and would have these appointed by the heads of the departments, as directed by the constitution, and not selected by an outside agency of irresponsible officials, absolutely unknown to the constitution, who know nothing of the practical duties required by the different departments, and are not held to any responsibility whatsoever for the proper conduct of such departments. The practical Republican politician would conduct this practical sort of examination, and under a Republican administration he would always appoint a Republican to office. He would do this because, from scriptural teaching and the sum

of human experience, it is true that a friend always serves you better than an enemy. He does not believe in a life-holding class in office in America. He believes in the honesty of his fellow-men. He believes in friendships, in politics and out, and does not believe that the people's desire for a change in office is simply to give some other man, as a man, a place.

Practical Republicans believe in frequent changes for the public good. When the people at the polls have approved of a party, they believe in changes, not only for the public good, but to carry out the principles indorsed by the people at the polls, and also from a sense of party pride. They did not expect, after the election of President Harrison as a Republican President, to have continued over them in administrative offices, such as post-offices, revenue places, etc., the same Democrats who held the places under President Cleveland. In other words, they believe in Republican officers under a Republican administration, and are ready always to concede Democratic officers under a Democratic administration. If this conclusion is not true, then the Mugwump is right, after all, and all political parties in America ought to disband. In any event the Republican party cannot continue to live half-Mugwump and half-Republican. It must be fair to itself and to its people in 1892, if it cares for its life, and must declare plainly and boldly for one thing or the other—for the full acceptance of the Mugwump theory and a resolute adherence to it when in power, and no pretence of Republican preference, or for an open and fearless Republican theory and preference. I am for the latter. Let it comprehend an actual civil-service reform, but let it be a practical and Republican reform, including a separation of the appointing power from the legislative power. But let it never fall below the standard of party self-respect in America—that for any administrative office, under any party's rule, a man who belongs to that party can be found good enough to fill it.

J. S. CLARKSON.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CAN A POOR GIRL GO TO COLLEGE?

CAN a poor girl go to college? It is convenient to limit to a few leading colleges this inquiry as to where and how pecuniary aid is accessible to women students, and it will be sufficient to consider Boston, Cornell, California, Kansas, Michigan, Syracuse, Wesleyan, and Wisconsin universities, Bryn Mawr, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley colleges, and the Harvard "Annex."

In the State universities, California, Kansas, Michigan, and Wisconsin, it is well known that tuition is free, but no form of pecuniary assistance is given undergraduates. The necessary expenses of residence average, for the economical, about $250 a year. Even this sum, in the absence of all scholarships, is sufficient to prevent many students from enjoying the privileges of the universities which the bounty of these States opens to their more well-to-do children. The necessity of living away from home alone renders the university education an unattainable luxury for many who have been able to secure ample preparation at the local high-schools.

Syracuse University is restricted in the aid it may give to the acceptance of the student's note in lieu of the annual charge of $60 for tuition—a form of assistance granted at Cornell also.

In the eight remaining colleges, exclusive of that help which is given privately to the student by individuals, and which cannot be estimated, and the small amounts won by competition for the few prizes for special excellence which have been founded, pecuniary assistance to women flows from three sources—the endowed scholarships, "permanent" and "college-aid" funds, and student-aid societies.

At Boston, Cornell, and Wesleyan universities there are scholarships open alike to both men and women. At Boston there are three such scholarships; their value equals the charge for tuition, their tenure is for one year, and two are now held by women. At Cornell there are 128 State scholarships, covering only the charge for tuition, which are given annually, one in each assembly district, upon a competitive entrance examination, and are tenable four years. During the year 1886-87 twenty-six were held by women. It is impossible to tell exactly how many of them women have held since, but it is officially stated that they certainly hold a percentage probably more than proportionate to their numbers. There are also twenty-four scholarships, of an annual value of $200, and tenable four years. They are awarded by competitive examination, six each year. Three are now held by women. At Wesleyan the forty-eight Seney scholarships are open to both sexes upon equal terms. Their annual value to a student ranges from $50 to $155. They are tenable one year. Eight are held by women. There are also an

indefinite number of scholarships, available at the discretion of the president, which yield free tuition, the equivalent of $75. The Seney scholarships are awarded for work done in the preceding college year. By the Cornell method the entering student may obtain aid which is available at once, while under the Wesleyan system he receives his first scholarship only at the beginning of the sophomore year. The holders of State scholarships at Cornell are eligible to the university scholarships; and the holders of tuition scholarships at Wesleyan to the Seney. During the year 1888-89 six holders of Seney scholarships received tuition also.

SCHOLARSHIPS OPEN TO BOTH MEN AND WOMEN.

College.	Number.	Annual value to student.	Charge for tuition.	Tenure.	Held by women, 1888-89.	Competitive entrance.	Number of women students, 1888-89.
Boston	3	$100	$100	1 year	2	.....	122
Cornell							
University	24	200	75*	4 "	3	6	72
State	512	75	.....	4 "	26†	128	.....
Wesleyan							
Endowed	48	50 to 155	75	1 "	8	.....	13
Tuition	‡	75	.....	1 "	9	.....	.....

* Raised, June, 1889, to $125.
† Year 1886-7.
‡ Indefinite number.

SCHOLARSHIPS OPEN TO WOMEN ONLY.

College.	Number, 1888-89.	Annual value to student.	Charge for tuition.	Competitive entrance.	Years tenable.
Boston	32	$100	$100	.....	.....
Bryn Mawr	12	200	100	3	4
*Cornell	12	200	75	3	4
Smith	2	300	100	.....	.....
.....	2	60	.....	.....	.....
.....	4	50	.....	1	4
.....	75	†	.....	.....	.....
Vassar	7	300 to 400	100	.....	.....
.....	1	400	.....	1	4
Wellesley	26	300	100‡	.....	.....
.....	12	**	.....	.....	.....
.....	5	50	.....	.....	.....

* Sage.
† Free tuition.
‡ Henceforth $150.
** Board and tuition, henceforth $350.

Of the scholarships open to women only, thirty-two are at Boston University and yield $100 each. Twelve given by Bryn Mawr yield $200 a year, and were awarded upon a competitive entrance examination. At Cornell the twelve Sage scholarships have yielded $200 annually, and three of these were open each year to the competition of entering students. In October, 1888, the Sage scholarships were abolished. At Smith College two scholarships yield $300 each, and two yield $60; while one of $50 is awarded annually on the result of the entrance examination. In addition, the college gives free tuition "to every student who is unable to complete a collegiate

education without such aid,"—to an average of seventy-five students each year. At Vassar eight scholarships yield between $300 and $400. One of these was recently offered at Chicago, by the Western Association of Vassar Alumnæ, as a local entrance scholarship. A limited number of local scholarships, covering free tuition, have been offered by the trustees for the next college year. Twenty-six endowed scholarships at Wellesley yield an average of $300; and a provision has been made by which five students receive $50, and another by which twelve others receive the full cost of board and tuition.

At several colleges there are "college-aid" funds, which are collected every year by the officers and friends of the colleges, or voted from the surplus in the college treasury. Boston and Wesleyan universities and Wellesley College are fortunate in the possession of student-aid societies. The sums gathered from these sources vary widely from year to year. In a very few cases the beneficiaries of these funds are also holders of scholarships. The aid given a student ranges from $25 up. At Vassar and Wellesley, in rare cases a maximum of $400 and $300, respectively, is reached. Boston University, through its student-aid society, assisted thirteen girls, giving them a total of $746. Five students of the Harvard Annex received $200 apiece, the equivalent of tuition. Vassar, from its "permanent" funds, helped thirty-seven, with a total of $5,475, and, through the efforts of its president, fifteen, with $2,950. Wellesley gave, *including* the endowed scholarships already enumerated, $14,253 to eighty-two students. Cornell has a small loan fund, which is augmented by special appropriations from year to year. During 1886-87, $225 was loaned to three women. Nothing was lent women during the past year. Wesleyan, also, is able sometimes to lend small sums from a fund held by a student-aid society. The loans are generally to girls in their junior or senior year, and do not exceed $100. They are given with the understanding that the principal shall be returned with simple interest.

The alumnæ of Vassar, together with the very large body of non-graduate former students, are now forming a student-aid society, while the students of the "Annex" are also appealing to past members for support for scholarships.

AID SOCIETIES AND FUNDS.

College.	"Permanent" funds.	"Student-Aid Soc."	"College-Aid" fund.	Number aided, 1888-89.	Amount Given.	Amount returned by students, 1888-89.
Boston	.....	Yes.	.....	13	$746	$115
Bryn Mawr	.....	.....	Yes.	.....	.....	.....
Cornell	.....	.....	Yes.	.....	.....	.....
Harvard Annex	.....	.....	Yes.	5	1,000	.....
Vassar	$100,000	.....	.....	37	5,475	.....
.....	.....	.....	Yes.	15	2,950	.....
Wellesley	.....	Yes.	.....	82*	14,253	1,478
Wesleyan	.....	.....	Yes.	.....	.....	.....

* Including those receiving the income of the endowed scholarships.

Besides aiding through direct gifts or loans of money, the student-aid societies are sometimes able to render good service by bringing to the students knowledge, opportunities, and ways of self-help.

The amount of aid rendered through these various channels may be summed up thus, in its money equivalent: Wellesley, $18,103 to 99 students; Vassar, $11,165 to 65; Smith, $8,420 to about 80; Cornell, an estimated total of $4,950 to 41 individuals; Boston, $4,146 to, perhaps, 47; Bryn Mawr, $2,400 to 12; Wesleyan, $1,575 to 11; and the Harvard "Annex," $1,000 to 5 persons. The total given by these eight colleges was $51,759. A single college for men was able to disburse during the same time not less than $63,000 to its beneficiaries.

Mention might also be made of a voluntary guild at Cornell, the members of which pay a small sum to constitute a fund for the relief of the sick who may need assistance; and of the Eliot Cottage at Wellesley, whose residents save $75 a year of their expenses by a form of coöperative housekeeping. A repetition of the brief list of fellowships completes the tale of the aid accessible to women students. Cornell offers eight fellowships of an annual value of $400; three are held by women. Wesleyan presents one, valued at $150, for which no woman has ever competed. Bryn Mawr offers five, worth $450 each, to graduates of any college, and a European fellowship of $500 a year to a graduate of Bryn Mawr. Vassar offers free tuition, $100, to resident graduates. The Association of Western Alumnæ recently assigned, for one year, a fellowship of $350 to Michigan University. The University of Wisconsin offers nine to both sexes.

FELLOWSHIPS.

College.	Number.	Held by women, 1888-89.	Value.
Bryn Mawr	5	5	$175
.....	1	1	500
Cornell	8	3	400
Michigan	1	1	750
Vassar	*	3	100
Wesleyan	1	.....	150
Wisconsin	9	.....	.....

*Free tuition, number unlimited.

It is worthy of remark that, of the scholarships enumerated as held by women, including the amount given at the "Annex," 160 represent the equivalent of tuition or less. Were the scale of living at these colleges the same as in the towns where State universities exist, it might be said that, so far as concerns the holders of these scholarships, the respective colleges are brought to the basis of the State universities.

Of fifty-seven scholarships which yield more than the cost of tuition, not more than nineteen now equal the whole sum charged for the necessary college expenses, and several of these are not usually awarded in their entirety. These *full* scholarships are the twelve scholarships provided by the Stone Foundation at Wellesley, that given by the Western Association of Vassar Alumnæ, and those which have been endowed at Vassar. The income of seven scholarships at Vassar was awarded to twelve students, in sums ranging from $100 to $400. The permanent funds, known as the "Auxiliary" and "M. Vassar, Jr.," funds, are restricted to a maximum award of $200. The smallest sum given from them was $75. The maximum and minimum awards from the "College-Aid" fund were $400 and $100, but $200 was the average.

The income of the Wellesley scholarships is appropriated yearly under the direction of the Students'-Aid Society. The awards for any college year are made at a meeting held in the preceding May. The income of the twenty-six endowed scholarships ranges from $250 to $345. The average is $300. This income during the past year, together with what was returned by former beneficiaries and what was raised by the society, amounted to $14,253, and was awarded to eighty-two students in sums varying with the needs of the applicants. The largest amount given to one person was $300, the sum there charged for board and tuition. The entire interest of one of these scholarships is rarely given to one student, although "the daughters of missionaries and small-salaried clergymen usually receive the entire amount." This practice accords with the view expressed by Professor Maria Mitchell, who once said: "I have learned to believe that in no case is it best to give the whole expenses as an aid—that it must not be made too easy to be helped along. A struggle is good for the young." Large bequests have been given in harmony with this opinion, restricted to the *partial* payment of the students' expenses. To aid the largest number possible is the almost universal custom of the colleges, and therefore the sum given to each applicant is usually small. The consequence is that the greater number of those who are helped must have *almost* adequate private resources. Moreover, the general policy of the colleges is to help, first, those who have nearly completed their course, those who have been in residence and proved their capacity, and to give aid "at critical times, when without it students would have to give up their college course." The preference is also often given to those in the regular courses and to those who expect to complete the term of residence required for a degree. While such discriminations seem reasonable, they work undoubtedly to the disadvantage of the young applicant from the preparatory school. A few *partial* scholarships have been definitely assigned to candidates for the freshman class. Bryn Mawr, the tables show, offers three annually; Cornell, one in each assembly district of New York, and six for general competition; Smith College, one each year, and Vassar a few local scholarships, besides the Chicago scholarship, covering all charges, which becomes available once in a four years.

Other restrictions limit the eligibility of candidates. Bryn Mawr's twelve scholarships are given only to members of the society of Friends—the only privilege extended them—because the founder, a Friend, wished to help advanced education among his sect. Of the scholarships at Smith, one of the larger gives the preference to the daughters of missionaries or to those preparing for foreign missionary work, while one of the smaller is really a prize open to members of the junior class, proficient students of Shakespeare. Three of the Vassar scholarships are "subject to the nomination of the founder." One gives the preference to members of the Dutch Reformed Church and one to daughters of clerymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Locality is an element which enters into the award of one scholarship at Boston University, which is available for a resident of Washington only, and into the assignment of the income of $25,000 of one of the Vassar funds to the benefit of the children of residents of Poughkeepsie.

In general, there is no understanding that those holding scholarships shall repay what they receive whenever they shall become able so to do, although from the special funds money is both given and loaned. Maria Mitchell's experience is that most girls prefer to borrow, and that "the very carefulness to repay a loan is a check upon unnecessary expenditure. But

as some very sensible girls are timid about a loan, I should say, 'Give,' but give just the amount sufficient to bridge over the difficult place. Do not make the journey unnecessarily easy." The choice between gifts and loans involves a question of great delicacy. Either may foster desirable and undesirable qualties in the recipient. A knowledge of the character and circumstances of the beneficiary is an indispensable aid to a wise decision, unless, as at Cornell and Bryn Mawr and Wesleyan, the award be based purely upon scholarship.

Five English colleges for women afford a suggestive contrast. In Girton, Newnham, and Halloway colleges and Lady Margaret and Somerville halls, inquiry disclosed ninety-two scholarships ranging in value from $175 to $420.

SCHOLARSHIPS IN ENGLISH COLLEGES.

College.	Minimum annual charge.	Number of students, 1886-87.	Number of scholarships.	Average annual value.	Maximum annual value.	Tenure in years.
Girton.....	$525	81	27	$260	$420	3
Halloway.....	450	..	27	250	250	3
Lady Margaret.	500	21	3	175	175	3
Newnham.....	375	122	28	250	250	3
Somerville.....	430	27	7	....	....	..

These scholarships, as a rule, are awarded upon the entrance examinations, aggregate merit alone being considered, or together with distinction in some groups of studies, the classics, mathematics, political economy. The winner rests secure in its enjoyment and free from anxiety for three years, the term of residence required for a degree, but she may forfeit it by unsatisfactory work. Some of these scholarships may be augmented in case a student requires further assistance, but only one scholarship may be held by the same student. Provision is also made by Girton and Newnham for loans upon easy terms.

The proportion of scholarships to the whole number of students is considerably larger than in American colleges, the academic year is a fourth shorter, and the expenses of residence nearly as much greater. The advantages which they present over the American method lie in their award to those about to enter, in their fixed tenure and well-defined conditions, and in the certainty of their becoming available to new-comers at a time previously announced. It is interesting to note that they were founded, in many cases, by different guilds—the Clothworkers' Company, the Drapers', and the Goldsmiths'.

A sincere appreciation of the great good which the scholarships existing in American colleges for women confer upon their fortunate recipients is not inconsistent with a recognition of the limitations to their usefulness which the stand-point of the penniless aspirant for a higher education discloses. It is, perhaps, the socialist's point of view.

There comes a time in the course of most secondary schools when every girl must decide whether she shall choose a college preparatory course. Before admission to some Latin schools she must sign a paper stating her intention of entering college. The circumstances of her family are such, let us suppose, that she can hope for no aid from her natural supporters, or, perhaps, none further than a place in the home circle and her most necessary personal expenses. She shows more than average ability in her classes,

Her health is good, and she is eager for a better education. Must a college course, as some affirm, be placed for her in the same category with a carriage and pair or point-lace and diamonds? Is it merely a luxury which her circumstances make it folly to dream of?

She carefully considers all the possibilities. The opportunity for a thorough preparation lies within her grasp, but she realizes that, under the existing conditions of college requirements for admission, it is usually unwise for a student who cannot go to college to choose a preparatory course. The opportunities for self-support at our colleges are known to be very limited. There is an occasional chance for the more advanced students to tutor, a limited amount of clerical and library work to be done, and fortuitous employment of various kinds—all welcome helps, but uncertain supports. The president of Cornell has said very truly that the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor holds true of the employment open to students as in all other classes. It is equally true that the struggling woman student, as well as those with less intellectual ambitions, suffers from the prevalent commercial discrimination against her sex. She is hampered also by more numerous social prejudices than her ambitious brother. Ralph Waldo Emerson might eke out his narrow means by serving as a waiter in the college commons without detriment to his social standing; yet that woman would be brave indeed who would dare imitate his example. If she has to be entirely self-reliant, years must pass, under the present conditions of the employment and recompense of women, before she can save enough to attain her desires.

Meanwhile she is growing rusty in the preliminary studies and less adapted to college routine, while the entrance examination becomes more and more formidable. The partial scholarships may suffice for her friend who in health, character, and mental capacity is not her superior, but whose purse happens to be a little better filled, so that she can afford to incur the greater part or at least a half of the expense of college life, and for a few of those who live in the near neighborhood of a college and who need only the equivalent of tuition, or whose home is a little more distant and who require a small additional allowance for the daily travelling expenses. But the necessity of living at any of these colleges entails, besides travelling and personal expenses, a minimum outlay of from $250 to $300, in addition to the fees for tuition. She who has enough to secure a foothold, and to show of what stuff she is made, may hope to secure the larger grants given to members of the higher college classes, but the breaks in the ranks at the end of the freshman and sophomore years too often disclose how many have been disappointed.

The plans of the penniless girl necessarily rest upon the chance of securing a full scholarship. A glance at the tables reveals the paucity of amply-endowed scholarships. Not long ago, when a single full scholarship was offered for competition among pupils of Chicago preparatory schools, twenty eager girls applied—to the disappointment, of course, of nineteen. Nor is it in Chicago alone that the desire for a college education exists among those of the empty pockets. Their letters are found in every college president's mailbag. In the face of so great competition and so many adverse probabilities, must she not throw prudence and foresight to the winds if she prepare for college, trusting that the *chances* may turn in her favor? One conclusion is inevitable: the existing circumstances give an almost unqualified negative to the question, "Can a poor girl go to college?"

What shall be done? The example of the lady principal of Lady Margaret Hall might be followed. In 1886 she opened, at her own risk, a small house, under the name St. Hugh's, for the reception of students of narrow means, at lower fees, and with a *different scale of living and accommodation*. This would supplement the existing partial scholarships. It is evident, also, that scholarships covering the expense of board and tuition during the first college year are needed, in order to open the path from the preparatory schools. Recently a citizen of New York has generously provided for a few scholarships to be given boys in the city schools who desire to enter the College of the City of New York, and a public-spirited citizen of Fall River, Mass., has given $1,000 to establish prizes for the graduates of the schools of that city. These two cases prove the existence, in men of wealth, of a philanthropic spirit combined with an interest in the local schools, and points out the direction in which the friends of higher education of women should lead. The endowment of full local scholarships, wherever good schools provide free preparation for college, to be awarded annually, under equitable and perfectly understood conditions, with a fixed tenure, would open to many girls, who have every qualification except money, an opportunity to prove their fitness for realizing their reasonable and worthy aspirations.

ALICE HAYES.

TIGHT-LACING FOR MONKEYS.

THE amœba constricts itself around the middle by a pair of invisible corsets until it is actually cut in twain. That the improvement of its *beauty* is a factor in the purpose of this gradual vivibisection is scarcely probable, although in certain stages of the process the form of the fashionable belle is most strikingly suggested. However that may be, the most important result is the reproduction of its kind. Cutting itself in two in the middle is not *hari-kari*, but rejuvenation; not death, but the reduplication of life. Instead of one dead amœba, lo! there are two living ones, equally young and with equal promise of a numerous posterity.

Recent experiments of a somewhat similar nature have been tried upon female monkeys. They were put into plaster-of-paris jackets, in imitation of stays, and a tight bandage was put around the waist to imitate a petticoat band. Several of the unfortunate subjects died, and all showed signs of injuries resulting from the treatment.

Now, the monkey is one of the most highly organized of animals, and to justify so gross and cruel a violation of nature's exquisite handiwork there can be only three hypotheses.

First, it may have been an attempt to reproduce the species by artificial *fission*, after the manner of the amœba. If this was the purpose of the experiment, it was a disastrous failure. Instead of two monkeys, the result was, in several instances, no monkey, and in all the other instances a sadly deteriorated monkey. In this connection it may be remarked that, whenever the experiment has been tried upon another group of *primates*, the *bimana*, the result has been the same. It has not tended to the reproduction of the species—quite the contrary—and in many, many instances it has ended in no primate, or in a sadly deteriorated primate. The attempt to multiply either the simian or the human species by *amœboid fission* must be given up as hopeless.

Secondly, it may have been a well-meant effort to enhance the beauty of our "poor relations" by remodelling their figures in accordance with the

rules of modern fashionable art. "Since Darwin and his successors have compelled us to admit their blood relationship with ourselves," the æsthetic experimenters may have thought, "let us at least mitigate the humiliation by making them as presentable as possible." If this was their purpose, the result was, to say the least, disappointing. The "poor relations" did not become ravishingly beautiful, even with the most approved hour-glass-like contour. On the contrary, their physical charms were, if possible, even less alluring than ever. Their countenances lost much of their characteristic vivacity, without gaining perceptibly in refined intellectuality of expression; and their shoulders and arms, never remarkably buxom, became more and more skinny and bony as the experiment progressed.

Similar effects, we are sorry to say, have been often observed in the case of the other group of primates to which allusion has been made.

The third hypothesis is that the experiments were performed as a scientific test of the physiological effects of tight-lacing upon an organism closely allied to our own; and this the experimenters declare to have been their object. One would suppose, however, that the test had already been applied often enough and thoroughly enough upon the human subject herself to determine all that ever can be determined in that direction. The effects are *always* injurious, life-shortening, and sometimes suddenly fatal, although the percentage of mortality is somewhat less than it proved among the unfortunate simians. How men can hope to learn more of human physiology and pathology from monkeys than from the human body itself, dissected and vivisected as it is,—for vivisection may be performed by constriction as well as with the knife, by the aid of *pinchers* as well as *pincers*,—passes the lay comprehension.

But perhaps the investigation was not made in the interest of humanity, after all, but in that of the monkeys themselves. The experimenters may possibly have had an eye to the time when that exceptionally intelligent and *imitative* race shall have developed sufficiently to employ voluntarily human expert aid for their sufferers. If they indulge such a hope, we warn them that it is delusive. Monkeys may be taught to do many things prejudicial to their health. They may be taught to drink, smoke, eat indigestible food, keep late hours, etc.; but when it comes to distorting their figures, crushing and displacing their vitals, for the sake of what is at best an extremely doubtful improvement in gracefulness, we doubt whether so essentially idiotic a fashion will ever prevail to any considerable extent among so intelligent a race as monkeys.

The apology of the experimenters, like those of vivisectionists in general, seems to us inadequate to justify their cruelty. If in the course of their investigations they shall discover some means of enabling the lungs to breathe and the heart to pulsate without expanding, the blood to circulate through tightly-ligatured veins and arteries, and the digestive organs to perform their functions properly while they are huddled and jammed together in the lower abdomen, then, indeed, will their experiments be justified; but merely to demonstrate an obvious truth in a manner less striking than we see it demonstrated every day among our own kind seems only a wanton cruelty and waste of time.

There is only one scientific truth that, so far as we can learn, has been deduced from this curious investigation. It is well known that the lower an animal stands in the scale of differentiation, the more tolerant it is of violence to its structure. The amœba may be not only bisected, but it may be

minced into twenty pieces, and each piece will survive and presently become a full-grown amœba; the hydra will endure a similar mutilation with almost equal immunity; the angle-worm may be cut in halves, and the anterior half, at least, will survive. As we ascend in the scale we find less and less tolerance of mutilation, until we reach the highest order, the *primates*. But which of the two great divisions of this order is the higher—the *bimana* or the *quadrumana*? Applying the principle just laid down, and recalling the results of the recent experiments, we are irresistibly forced to a most unwelcome conclusion.

EDWARD P. JACKSON.

THE CLOSING DOOR OF QUACKERY.

ONE of the most interesting volumes ever issued by medical authorities is the recent "Report of the Illinois State Board of Health on Medical Education and Practice." Former reports have been confined to medical education and practice in the United States and Canada. The report for 1891 includes the medical schools, institutions, and laws of all countries. While the comparison is not altogether favorable to the United States, the outlook in this country is more encouraging than ever before, both as regards the adoption of higher standards by the medical colleges and the more intelligent and efficient control of medical practice by the different States.

Since the organization of the first State government on American soil the door of quackery has stood open, and the ignorant and poor have been at the mercy of designing and unscrupulous men calling themselves doctors. The first laws passed in this country were too rigid, as a rule, and could not be enforced, and scarcely anything was done to protect the health, lives, and property of the people against these people until fifteen years ago. Forty-one States and territories now have laws in regard to the regulation of the practice of medicine, forty of these laws having been passed since January 1, 1875. Some of these laws are now inoperative, and, if operative, would be inefficient. The States that have no laws for regulating the practice of medicine are Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island; Utah has no law, and the Creek Nation, in the Indian Territory, has no law. The existing laws are entirely or practically inoperative in Arkansas, the District of Columbia, Maryland, Ohio, and Texas.

In many of the States and territories the law requires a person wishing to practise medicine to register his diploma in a county clerk's office. Such a law is obviously inefficient, because a fraudulent diploma can be registered under it. So with regard to laws requiring that the diploma recorded shall be that of a "legally-chartered" medical college. Some of the worst and most fraudulent colleges that have existed in this country were "legally chartered." Twenty-three States and territories now have efficient laws, under which the State Board of Health or the State Board or Boards of Medical Examiners (1) give certificates on diplomas of medical colleges "in good standing," or examine applicants that have not such diplomas; or (2) examine all applicants for the license, irrespective of diplomas. Of these laws eight were passed in 1889 and 1890.

The total number of medical colleges embraced in the new report of the Illinois board is 316, of which there are or have been in the United States 294 and in Canada twenty-two. Of the 316, the total of the extinct schools is 168, of which 159 were in the United States and nine in Canada. There are now 135 medical schools in the United States and thirteen in Canada. Of the

159 extinct schools of the United States twenty-three were fraudulent. There are now in existence twelve colleges or institutions known to be fraudulent—simply diploma-mills. One each of these is in New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Washington, two in New York, three in Vermont, and four in Ohio; and there is another in Ohio that may as well be classed as fraudulent.

But they that believe in higher medical education and in protecting the people against swindlers claiming to be doctors, as well as against half-educated men with diplomas, have much cause for rejoicing. In the past ten years the duration of the annual lecture terms has been extended from 23.5 weeks to 26.3 weeks, and the number of schools having sessions of six months or more has increased from forty-two to 111. In the same time the percentage of graduates to matriculates has fallen in the United States from 32.7 to 30.1. In Canada this percentage is 23+ for 1890, the highest for ten years. With the session of 1882-83 the Illinois schedule of minimum requirements for the colleges went into effect, and the number of matriculates in this country was immediately diminished. In 1881-82 the number was 12,452; it went steadily down to 10,987 in 1884-85, when it began to rise again, and in 1889-90 it was 14,884.

It is a noticeable fact that the loss of students when the Illinois schedule went into effect was, as a rule, felt most severely by the schools having low standards of entrance and graduation. Before the session of 1883-84 there were but forty-five medical colleges in this country that exacted educational qualifications as a requirement for matriculation; now there are 129. Before 1883-84 twenty-two colleges required attendance on three or more courses of lectures; the number is now eighty-five.

In the near future the figures will be still better. So many colleges have made provision for three courses of lectures, four years' study and three courses of lectures, or four courses of lectures, that there are now but twenty-one colleges that require only two courses and have made no provision for longer study. It may be predicted that in five years every college in this country will have adopted the requirement of four years' study and three courses of lectures. What has been done is the result, mainly, of the work of the various examining boards, which now control the recognition of diplomas in an area containing about 41,000,000 people. A further impetus has been given by the rules adopted by the American Medical College Association, the National Eclectic Medical Association, and the National Institute of Homœopathy in regard to the time and subjects of medical education and in regard to preliminary education. The Chicago Medical College was the first medical institution in the United States to adopt the three-years' graded course for the study of medicine; this action was taken on June 4, 1868.

In regard to the preliminary education of medical men it must be said that the time-honored classical course is insufficient, and that much time is lost in the study of subjects that can be of no benefit to the medical man. The University of Pennsylvania, the University of Wisconsin, and Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Lake Forest, Northwestern, Princeton, and Yale universities now offer academic courses specially designed for students that propose to study medicine. The physician must study nature always; he must be a naturalist; for this work he should be prepared by scientific training. An attempt was recently made to establish a course preparatory to medicine in the University of Michigan, but the effort was unsuccessful. This was unfortunate, and the more so because by it the student could obtain the B. Sc. instead of the A. B. degree, which now amounts to but little

in this country. The plan was one by which the student could take the B. Sc. and M. D. degrees in six years, the former including studies that lead directly up to the study of medicine, besides French, German, English, mathematics, logic, rhetoric, and mental philosophy. Every medical man should have a special preliminary education.

The chief defects in the American system of medical education are: 1. Too little preliminary education, from which comes a lack of ability to grasp scientific principles. 2. Too much didactic work by the teachers. 3. Too little practical and clinical work by the students. 4. Too few tests of practical work. 5. Too short a time of actual work and study. Increasing the preliminary requirements and lengthening the time of study will remedy the other defects; and the application of the remedy will kill off the useless and low-class colleges. In Minnesota, Montana, and Washington every candidate for examination and license must have attended three courses of lectures. The same will be required by the California boards after April 1, 1891, by the Colorado board after July 1, 1893, in Illinois and Iowa after the session of 1890–91, and by the boards of examiners of New York after September 1, 1891.

The Illinois report, embracing the institutions and regulations of all countries, shows that, while there is a general movement in this country for four years' study and three courses of lectures, the General Medical Council of Great Britain and Ireland has decreed that every medical student beginning his medical studies after January 1, 1892, must be engaged in the study of medicine for five years. The first year may be passed at a teaching institution, recognized by the licensing bodies of the United Kingdom, where physics, chemistry, and biology are taught. Graduates in arts or science of any university recognized by the Medical Council, who shall have spent a year in the study of physics, chemistry, and biology, and have passed an examination in these subjects for the degrees in question, should be held to have completed the first of the five years of medical study. The General Medical Council will require that the fifth year be devoted to clinical work in one or more hospitals or dispensaries. The candidate for any medical degree in the United Kingdom must pass five examinations before he can receive the degree. In this way the final examination is almost wholly given up to clinical examinations on patients in the hospitals. These examinations are foreign to the schools and licensing bodies in the United States, and it will be a long step in advance when they are the rule in this country.

Both in Europe and in the South American republics medical education and the right to practise are on a higher plane than in this country. But we are now going forward at a good pace, and it is not too much to predict that during the present decade each State will have an efficient medical-practice act, and the rule in the colleges will be a high standard of preliminary and matriculation requirements, and *five years' study* and four courses of lectures. The door of quackery is being closed, not by the voluntary action of the colleges, but by wise legislation in the interests of the people.

WILLIAM G. EGGLESTON, M. D.

A NATIONAL CHORUS.

AS THE time rapidly approaches when the civilized nations of the earth are expected to assist our country in its great Columbian World's Fair, evidence begins to accumulate showing that our people are expecting something of an extraordinary character in the art of music, as well as in the fine

arts. It seems to lovers of music, as well as to musicians themselves, that it would be almost a crime unpardonable if they should fail to seize this opportunity to accomplish something for the advancement of their art, and bequeath to posterity lasting results.

Such an occasion comes not once in a lifetime; not even once in a century; and it is safe to say that never in history has a similar event been celebrated which so completely enlisted the patriotic impulses of any nation.

That the formation of a national choral union for this celebration would awaken enthusiasm throughout the length and breadth of our land, that it would in each State create a new impulse for the art, and, by its successful performance in Chicago inaugurate a new era, with magnificent promises of future results, will be freely admitted.

To assist in the attainment of this great purpose the following plan is suggested with reference:

First, to *artistic success*; sustaining our dignity as a nation;

Second, to *permanent results*, for the advancement of the art of music in America;

Third, to the *financial success* of the exposition.

In pursuance of the foregoing, I suggest the formation of a national choral union, composed of some of the best voices in every State, thus bringing together a representative body of our entire people. This chorus should number not more than 10,000 nor less than 5,000 voices, and should participate in the opening ceremonies in a world's festival of song, lasting five days or a week.

The following programme is suggested as adapted to the occasion:

First night—Sacred music. Oratorio. Selections from Händel, Haydn, Bach, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Schumann.

Second night—Secular music. Opera. Selections from Verdi, Gounod, Von Weber, Gluck, Meyerbeer, Wagner.

Third night—Part-songs of all nations.

Fourth night and fifth night—Original works by American composers.

Matinée—Patriotic music and singing by school children.

As will be observed, the programme is simple, and will need to be dignified by a large body of singers. The plan does not embrace the engagement of celebrated solo singers, as that would double the expense, without adding anything to the advancement of art, and the intention is to make the ponderous effect of the chorus the main attraction. It would appear undignified, unpatriotic, and beyond the province of a world's fair to enter the arena of amusements, and appeal for patronage in art to that element of curiosity attaching merely to great names.

The question naturally arises, How can this be done? How is a large mass of singers to be organized and drilled, music secured, etc., etc.? Without going into details, I will briefly suggest the following as a feasible plan: Let each State send a number of singers, proportionate to its population; the number to be determined according to the size of the mass-chorus desired. Each State should have its separate choral organization complete—officers, musical director, etc., the Governor of the State being the honorary president. Each State choral union taking part would be expected to pay its own expenses, special cheap railway fares being provided.

Each State should also furnish and pay for its music, for which the Legislature should make an appropriation, which would amount in each case to only a few hundred dollars at most.

Each State organization should be encouraged to give one or two public performances during the year, which would serve the triple purpose of raising a fund to pay the expenses of any good singers who might not be able otherwise to participate; of showing their advancement in singing; and of awakening an interest in the great world's festival of song.

All these State organizations should be subject to certain rules and obligations, and a national director and organizer should rehearse every organization twice or three times in all the music, so as to preserve a unity in style, phrasing, etc.

Without further details, the great importance of securing State-legislative recognition of music (which, it is safe to say, with the coöperation of the national commissioners, probably not a single State would refuse) will at once be apparent. This interest, once secured, could easily be perpetuated, to the permanent advantage of the art.

The national chorus once formed, great festivals of the same character could be arranged for triennially or decennially; and thus incalculable good may be secured through the present opportunity with comparatively little trouble—almost "without money and without price."

To every earnest musician and music-lover the plan pleads its own cause. It remains to be seen if, with the assistance of the World's Fair commissioners and directory, we shall have the opportunity to create an epoch in music that will shed the lustre of its glory throughout succeeding generations.

S. G. PRATT.

S. G. PRATT, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR: I fully indorse the above plan, and think it might be productive of great good to the cause of music in our country.

That a large proportion of the scheme is practical I feel certain; and that excellent results and impressive performances could be obtained with such a mass-chorus properly drilled I am convinced, *provided suitable music is selected.*

The appropriateness of inaugurating this work for the Columbian celebration is undoubted, if for no other reason than the general interest which it would awaken in polyphonic music over the whole country; and I hope that the endeavor will be made.

Yours truly,

THEODORE THOMAS.

A CATHOLIC ON THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

THE ordinary non-Catholic, when he considers the relation of the Catholic Church to the problem of general education, finds himself face to face with an imaginary solid phalanx marching forward to sweep the American public-school system off the face of the land. As he has been taught that the American school system—by which he means, of course, the system of common education in vogue in parts of the United States—is a glorious thing, and in some way responsible for the prosperity of this country, he resents this imaginary attempt to reduce the people to that condition of barbarism which existed before children were fed in equal doses from the big public-school spoon. In searching literature for an illustration of this process of education, one finds it in dear Mrs. Squeers's impartial distribution of sulphur and molasses to her husband's pupils at Dotheboys' Hall.

Even the extraordinary non-Catholic, while having doubts about the splendor of our school system, has greater doubts about the intentions of the church. He has a vague belief that Catholics, who may be individually very reasonable and almost indistinguishable from other Americans, will at a moment's notice form into close ranks behind mitres and crosiers, and capture the public schools or destroy them for the greater political glory of the church.

Usually it does not enter our friend's mind to imagine that the American citizen preferring the Catholic faith has any vital, personal, human interest in the educational question. If the public schools are good enough for the Methodist, the Congregationalist, the Agnostic, why does the Catholic object to them otherwise than because Rome, for purposes of political aggrandizement, insists that he shall keep his children out of them, if possible? This is his question.

It must be confessed that lay members of the church take little trouble to answer it. They have got into the habit of forcing the burden of representing them on the shoulders of their bishops and priests. It is a very bad habit, and one that has created dry-rot in the social life of older countries. It leads to a condition of indolent cynicism which destroys alike true religion and true patriotism. There are times when laymen must speak for themselves out of the fulness of faithful and pure hearts. They are the fathers of children; on them rests the responsibility of making the family a firmer factor for the good of the race. The bishops and priests teach and direct and at times lead; they are the spiritual fathers of the people; but the heaviest responsibility is on the natural fathers who cannot shift it from themselves. The Catholic religion recognizes this so deeply that her priests will not adminster the regenerating sacrament of baptism to a child without parental consent; thus the parent is admitted to have greater power over his child than that of life and death. Parental rights are paramount.

Another reason why we Catholic laymen seem to have so little to say on subjects of a religious complexion is that our creed fits us so closely that it is part of ourselves. It is not a hair shirt, but a very easy vestment. Nothing is gained, except discomfort, by trying to force it on others whom it might not fit and who might get tired of it. And, believing as we do that religion is, first of all, a matter of correspondence between God's grace and man's will, we have perhaps a well-founded distrust of our efforts towards the conversion of people whose invincible ignorance in matters spiritual may be a stronger plea for them at the throne of mercy than that enlightenment by which many of us profit so little. Speaking for myself, I know non-Catholics whom I never meet without intense admiration for their elevation of thought and action, or without intense self-abasement and regret that I, walking in all the splendor of the spouse of Jesus Christ, am so much less worthy of the gift of faith. I wish earnestly that to the lustre of their virtues were added the consolations and safeguards which the church gives to her children. I hope that they are Catholics of the invisible church and one with the visible church in the communion of saints.

Knowing, as most Catholics do, many Protestants of the highest character, the Catholic is neither aggressive nor apologetic. He is easy and comfortable in his relations with men who respect his belief; he leaves the expression of religious truth to his spiritual instructors; he believes in the omnipotent power of prayer, although his fear of seeming to imitate the prevalent religious cant may induce him to say nothing about it. But,

nevertheless, he holds that the most precious possession his children can have is that of faith in Christianity; and Christianity in all its fulness, in all the perfection of its divine evolution through the centuries since the coming of our Lord, is held and taught only by the church.

Now, much as he may admire his Protestant friends, of naturally good dispositions, environed by circumstances which strengthen their natural goodness, he asks: How can their children, surrounded by the atmosphere of a time and a language permeated with the influence of neo-paganism, retain Christian morality without deep faith in Christian dogmas as safeguards for the practice of that morality? Public-school education does not supply these; the Sunday-schools are in the long run useless, and the old-fashioned orthodox Protestant family training has irretrievably gone out of fashion. It was a good thing while it lasted; but it had no qualities of permanency. It admitted the right of private judgment in religion,—of private interpretation of the Scriptures,—and "all went loose," as the Germans say. Besides, its Calvinism brought about reaction.

Rationalism in Germany and agnosticism in England are logical conclusions from the free thought in matters of religion enjoined by Protestantism; infidelity in France and Italy is a revolt against the church which commands "Credo" to be the final answer to all doubts concerning the divine origin of Christianity or the divine inspiration of the Scriptures. The irresistible tendency of Protestantism is to revert to its original element; to the element of human protest against dogmatic restrictions and supernatural claims. The tendency of the time is to explain the supernatural by the preternatural. It is easy to believe that science can work a miracle, but very hard to believe that God can work it directly, unaided by science.

In view of this tendency, which permeates literature, which pushes itself forward in the lecture-hall, and even into the pulpit, which colors the matter and manner of the newspaper writer and reporter, which is the energy of the time and the breath of its nostrils, where can a father turn if he believes that the infallible Christian faith taught by the infallible church is the only salvation and safeguard for his children? Where is he to turn for that strengthening of character, spiritual and moral, which he feels his children must have in order to save themselves and to be conservative Christian forces in society? He cannot depend on family teaching only, for fathers are busy and mothers careworn. Such teaching, at best, would be intermittent. He knows that an hour a week in the Sunday-school devoted to the preservation of the religion which Christ died to promulgate, which is the only refuge from anarchy and despair and destruction, is like a mere scratch on the surface of that *tabula rasa*, the child's heart. He knows that a school, public or private, in which the only ackowledgement of the great force that raised earth to heaven and brought heaven to earth is the recitation of the Lord's prayer and the perfunctory reading of a translation of a book that, humanly speaking, is contradictory and incomprehensible, cannot fill his child with a sense of the preciousness of Christianity, of admiration for its awful mysteries, of reverence for its rites, or arm him with that safeguard of safeguards, the habit of frequenting the confessional. A Catholic would rather see his only son die in the flower of youth than know certainly that that son would never use the means provided by the church for the cleansing of his soul from the sins which kill its life.

This has been said to show that Catholic laymen have the most profound interest in the question of education. They do not submit to a double tax for

school purposes merely out of "pure cussedness," nor out of "blind obedience" to the voice of Rome. The voice of Rome is the voice of God and their own consciences; but, if Rome had not spoken, no thoughtful Catholic could conscientiously accept entirely secular education for his children: therefore the present public-school system does not satisfy him. He strains every nerve to send his children to Catholic schools. When this is impossibe, he does the best he can.

Primarily, he cares nothing for the aggrandizement of what is called the political power of the church. He knows there are men—professional politicians—only too willing to avail themselves of the prestige that may be acquired by seeming to be the familiars of prelates of the church,—men who use this association, as women anxious to get into "society" use their "church connections" and charitable plans, for purposes of their own. And he knows, too, that, while a prelate or a priest may accept in his charitable efforts the help of such men, the priest or prelate is obliged to take the risk of seeming to have political affiliations, because it is impossible to snub a politician who is *so* kind to the orphans and *so* anxious for the glory of God's house. One may distrust the Greeks when they bear gifts, but it is sometimes impossible to kick them out, for the gifts might go with them. And gifts when there are churches to be supported, and hospitals to be founded, and schools to be built, and asylums to be freed from debt, and orphans to be brought up in the belief and practice of Christianity, are not to be neglected, unless they are plainly the wages of sin.

Nevertheless, none of us desires great material possessions for the church or the religious orders of the church; nor that the church and state in this country shall be united; neither do we want a prelate of the church whose kingdom is not of this earth to be a political ruler in the land. In fact, we do not think of these things at all. We are prouder of Newman and Manning and Gibbons and Lavigerie than of Richelieu or Wolsey. We have read history with some advantage, and we know that the old world has less to teach than our new world has to learn, but that here, of all countries, the Christian Church is most untrammelled, most free, most respected, because she is least involved in the changing and treacherous sands of politics. We do desire religious and practical education for our children; and it is impossible to get either in the public schools which are the creation of mediocrity for the perpetuation of mediocrities. We must have religious schools, for our children *must* be Catholics in order to be Christians; and therefore, with limited means and at the cost of sacrifices, we are assisting our bishops and priests to form Catholic schools, which, in time, may lose their worst fault—their similarity to the public schools so far as the practical part of education is concerned.

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

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OUR NEW WAR-SHIPS.

BY THE HON. BENJAMIN F. TRACY, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

THE extraordinary departure which the United States has taken in naval construction since 1881, when it possessed not a single modern ship, is sufficiently remarkable to those familiar with all the steps by which it has been accomplished; and to foreigners unaccustomed to American push and energy it seems hardly comprehensible. The lack of interest in naval development in the fifteen years following the war permitted the fleet to fall into a condition of decrepitude and decay that left the United States completely out of the list of naval powers. When the popular demand for a reconstruction of the navy began to arise, shortly after this period, there seemed to be no way to meet it. Information as to progress abroad was scanty, and naval shipbuilding was apparently a lost art in this country. There had been a time, many years before, when our designers and constructors led the world. But that time had long since passed, and meanwhile naval architecture had taken such enormous strides that the expert of thirty years before was only half-equipped for the work of the period.

From this slough the navy was first extricated by the commencement, in 1883, of four steel vessels, the "Chicago," "Boston," "Atlanta," and "Dolphin." They were in every sense experimental—in their design, in the material of construction, and in the mechanics who were employed on them. It was new work, from the ground up. That they were carried to complete

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success, and that they fairly represented the progress of shipbuilding of the period, though not in advance of it, are facts remarkably creditable to all who had a hand in their construction.

The next ships laid down for the navy were begun in 1887, and comprised the "Newark," "Charleston," "Baltimore," "Philadelphia," "San Francisco," "Yorktown," "Concord," "Bennington," and "Petrel." At the time these ships were commenced naval architecture and engineering had advanced materially from the stage represented by the first group, and the new ships were fully up to the progress of the period.

The "Baltimore" and "Charleston" were built from plans procured abroad, and the "Philadelphia" and "San Francisco" were reproductions, more or less modified, of the "Baltimore's" design. The other vessels were designed by the bureaus of the department, and in them were introduced, wherever possible, the best features of the foreign ships.

Following these came two more ambitious vessels of between six and seven thousand tons, both armored, one called a cruiser and the other a battle-ship—the "Maine" and the "Texas." The "Maine" was begun in 1888 and the "Texas" in 1889. The plan of the latter was purchased in England. Both are creditable ships for their size, and will undoubtedly form a valuable part of our future navy.

Since the "Texas" the United States has bought no plans abroad. It has relied upon its own inventive and mechanical capacity. The number of ships begun includes five cruisers of the second class, two gunboats, and a practice vessel. In reference to these, no especial difficulty was presented to an establishment which had accomplished the results already described. Another armored ship of the "Monitor" type, the "Monterey," and a harbor-defence ram of peculiar design, are also well advanced in construction.

In addition to the above, the department has, in the last two years, undertaken the construction of vessels of an entirely novel character. They are experimental, not in the sense in which the "Chicago" and her contemporaries were experimental, because we now know what the shipbuilders and manufacturers of the country can accomplish; but they embrace in their design features so wholly individual and unusual as to represent a second departure in American naval construction.

The vessels of which I speak are of four types : first, Cruiser No. 6 ; second, the armored cruiser "New York" ; third, Cruiser No. 12, commonly known as the "Pirate," and her new consort, No. 13 ; and fourth, the three battle-ships, the "Massachusetts," "Indiana," and "Oregon."

Of Cruiser No. 6 there is not much to be said. She belongs to the recognized cruiser type, but her greater size permits an expansion in those qualities wherein the ordinary cruisers are most defective—coal endurance and sustained speed. Her coal capacity is 1,300 tons, which gives her a radius of action of 13,000 miles, a distance far beyond the average vessel of this type. The additional weight of her machinery enables her to reach not only the guaranteed speed of twenty knots, but a sustained sea speed of nineteen knots, which is certainly two knots above that ordinarily maintained by ships of her class. She has, in addition, unusual protection for her guns and a powerful battery. The main armament consists of four 8-inch and ten 5-inch guns,—fourteen in all,—while the secondary battery comprises twenty-four light pieces. She is a cruiser pure and simple ; but with her sustained speed and remarkable endurance, her powerful battery, and the armor with which she is protected, she is a cruiser of no ordinary character.

Next in order comes the "New York," an armored cruiser of 8,150 tons. The radius of action of the "New York" and her speed are the same as those of No. 6. Her battery is composed of six 8-inch guns, four of which are protected by barbettes and shields of heavy armor, and twelve 4-inch guns, while her heavy protected deck and armor in the wake of the engine spaces form additional defence. She is not only constructed to destroy commerce, but to destroy commerce-destroyers, and of these there are few who would be able to meet her on equal terms.

The "Pirate" and her sister-ship, Nos. 12 and 13, are of an entirely different type. They are fully protected against light guns, and their armament, comprising one 8-inch, two 6-inch, and eight 4-inch guns, with twenty rapid-fire guns, is a match for any armament that the converted commerce-destroyers of the day can carry. Armor protection they have also of a limited character, but their two essential features are coal capacity and speed ; the former gives them a radius of action of 25,000 miles, while the latter, developed by engines of over 20,000 horse-power,

propelling three screws, is placed at a maximum of twenty-two knots and a sustained average of twenty one. They can steam around the world without touching at any point for coal, and they can overtake with ease the fastest trans-Atlantic liner of the day.

Finally we come to the battle-ships. These vessels, which were adopted by Congress, after considerable opposition, at the recommendation of the department, are vessels built for the defence of the coast of the United States. They have been often described, and it is not necessary to repeat the description here. Their speed is high for vessels of this class. Their coal endurance is amply sufficient for the purpose for which they are designed. Their defensive protection is thorough and effective, their belt and redoubt armor being eighteen inches in thickness. As for their battery, the statement made six months ago, that it is the heaviest and most effective battery carried to-day by any ship afloat or projected, has never been disputed. Four 13-inch guns, rising to a height of eighteen feet above the water, eight 8-inch guns at an elevation of twenty-five feet, and four 6-inch guns distributed in various parts of the casemate, form the armament.

These four types of vessels are not imitations. They do not represent any specific class or model existing abroad. Points of resemblance they undoubtedly have, as all ships must have; but in their essential features they are highly individual in character, and in a way not to fall behind, but to surpass, the types they may be called upon to encounter. Perhaps it may be said that no one feature of these ships is unique, but the combination of features which they represent is admitted to be unique on all hands.

Until recently foreign critics have been silent as to the progress of our navy. Beyond an occasional newspaper paragraph little has been said about it, and that little has been of the most cursory description. Very recently, however, the subject has begun to engage attention, and the publication in England, in March last, of an elaborate and carefully-prepared paper, has called forth extensive discussion and awakened considerable interest abroad. This paper is entitled "Some Recent Warship Designs for the American Navy," and was read in March last before the Institute of Naval Architects by Mr. J. H. Biles, a member of the council of the institute and a naval architect of

experience and wide reputation, who had recently returned from a visit of inspection to this country. The essay was followed, at the time, by a long and animated discussion, in which many English naval critics took part.

In order that we may "see ourselves as others see us," it may be well to quote from Mr. Biles's paper some of his comments. It begins with a description of the first four ships of the new navy, the "Chicago," "Boston," "Atlanta," and "Dolphin," and takes in all the important constructions authorized since 1882, including the latest. Considering the state of the art of steel ship-building in America in 1883, it is satisfactory to hear Mr. Biles declare that, in respect to workmanship, "the American ships are quite equal to the best of the English."

As might be expected, Mr. Biles gives special attention to the four types designed since March 4, 1889, which have been referred to above. Of Cruiser No. 6, a vessel of 5,500 tons' displacement, he says:

"The nearest vessels of our navy to this are the belted cruisers, which have armament inferior by two 8-inch guns, and a speed of a knot an hour less. The 'Reine Regente,' in the Spanish navy, is of considerably less displacement, has a thicker protective deck on the flat; but, while she has four 9-inch guns against the four 8-inch guns of this vessel, they have not as good protection, and she has only six 5-inch guns against ten."

Of the "New York"—armored Cruiser No. 2—he says:

"The 'New York' is rated by the Americans as an armored cruiser. She is of a type somewhat between our first-class cruisers of the Edgar class and the 'Blake 'and 'Blenheim,' being practically of the same length and breadth as the latter."

Mr. Biles continues:

"Compared with the Edgar class, this vessel is much more powerfully armed and much better protected. Her sustained sea speed will probably be greater."

Of Cruiser No. 12, whose design, as already stated, is to be reproduced in No. 13, he says:

"No. 12 Cruiser is, however, the most important of the cruisers. She is called a 'commerce-destroyer,' and is popularly known as the 'Pirate.'"

He then gives a table in which he contrasts the speed of the "New York," No. 6, and No. 12 with the fastest British ships, the "Blake" and "Blenheim," from which he concludes that the

American "Pirate" will be a knot and one-half faster than the fastest English ship, and adds:

"From this table it will be seen that our fastest ships will probably be slower than the American fastest ships. In the case of Cruiser No. 12, the fastest American ship, this result will have been attained by giving her a length greater than any warship built or building, by giving her a light armament, thus reducing the crew and all their accompaniments, and by simplifying the structure and arrangements generally. Speed and coal endurance are the features of this vessel which have been specially intensified, and Mr. Secretary Tracy's conception of what is required to destroy commerce seems to have been well worked out by the constructive staff. . . . The building of such a ship as No. 12, which we have nothing to cope with, certainly is an indication of what America is capable of, both in conception and construction, and I have thought it of sufficient interest to lay before this institute for consideration and discussion."

The most important vessels in the new navy, in the opinion of this accomplished English expert, are the three coast-line battleships, "Massachusetts," "Indiana," and "Oregon," having a displacement of 10,298 tons each; and he gives an instructive table in which the general characteristics of these ships are contrasted with those of the eight new battle-ships now under construction in England, each having a displacement of 14,150 tons, and the "Camperdown" and "Anson," of the English navy, with a displacement of 10,650 tons, and the "Sinope," of the Russian navy, of 10,800 tons.

The armament of the three American battleships he describes as follows:

"The armament consists of four 13-inch 35-calibre guns, mounted in two turrets formed with inclined armor 17 inches thick, the horizontal thickness being 20 inches, as shown in Fig. 23. The bases of the turrets are protected by redoubts 17 inches thick, extending from the top of the armor belt to 3½ feet above the main deck. These guns can be loaded in any position.

"In addition to these there are eight 8-inch guns mounted in four turrets as shown in Fig. 24. These turrets are formed of inclined armor 8½ inches to 6 inches thick, which is equivalent to from 10 inches to 7 inches horizontally. These turrets are placed on a deck above the level of the 13-inch guns.

"There are also four 6-inch guns, protected by 5 inches of armor, having 2-inch splinter bulkheads worked around the deck, the ammunition being served up inside these bulkheads. There are twenty-eight small rapid-firing guns and six torpedo tubes. The conning tower is 10 inches thick. The 13-inch guns are 17 feet 8 inches above the water, and 6 feet above the deck over which they fire. The 8-inch guns are 24 feet 9 inches above the water, and the 6-inch guns 14 feet 10 inches. The 8-inch guns can fire over the tops of the 13-inch, and 10r considerable angles across the middle line of the ship. With such a large armament, the question of the supply of ammunition is a most important one, and seems to have been very well worked out. Each gun has

its own magazine almost directly underneath it, below the belt-deck, and therefore protected by thick armor, so that there are no ready-use magazines in comparatively unprotected positions.

"The engines are 9,000 horse-power, and a maximum speed of 16¼ knots is expected, and a sustained sea speed of 15 knots.

"The coal-bunkers will stow 1,800 tons of coal. The estimated radius of action at 10 knots with this supply of coal is 16,000 miles. The (normal) supply of coal (or the quantity of coal that could be carried on the trial trip) is 400 tons."

Mr. Biles adds:

"The armament of these vessels seems to be more powerful than that of any European battle-ship. . . . Of course, in order to attain this result, something has had to be sacrificed; or rather something is not existent in these ships which exists in the larger ones. (The English battle-ships are 14,150 tons' displacement.) The speed estimated, compared with our latest battle-ships, is probably about one and a quarter knots less. The (normal) coal supply (or quantity to be carried on speed trials) is 500 tons less."

Mr. Biles further states:

"As these vessels will probably have to act very much nearer their base than European vessels, their bottoms will probably be in better condition, so that the real speed would not be much, if any, less. For the same reason their coal supply need not be so large, and therefore it would seem that their preponderance of armament would give them an advantage in a combat near their own coast-line with any European vessel. They are distinctly superior in most respects to any European vessels of the same displacement, and for the purposes intended, of protecting the American coast-line, they seem to be quite a match for any ships afloat."

It will be seen from these extracts that Mr. Biles has little to say of the American designs except by way of commendation. It is worth while, however, to turn to the other side of the picture, if it has another side, and see how far, in the discussion which the paper raised, the new designs have been made the subject of adverse judgment. It is right that the American public should know, and, above all, that they should rightly estimate, the criticisms to which the work of their naval constructors is subjected; that, if the objections that are raised to this work are valid, they should understand it. But, on the other hand, it is equally important that they should not be misled by errors of statement into the supposition that the new navy is not all that their fancy painted. The opinion of foreign critics is only valuable as throwing a side-light upon our labors. Apart from this, it is a subject neither of congratulation nor of concern.

The principal criticism called forth by the paper read before the Institute of Naval Architects is contained in an editorial

article in the London *Times* of April 6, which reproduces closely the general comment made by Mr. White, the chief constructor of the English Admiralty, in the discussion which followed the reading of Mr. Biles's paper.

"For some time," says this article, "they [the United States] were content to import their designs for warships from Europe. Even now there is, we believe, no American warship actually ready for sea which was not built from European designs or imitated from existing European patterns."

But it also declares that the Americans

"are now dealing independently, and, as it seems to many, rather too boldly and light-heartedly, with the problems which have long engaged ourselves. Our own extensive experience, and our frequent disappointments with the contrast between expectation and reality, between theory and practice, between calculations on paper and realized results at sea, have perhaps made us a little more cautious and distrustful at innovation than it behooves an inventive and ingenious people like our American cousins to be. If the greater boldness of the American designers is really based on sound judgment, and not merely on lack of experience, we need not regret it. We shall in the long run profit equally by their experience, whether it results in failure or in success."

What the *Times* characterizes as the "boldness and novelty" of the new American designs are the logical result of a decision to adapt the designs of ships of the American navy to the necessities of our situation. What is a good ship for England or France is not necessarily a good ship for the United States. Nor would it be in any sense a praiseworthy feature of American designs that they were only a slavish imitation of European models. England has colonies and dependencies in every quarter of the globe, and her commerce must be protected in every sea. Her battle-ships are designed to cross oceans and to maintain an offensive warfare at distant points. American battle-ships were not designed to cross oceans, but are for the protection of our own shores and coastwise cities, as their name implies.

The criticism made of the battle-ships has been confined to two points: first, their apparent lack of coal endurance, and, second, the arrangement of their batteries. As to the first point, the American ships are designed to carry only 400 tons of coal at the load-line, whereas English designers give 900 tons to ships of similar type having a displacement of 10,000 tons and upwards. Great stress is laid upon this supposed lack of coal endurance in our battle-ships, notwithstanding the fact that they have a bunker capacity for 1,800 tons. The coal endurance of a ship is deter-

mined by the capacity of its bunkers. As coal endurance is estimated, our battle-ships have a possible radius of action of 12,000 miles—much greater than any battle-ship of Europe. The quantity of coal to be carried will be regulated by the immediate service to which the ship is to be put. With 600 tons on board, the top of the armored belt will be two feet six inches above the water-line—exactly the height of the belt of most European battle-ships of 10,000 tons' displacement.

Now, in adjusting the "antagonistic elements" of weight, of battery, of armor, coal endurance, and speed, all constructors accord to each the weight best calculated to accomplish the purpose for which the ship is intended, keeping in mind that only so much weight can be put on board a ship of given displacement, and that its offensive and defensive power is the result of the adjustment of these more or less antagonistic features. The department in its recent designs has given especial prominence to what in each type was deemed the most important feature, mindful that it must sacrifice those that are of less consequence.

The first and chief characteristic of a battle-ship should be its ability to destroy its adversary, and this depends on the strength of its armament. The second should be its ability to prevent being destroyed, and this depends on the strength of the armor with which its hull and battery are protected. The third feature should be its speed, and the fourth its coal endurance. These last are necessarily subordinate features. Acting near the base of supplies, it would be useless to load the bunkers of our ships with 900 tons of coal, the usual allowance to English battle-ships of a similar size. We think it better to take 500 tons from coal and put it into armor and armament. A further saving of weight lies in our moderate freeboard. Steering a middle course between the low hulls of the original monitors and the towering proportions which have been attained by an extravagant reaction from that system, resembling the great four-story structures of three centuries ago, we have placed our 13-inch guns eighteen feet above the water-line, to enable our ships to fight bows on in almost any sea, while above them are the 8-inch guns, twenty-five feet from the water, which could be fought in a hurricane. Economizing weights in these two respects has enabled our constructors to give to our battle-ships a battery more powerful and more efficient than that of any ship yet designed or afloat.

That we have succeeded in this respect is not denied by any of our critics, while, at the same time, we have thickness and strength of armor, giving the ships defensive power substantially as great as that of the "Royal Sovereign" class, the latest product of English designs in battle-ships.

The second criticism on the battle-ships relates to the disposition of the guns. "English designers," said Mr. White, "laid most stress upon the risk of interference." "It was specially arranged that one part of the armament should not be able to obstruct the use of another." Mr. White expresses doubt whether this rule has not been disregarded in the arrangement of the batteries of the battle-ships, and *The Times* says:

> "The enormously powerful and varied armament is so disposed that, according to Mr. White, the very serious danger would be incurred of the fire of some of the heavy guns interfering with that of others."

Upon this question of interference the English critics are singularly in error. The salutary rule referred to by Mr. White has not been overlooked by the American constructors. The batteries of our battle-ships, powerful and varied as they are, are so arranged that the fire from no one of the large guns will interfere in the slightest degree with that of the others. Nor will the vicinity of the turrets of the 13-inch guns, as *The Times* appears to think, prevent the efficient use of the 8-inch guns on the upper deck.

The maximum fire with all the guns is permitted on the broadside.

All guns that are mounted to train directly fore and aft, from either bow or stern, have this fore-and-aft fire; and in addition to this capacity, the 8-inch guns on what may be called the off-side may be trained five degrees across the bow. Removable tops or breaks are placed to prevent a greater train than this; but should the commander desire to direct the off-side 8-inch guns to fourteen degrees on the fighting side for an emergency, this could be done, and no danger would result if the precaution were taken, for this given round of emergency, to remove the observers from the conning tower.

The mounts are so arranged that the depression ceases at five degrees in the 8-inch guns, which absolutely prevents any interference of fire at any train with the 13-inch turrets. The subject of interference of fire was thoroughly considered, and all its bear-

ings understood and appreciated, in laying down the battery plans of the vessel.

To resume: there is an arc of but eight degrees for 8-inch guns on the off-side, that is, the non-fighting side, of the ship, which, without precautions, it would be undesirable to utilize. The whole of the remainder of the train is at the disposition of the commander.

The arrangement is such that one of these ships will be able to deliver a bow or stern fire of two 13-inch guns and four 8-inch guns, throwing 3,200 pounds of steel at every volley, while, as is stated by a Philadelphia correspondent in the same number of *The Times*, "in a single broadside volley there will be over two and one-half tons of metal, and in the first ten minutes of an engagement one ship will hurl 28,400 pounds of steel."

To account for the success of the American designers in placing upon a ship of 10,300 tons a heavier battery than English designers had placed on a ship of 14,150 tons, and substantially as heavy armor, it has been surmised that the American constructors had used lighter scantling, producing lighter and weaker hulls. But a reference to the detail drawings will show that this surmise is entirely without foundation, and that the American hulls, instead of being lighter, are actually heavier than those of the English battle-ships. To illustrate: the most important of scantlings, namely, the thick outside plating below the outside armor, which includes all the under-water part of the ship, is of the same thickness on the American vessels as on the "Royal Sovereign," a vessel of nearly 4,000 tons' greater displacement, and is from one and one-half to two pounds heavier per square foot than on English battle-ships of 10,600 tons' displacement.

Another surmise offered in the discussion before the institute to explain the American solution of the problem of weights was that we had probably reduced the quantity of ammunition below the European allowance. This is also an error, although, in view of the field upon which these ships are to operate, it might have been safe to reduce somewhat the quantity of ammunition. As a matter of fact, the number of rounds for the large guns is about the same as that allowed on battle-ships abroad.

Turning from battle-ships to cruisers, we find that criticism proceeds from the same narrow stand-point. It fails to consider that Americans, in building cruisers, as in building battle-ships,

have followed the universal rule that the ship must be adapted to the situation and the service in which she is to be used. For our own purposes, therefore, we have improved upon the designs which, to quote the London *Times*, we have hitherto "been content to import from Europe."

Cruisers can be regarded as part of the fighting force only in a restricted sense. They are the eyes of the fleet, and are intended to watch the enemy. They serve somewhat the purpose of cavalry in a land force, not only as scouts, but for rapid movements at different points to worry and harass the hostile fleet, and to make sharp and rapid raids chiefly upon his commerce. If the United States should be engaged in war, these cruisers, in order to reach the most important lines of commerce, would have to steam some three thousand miles from our own shores. For this purpose cruisers built upon European plans would be of little or no value. The "Baltimore" and the "Philadelphia," the designs of which, as *The Times* says, were "imported from Europe," have an estimated coal endurance of 9,000 miles, but in actual practice not more than 7,000 miles. Sent out in time of war to attack one of the lines of an enemy's commerce, these cruisers would no sooner reach their destination than they would be compelled to start on their homeward voyage. Their endurance is not sufficient for them to remain even a week in their field of operations. It is for this reason that in our recent designs which have not been imported the purpose has been to increase very largely this element of coal endurance.

Cruiser No. 6, whose contract speed is twenty knots for four hours in the open sea, carries 400 tons of coal, at the designed water-line, but has a bunker capacity of 1,300 tons, which gives her an estimated endurance at ten knots, with full coal supply, of 13,000 miles. The "New York," having the same speed, carries 750 tons of coal at the designed water-line, and has a bunker capacity of 1,500 tons, giving her an estimated endurance, under similar conditions, of 13,500 miles. Finally, protected Cruiser No. 12, whose contract speed is twenty-one knots for four hours in the open sea, and which carries 750 tons of coal at the designed water-line, and has a total bunker capacity of 2,000 tons of coal, has an estimated endurance of 25,000 miles. Possibly the radii of action claimed for these vessels will not be fully realized in actual service. In estimating coal endurance, it is assumed that the coal is perfect, that

the sea is smooth, and the bottom clean. But as these conditions are rarely attained on board a ship in commission, the radius of operation of a vessel must necessarily contain a speculative element.

Basing our estimates, as we do, upon quantities of coal consumed per indicated horse-power per hour, similar to those adopted in calculating the endurance of contemporary English designs, the estimates are valuable as furnishing a comparative statement of the endurance of different ships, although it would seem that the Americans, in their estimates, have reduced materially the probable error. In the case of the "Blake," for instance, with 9,000 tons' displacement, and a coal capacity of 1,500 tons, her endurance at ten knots is estimated at 15,000 miles, while the "New York," having a coal capacity of 1,500 tons, and a displacement of 8,900 tons with that amount of coal on board, has an estimated endurance of only 13,500 miles. While the English proceed upon the theory that one ton of coal will drive the "Blake" ten miles at ten knots' speed, we only claim for our estimate that one ton will drive the "New York" nine miles at the same speed. The greater accuracy of the American figures is shown in a still more marked degree by a comparison of the "Blake" with Cruiser No. 6. We estimate that Cruiser No. 6, with 1,300 tons of coal on board and then having a displacement of 6,400 tons, will have an endurance of 13,000 miles, while the English claim for the "Blake," carrying 1,500 tons of coal and having a displacement of 9,000 tons, an endurance of 15,000 miles. It thus appears that for a 6,400-ton ship we allow the same amount of coal per mile that the English allow for a vessel of 9,000 tons. In the case of No. 12, we have an additional advantage in the economical working of the third screw, as a result of which, in ordinary cruising, it will only be necessary to use a single engine, and the consumption of coal will, therefore, be less than in any twin-screw ship of the same design.

Until, however, actual experience has been had under many and varied circumstances at sea, neither nation will be able to predict with accuracy the coal endurance of its ships of war. Even in the matter of speed *The Times* believes that the "Blake" will have the advantage over No. 12. The contract for No. 12 requires that she steam in the open sea for four hours at the rate of twenty-one knots, with a pressure in her fire-room not exceeding

an average of one inch. The estimated speed of the "Blake" with forced draught over a measured mile in smooth water is twenty-two knots. Judging from the results of trials made under these two different conditions, an Englishman would be forced to admit that for continuous steaming at sea the probable advantages would be all on the side of the American vessel.

If the bunkers of No. 12 are filled with 2,000 tons of coal, her displacement will be 9,000 tons, exactly that of the "Blake" carrying 1,500 tons of coal. The designs and workmanship being equal, the speed of the ship may be roughly estimated by the weight of her boilers and engines. These in No. 12 weigh 300 tons more than in the "Blake," while the boilers have a heating surface of more than 45,000 square feet, as against 33,000 in the English vessel. The American vessel is also thirty-seven feet longer and has seven feet less of beam. Therefore if Cruiser No. 12, even when carrying a third more coal, is not a much faster ship than the "Blake," all the theories of naval architects and modern engineers are entirely at fault.

But the most remarkable error found in the editorial of *The Times* remains to be considered. The article says: "There are, moreover, other estimates of a highly speculative character in the American calculations of the speed and coal endurance of their ships. The area of heating surface allowed in the designer's estimates for each unit of indicated horse-power is considerably smaller in the American calculations than the area adopted by the Admiralty as the result of practical experience." As the area of heating surface allowed by the designers for each unit of indicated horse-power is an important factor in determining the ability of a ship to maintain her speed at sea, it becomes important to ascertain whether *The Times* is correct in this statement. Looking into the question, we find that the area of heating surface for each indicated horse-power in the (three) English ships is as follows:

ENGLAND.

	Indicated horse-power.	Heating surface.	Ratio.
"Blake"	20,000	34,000	1.650
"Edgar"	12,000	20,000	1.667
"Latona"	9,000	16,000	1.777
Belted cruisers	9,000	15,900	1.767
	8,650	16,055	1.856
"M" class	9,000	14,000	1.555
	10,000	14,000	1.400
"Archer" class	3,850	5,900	1.532
"Anson" and "Benbow"	11,700	20,244	1.730
"Nile" and "Trafalgar"	12,800	19,390	1.515
"Victoria" and "Sans Pareil"	14,350	20,000	1.394

In the latest American designs we have the following:

UNITED STATES.

	Indicated horse-power.	Heating Surface.	Ratio.
"New York"	16,000	33,120	2.070
No. 6	13,500	28,299	2.096
No. 12	22,000	45,341	2.061
No. 13	22,000	49,150	2.234
"Newark"	8,868	16,736	1.887
"Yorktown"	3,398	8,092	2.381
"San Francisco"	9,913	20,134	2.031
"Charleston"	6,666	15,577	2.337
"Philadelphia"	8,815	20,458	2.321
"Concord"	3,404	8,092	2.377
"Vesuvius"	3,795	8,981	2.366
"Baltimore"	10,065	17,175	1.707

From the above table it appears that, with the single exception of the "Baltimore," every one of our latest designs has a higher ratio of heating surface to indicated horse-power than appears in any of the English ships referred to, and the "Baltimore," being of English design throughout, might properly go into the English column. This high ratio of heating surface means less work for each square foot, and consequently greater endurance and longer life for the boilers, and it effectually disposes of *The Times's* criticism.

It is not, however, necessary to pursue further the study of our neighbors' comments. Most of them which are adverse in character are clearly based upon a misconception of the facts. If our European friends insist upon underrating the qualities of our naval vessels, it is a thankless and unnecessary task to undeceive them. Some of them have made similar mistakes before, and have found out their error only after bitter experience. But it is important that the operations of the Navy Department, inviting the intelligent scrutiny of every citizen, should not be misconstrued by our own people through any inaccuracy of statement.

B. F. TRACY.

BRUTALITY AND AVARICE TRIUMPHANT.

BY GENERAL RUSH C. HAWKINS.

WOULD it be unpatriotic or in ill adjustment with current facts to suggest that the motto in our national coat-of-arms should be removed, and in its place inserted, "Plundering Made Easy"? Our contribution to the world's history for the last thirty years would, I think, sustain the recommendation for such a change. From the beginning of the Rebellion to the present time insatiable greed, practically uncontrolled by law or by any decent show of regard for morality or rights of property, has swept over our land, a mighty, invisible power for evil. The self-respect of the community has been impaired or destroyed, and we have permitted the unscrupulous classes to give us the reputation throughout the civilized world of a nation of political tricksters and business sharpers.

Let us glance at some of the darker chapters of our recent record. In 1861 an army of dishonest contractors selected a struggling people for their victims. Their frauds were notorious and enormous, amounting to scores of millions. Few among them were arrested and none were punished.

As examples of the frauds perpetrated upon the army during the Rebellion, I will give an account of two which came within my own experience.

In the autumn of 1861 I received on the same day, at Hatteras Inlet, two invoices. One was for army shoes; for soles many had shavings-fillings concealed beneath a thin cover of the poorest quality of sole-leather. They were worthless—unequal to a single day's wear. The other invoice was for two hundred rifle-muskets: they were from a lot that had been condemned by a foreign government as being unfit for service. It was rumored at the time that their purchase was effected through the agency

of a rather high government official. Only sixty of these pieces were issued for use, and thirteen of these were disabled at the first discharge. My representations to the proper government officials, describing fully the nature of these swindles, produced no effect whatever; neither exposure, arrest, nor punishment followed. The probabilities are that individuals having political influence were engaged in each.

Possibly the most successful of all the swindles upon the people during the Civil War was the selling and chartering of worn-out vessels to the government. For the purpose of this paper it is only necessary to describe one transaction. In the winter of 1865 the government was asked to purchase two old hulks for use in the quartermaster's department. A commission of honest experts, consisting of a seaman, a shipbuilder, and a constructing engineer, was appointed. But such a commission was not wanted by the owner; and before it had time to inspect and report upon values he induced the government to appoint another, which in due time reported the hulks to be worth $650,000; and the Quartermaster-General, by very high authority, was ordered to purchase them at that valuation. The payment was made when the Rebellion was near its end, when the government had many vessels for sale and little need for water transportation. Within four months after the purchase the two hulks were offered at public auction for sale, and $35,000 was the best bid received. This swindle was opposed with great energy and warmth by the then Secretary of the Treasury, the Quartermaster-General, and the Third Auditor, but all to no purpose. The superior power invoked by the owner and his influential friends gave an absolute order to purchase, which could not be disobeyed.

The foregoing are only typical examples, and by no means represent the variety of gigantic frauds perpetrated by knaves upon a confiding and patriotic people whose sons were pouring out their life's blood for the preservation of their country. I have always believed that, owing to swindling contracts and incompetent and dishonest officials, the expense of putting down the Rebellion was fully one-third more than it ought to have been. To deliberately defraud a grief-stricken people engaged in such a struggle as we had in hand from 1861 to 1865, involving, as it did, such an unprecedented loss of life, was one of the greatest offences which could be committed, and a person engaged and assisting

in its commission reached, in my belief, the lowest depths of human depravity known to the calendar of criminal practices.

Next in the great series of schemes for plunder came the land-grant acts, bribed through Congress, and resulting in the gift to corrupt private corporations, having no claim upon the nation, of valuable public lands which amount, in the aggregate, to a territory larger than the whole of France. These lands were voted away in direct violation of moral right and an enlightened public policy, and the magnitude of these gifts is without precedent in the history of legislation. Only one of the railroads assisted was a national necessity, and that ought to have been built, owned, and managed by the government. All the other lines were constructed far in advance of the demand, and the profits of their construction have gone into the pockets of the rascals who promoted these schemes and carried them to successful consummation.

Our accommodating lawmakers supplemented their enormous land donation to the Pacific railroads with loans of government bonds amounting in the aggregate to sixty-five millions of dollars. The voting-away of public domain was bad enough, but the granting of those loans, pledging the credit of the whole people for their payment, for the use of business corporations, or, rather, as it turned out, for the benefit of a little cabal of promoters, was infinitely worse and possibly more corrupt.

Railroad-wrecking is another favorite American industry, which has enriched a set of individuals whose presence would adorn penal institutions. Their formula is very simple: Obtain voting power from enough stock to secure control of any railroad, the most or the least successful—it matters not which; create a floating debt, decrease earnings, depreciate the value of property, cease paying interest, have a receiver appointed, foreclose and sell the whole franchise to ring purchasers, who reorganize in their own interests by creating a new bonded debt and issuing large amounts of stock. The bonds from the time of their issue pay interest, and dividends upon stock are sometimes paid within the first year after reorganization. This scheme usually deprives small holders of a material portion of their income, and, in its results generally, is among the most cruel of our peculiar rascalities. The railroad receiver is an American specialty, invented for a specific purpose, and unknown to any European country.

For many years land-stealing from the government has been among the popular and profitable occupations of a considerable number of our citizens. This particular specialty in dishonesty is not confined to class or condition. Rich and poor alike are adepts, and many of the representative men of exceptional influence in the West are now enjoying an edifying Christian repose based on the proceeds of their unlawful takings of the public domain.

Not many years ago the well-known "star-route thieves" were found out. If I remember correctly, about six millions was the amount involved in their special operations; the rascals were indicted and tried in Washington, and of course acquitted. One among their number was well known among the Republican faithful as being an adept in practical politics, who during a certain Presidential campaign had assisted in disbursing a very large sum of money among the corrupt voters of a Western State. For this and other political services a great dinner was given to him, at which the Vice-President-elect of the United States presided. This case must be regarded as one of the results of our "superior civilization." It has been often stated, and, so far as I know, not contradicted, that those "star-route" adepts were very successful in the practice of the arts which lead to the transferring of government lands to themselves, the transfers usually being made without apparent consideration passing to the grantor.

Another great and favorite industry is stealing standing timber from public lands. This is an abuse of fifty years' duration, and to-day wherever there are trees belonging to the people there can be found the timber-thief with axe in hand. During a certain administration of our navy a timber ring having headquarters in the State of Massachusetts carried on an enormous business in stealing timber from government lands in Florida, and selling it to the Navy Department for building wooden ships when there were none to be built; iron having then entirely superseded wood as a material for government ship-building.

The next item to appear in our list of peculiar national industries is that which has come to be known as "stock-watering." I have forgotten when the first great success in this particularly American specialty occurred, but I believe that New York, in respect to this new fraud, sustained, as usual, its bad eminence. In December, 1868, the directors of a certain great railway com-

pany passed, in substance, a resolution doubling the stock of their corporation. This act was in direct violation both of the corporate charter and of the general railroad law of the State, and in January, 1869, a powerful corps of railroad lobbyists was employed by the officials of that corporation to push through a corrupt Legislature the needed legislation to give life to a deliberate violation of the laws of the State.

From the date of this first colossal offence against public policy and honest commerce, the abuse of stock-watering has assumed gigantic proportions. According to the last "Poor's Manual," we had in operation on December 31, 1890, 161,396.64 miles of ordinary steam surface railroads, which cost, on paper, $9,931,453,146. These are very startling figures, and it is perfectly safe to assert that two-fifths of that amount, viz., $2,972,581,258, represents "water." The street railroads of the country, horse, cable, and electric, could not have cost, including equipment, over $110,000 per mile, but they are stocked and bonded up to about $400,000; and the elevated roads in New York city, which cost less than $17,000,000, are stocked and bonded for more than $60,000,000.

Within the last twenty years many of the great manufacturing industries have merged themselves into corporations or associations, which are called trusts. These also are capitalized for at least three times their actual values.

My estimate of the total of these unwarrantable and dishonest over-issues of stocks and bonds is $5,000,000,000. This constitutes an indirect mortgage upon the national products, industries, and labor of our whole country; and there is a constant struggle, against public welfare and prosperity, to extort from patrons and consumers prices which will pay interest and dividends upon these fraudulently-issued obligations. Corporate bonds are unknown to the laws of European countries. In those older civilizations all stock or debentures issued by railway corporations are sold for face or par value; and if any were issued by officials for less than the stated values, the officials issuing, or rather attempting to issue, them would be arrested for a crime, tried, convicted, and punished as felons.

One of the most facile means in the hands of avarice for cheating the poor and helpless is the "corporation and contractors' store." It is usually owned by corporations whose employees

are the only patrons, and the rule is to sell the poorest possible quality of supplies at the highest price obtainable. In many instances employees are given to understand that they are expected to trade at the company and contract stores, or, failing to do so, will be discharged. This oppressive method of cheating is not confined to any particular part of the country, but prevails, with varying degrees of malignancy, wherever under one management, either corporate, partnership, or individual, any considerable number of employees are assembled together. Since the close of the Civil War many thousands of ignorant blacks have been made the victims of this common and heartless swindle, which has absorbed their scant earnings. At the end of each month, year in and out, it has proved to their untrained minds an astonishing fact that the longer and the harder they worked the more they got in debt to their employers.

Avarice, once let loose, knows no limits, and never halts in its aggressive career. In the pursuit of gain, human life seems of very little consequence. Sham building is another evil that is clearly attributable to the greed of the capitalist; and the worst illustration of this particular evil is the sham American hotel, which is to be found in every part of the country; in the greatest abundance, however, west of Philadelphia. In southern Colorado, last summer, I saw one, large enough for a hundred and fifty guests, built entirely of pine boards and small scantling; no bricks, stone, or mortar was used, save possibly in the foundations. A fire started in the first story would consume such a building in thirty minutes, and few of the inmates located upon the floors above would escape. Certainly seven-tenths of the hotels in the United States have been erected with special reference to cheapness of construction rather than for the safety of guests. The motto of the hotel-builder is: Cover as much ground as possible; herd the greatest number of guests upon the smallest practicable space; and save expense by substituting sham for substance. The burning of a large hotel at Milwaukee a few years ago, and the later destruction of another at Syracuse, sufficiently prove the truth of these assertions.

The facts recited by a recent correspondent* of the New York *Times* will apply to a large majority of existing American hostel-

* T. V. Johnson, Jr.; letter of October 16, 1890.

ries. He says: "Apropos of the burning of the Leland House at Syracuse last night, I wish to call the attention of the public to a little incident which happened to me recently when visiting Syracuse. I met a gentleman of my acquaintance, an old resident of Syracuse, who asked me where I intended to stay. I told him at the Leland House, whereupon he said: 'If you have any regard for the safety of your life, do not by any means go to the Leland House. I watched that hotel all the time it was building, and there is not a brick partition in the whole house—nothing but wood and plaster. If it ever takes fire there will be a terrible loss of life.'" The moral of this story can be readily drawn by those who are interested.

In Europe the construction of public hotels is managed differently. The Grand and Continental, at Paris, the Langham, Grand, Victoria, Métropole, the Inns of Court, and the Avenue Hotel, in London, and others in Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg were erected with special reference to housing a large number of human beings in the safest manner possible. They are, in several instances, like great fortifications; they are so solidly put together, the rooms and floors are so separated by bricks and mortar, that a fire could not spread beyond its original location.

Possibly the usual inflammable tinder-box American theatre is a still completer example of our sham building than the average hotel.

Look, again, at the unprecedented destruction of game upon our continent. It is chiefly caused by avarice. In the forests of the Northern and Eastern States the moose and deer are almost extinct, and the smaller quadrupeds, such as coons and gray, red, black, and flying squirrels, are rapidly passing away. In the West the bear and elk families are fast disappearing; and the wanton slaughter of the great herds of North American bison forms one of the most discouraging chapters in the history of our cruelties. With the construction of the first railroad to the Pacific Ocean commenced this wholesale, indiscriminate destruction. While it lasted, accounts were often published in our newspapers of bison being shot by passengers from the windows of moving trains. In most instances they were wounded and left to die lingering and painful deaths. In this business many brutal Englishmen who "came out to America to shoot" took the lead; but they soon found a numerous following among the callow snobs of our

large cities, who seem to exist only to imitate the follies, vices, and *outré* idiosyncracies of the idle English classes. With the great killing for pleasure came the greater butchering for profit; and so persistently were both pursued that in less than four years the finest and most picturesque of all the animals peculiar to our continent was practically exterminated. During the years 1872–73–74 there were killed of the southern herd 3,698,130, and about 1,000,000 of the northern herd. Five millions of head killed in those years are about the figures of this unparalleled extermination. It is estimated that in the whole of North America there are now 635 American bison running wild and 456 in captivity, making a total of 1,091. These lamentable statistics stand for unprecedented savagery.

The beautiful feathered tribes, lovely songsters of the forest and meadows, have fared no better than their four-footed companions of the prairies and mountains. How well I remember the cheery spring songs incident to the New England meadow! Having once heard them, who could ever forget the liquid jingling notes of the bobolink, the mellow song of the meadow lark, and the joyous trillings of the thrush! The robin, the wren, the ground-sparrow, the woodpecker and jay, and scores of others which came to greet us with their merry chirps and calls with the advent of every spring, are also not to be forgotten. Now in their retreats we see the human biped with gun and bag, shooting down anything that can fly, if only it has a wing or a feather large enough to adorn the head of vanity. To the demands of commerce, the wantonness of the purchaser, and the ignorance of those to whom the power of making our laws is given, we may look for the certain destruction of every species of American song and plumage birds. Before the end of the next fifty years the brute of the bird-gun and bag may hang both upon his wall for want of use.

The proposed fish-culture, while an admirable measure, will be futile unless reënforced and sustained by legislation, which is in many States entirely lacking as yet. The drain upon the food fishes which inhabit the waters near the shores of our continent is very rapidly increasing, and bids fair, within a few years, unless some check is imposed by the Canadian and our own government, to exterminate several valuable species of table fish. The lobster is already fast diminishing, and will be the first to disappear;

then the choicer groups of oysters will go; then the runs of cod-fish will be greatly reduced, and the salmon will probably disappear. The destruction of the latter upon the western coast of a portion of our continent is without precedent. A Canadian official connected with the Bureau of Dominions Fisheries has estimated that in less than twenty years, at the present rate of catching for the canneries, the salmon will be seen no more in its present haunts. Of the many millions taken each season, a large proportion are too young and small for canning, but, instead of being put back in the water, a small piece is cut from the middle of the body and the rest of the fish is thrown away. The brook-trout of the mountain streams were nearly exterminated long ago, and their home disappeared with our forests, never to return until the latter are rehabilitated.

There is the same history with the seal. Lately an official statement has been made to our government to the effect that there are not more than 125,000 fur seals left in the waters of Alaska; coupled with that statement was a recommendation that no more killing should be permitted for a period of seven years. Unless something is done by the united action of Russia, England, and our own government, there is danger of this most valuable of all fur-bearing animals becoming extinct in a very short time.

Yet we have not described thus far what is perhaps the most wanton and wicked cruelty of this sickening history. It is the wholesale and monstrous destruction of domestic stock west of the Mississippi River. It is a well-known fact that from the most northerly to the southern boundaries of our stock-ranges there is neither winter food nor shelter provided for horned cattle or sheep. The old of both kinds and the young are all herded together in the open fields, utterly unprotected from wind, rain, or snow; there is neither shrub, bush, nor tree to shelter them. In many parts of the north and west covered by these feeding fields the snowfall is very deep, and often lasts from three to six weeks. While these snows cover the earth, the grazing stock is absolutely without food. The consequent mortality is appalling. According to official statistics from 12 to 15½ per cent. of the cattle and from 17 to 27½ per cent. of the sheep died from exposure to cold and want of food during the winter of 1889 and 1890. The total number of animals which thus perished is put down at

3,470,600 head. Doubtless the number was much larger, and 4,000,000 would be a more correct estimate of the total.

What a world of pain and suffering these figures suggest! The poor animals relieved by death suffered, perhaps, no more than those that survived only to be mercilessly transported in overcrowded cars and slaughtered at the end of their journey. We may, in my belief, search in vain through all history for a parallel to match that gigantic scheme of cruelty. It continues from year to year, and has continued in an unbroken stream for more than a quarter of a century, without even a protest from lawmakers or the Christian clergy. Christianity, indeed, has neither preached nor practised humanity towards animals. But Sunday-school children by hundreds of thousands are taught what a terrible thing it is to break the Sabbath; museum trustees tremble with pious horror at the suggestion of opening the doors leading to the collections on that day; missionaries by the thousand are sent to the far east, west, and south to convert the kindly heathen from their evil ways—heathen who do not know the A B C of dishonesty and cruelty as practised in Christian America. And so we go on over the world, straining out the gnats of other people and swallowing whole herds of camels at our own doors.

When in Chicago a few months ago, I expressed to a leading citizen of that city a desire to see one of the great slaughtering establishments. With an expression clearly indicating his astonishment at my request, he advised me to avoid such a horrible sight, at the same time saying it was the most disgusting of all occupations, and, as to the slaughter of hogs, most unnecessarily cruel. In the West this industry is very much lauded, possibly for the profits it yields, and the packer is regarded as a representative man, typical of "Western progress."

But if all of our other much-lauded iniquities of avarice could be combined in one, the joint result would sink into insignificance when placed by the side of our two hundred and fifty years of cruel treatment of the Indians.

At Cambridge, in Massachusetts, in the year 1661 was published the first edition of Eliot's translation of the New Testament into the Indian language; and in 1663, in the same town, was issued his complete translation, into the same tongue, of the whole Bible.

In the autumn of 1676, near Dover, Captain Waldron, under

pretence of a sham fight, decoyed a considerable body of peaceful Indians to his camp, and, after depriving them of their arms by deceit, made them prisoners. Two hundred of the number thus captured were sent to the West Indies and sold for slaves, and the good pious Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, who had furnished them with Bibles for the benefit of their souls, reaped the financial results flowing from the sale of their bodies, and recorded themselves as the first of the American colonists to sell human beings into slavery.

From that time to the present, fraud, rapacity, and cruelty are the words which most fittingly describe our intercourse with these helplesss wards of a powerful people. They have been habitually cheated in the quality and quantity of supplies furnished by the government under treaty stipulations. Solemn treaties made with them to-day are broken to-morrow, in the interest of fraud. Indian agents very often are of the spoilsman-politician class, who ally themselves with dishonest contractors for the purpose of promoting schemes to plunder their charges; and often Indians have been provoked—exasperated—to the commission of an offence by unthrifty whites, who would seize such an event as an excuse for an Indian war; their object being the assembling, in a certain non-prosperous locality, of a considerable body of troops, necessitating large expenditures of government moneys. These wretches would burn down a city to roast a pig. Various Indian tribes were concentrated upon reservations, but the cheating continued at the agencies; and now the scheming white settler and the railroad sharp, in the "interest of progress and civilization," declare that the Indians are not entitled to their own, and are bringing to bear upon Congress and Federal officials all the varieties of influence which accomplished rascality can invent to drive them from the rightful possessions.

The late General Harney probably knew as much of the character of the North American Indians as any man that ever lived. His active intercourse with them covered a period of over forty years. He used to say of the savage Indians, before they were contaminated by contact with the whites, that they were the most honest and truthful people he had ever known. He had never caught one in an untruth, and was sure they did not know how to lie. These views were emphatically confirmed by the late General Wool, who used to add that the Indian agents were all thieves.

General Albert Pike, another friend of the Indian, and a believer in the natural nobility of his character, recently died in Washington. He wrote, October 2, 1890:

"I have had much to do with several Indian tribes. I have known a great many of their chiefs; have been counsel for two of the civilized tribes against the United States; have commanded their troops; acted as superintendent, and made treaties as commissioner of the Confederate States; met the five civilized tribes, the Osages, Quapaws, Senecas and Shawnees, the Comanches and Caiawos, Caddos, Aiouais, Kichois, Toncawes, Tawaihâst, Huecos, and Tâwâcâros, and have known many Delawares, Shawânôs, and Skekapos. I think they are the most honest and truthful people in the world, and the most confiding when they give their confidence at all. Not in one instance did those with whom I made treaties ask any change that was not right and fair; and whatever my decision was, it was acquiesced in by all and accepted with perfect contentment. I never knew a claim made to property by any of them, or a claim for compensation preferred, that was not just and reasonable. All the tribes with which I made treaties kept them to the letter and in spirit, in perfect good faith. Up to that [my] time no treaty had ever done complete justice to any Indian tribe. Almost invariably the Indians were tricked and deceived by the whites, their just claims cut down, and most shamefully unjust clauses against them allowed and enforced.

"General Sam Houston said to me once that the United States had never made a treaty with the Indians which they did not deliberately violate; and that was true. All Indians are not alike. The Apaches, it was always said, were treacherous and faithless. The Navajos were neither, but truthful, upright, and honest, and they have been plundered without compunction or shame.

"In my opinion, there has seldom been an Indian war or outbreak that was not caused by violating a treaty or other gross bad faith or wrong dealing on the part of our government or people. For fifty years an invisible line divided the people of Arkansas from the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws; and in all that long time no complaint was made by the Indians against the whites or whites against Indians."

The foregoing is the testimony of an intelligent and disinterested witness of great experience. His estimate of the Indian character is fully sustained by Canadian officials who have, from time to time, had control of the Indian tribes of that country; and, to our everlasting shame, the experience just on the north side of our border proves our iniquity in dealing with our Indians. There, humanity and good faith have dictated the rule of action in dealing with them, and the result is that Canada has never an Indian war, an uprising, or any serious trouble with a single tribe.

On December 3 of last year, the United States Senate discussed a resolution to furnish arms and ammunition to the inhabitants

of North and South Dakota, to enable them to defend themselves against attacks that might be made upon them by the Indians then assembled at Pine Ridge. While debating the resolution Senator Voorhees, of Indiana, made a strong plea for better treatment. His arraignment of the government was unanswerable and effective. Among his remarks occurs the following pathetic appeal:

"I shall not oppose the passage of this resolution, and I shall not vote against the issuance of these arms to the people; but I cannot let it pass, with the feelings I entertain in regard to the administration of our Indian affairs, without a word.

"If the proposition were to issue 100,000 rations and more to the starving Indians, it would be more consistent with Christian civilization than the policy we are now pursuing. When a major-general of the War Department is publicly interviewed and publishes that the Indians are driven to revolt—rebellion, if you please to call it—and to the savagery of the Indian warfare by starvation, it becomes an inexpiable crime, in my judgment, on the part of this government to stand silently by and do nothing except to furnish arms. General Miles has stated to the public, and to me before he did to the public, that these Indians are being starved into hostility, and that they prefer to die fighting to being starved to death.

"I look upon the policy which has been pursued by the administration of Indian affairs as a crime revolting to man and God. I look upon the present outbreak, or the threatened outbreak,—which will bring not merely the destruction of the Indians, but will bathe the snows of the northwest crimson with the blood of our brave soldiers and officers,—as something revolting in the extreme. Instead of sitting here debating election bills and force bills, and providing for the issuance of arms to the States in the northwest, we should be hurrying, anxiously and eagerly, to provide for the feeding of these starving people. General Miles says they have been hungry for the last two years; that they are devoured with hunger, wretched, and perfectly desperate, and would rather die with arms in their hands than with empty stomachs.

"They have no newspapers. Their privations and griefs and sufferings cannot be made known. They have been suffering in silence there for years, while guilt is somewhere."

It is probably true that the North American Indians are not the superior beings described by the witness cited; but what they were or are matters very little. If they were as bad as their worst enemies describe them to be, their imperfections of character would be no excuse for our faithlessness in dealing with them.

The point I desire to make in closing this account of a few of our shortcomings is this: The misdeeds described are perpetrated in the open light of day, and go on year after year without protest either from the Federal or State governments or from

any considerable portion of our people. One of the unwritten mottoes of our business morals seems to say in the plainest phraseology possible : "Successful wrong is right."

The general government finds no difficulty in punishing a counterfeiter who issues false money, be the amount ever so small, or a post-office clerk who takes a few dollars from a letter. But the man who is a power in politics, who steals public lands by the thousands of acres ; the schemer who robs the public treasury of great amounts of money, or the agent who yearly cheats the Indians out of scores of thousands of dollars, is beyond the reach of those who administer and execute our laws. Great knaves who succeed are respected and often admired. Little thieves are regarded as contemptible, and fill our prisons. But the big ones live in palaces, and are usually great powers in the communities in which they live.

Not long ago a French official, an expert in a special department, who had held over from the empire, complained to a friend that he was compelled to employ twenty clerks to do the work done by four under the empire. He was asked if he knew of any reason for the change, and answered : "It is the republic." "But why do you not prevent this abuse ? You are the head of the bureau, and have the power." "Yes, I know I have the power ; but I have been in this position for more than thirty years, and am now too old to learn another occupation ; and I *must* make places for the friends of the deputies." And so it is here. The republic and the friends of the deputies of the people must be favored. Neither the republic nor separate States hinder or check the offences of individuals of political importance, whose crimes are against the property of the people, or of others whose deeds of plundering and cruelty result in considerable profits.

The influence of these offences against civilization is far-reaching and destructive. The fact that a considerable number of individuals obtain great wealth by dishonest schemes and cruel practices is of little moment when compared with the effect their financial successes produce upon particular communities and the country at large. They have established a national standard, and now only one kind of success is acknowledged. Morality has no market value. High character is impracticable, and intellectual achievement pays no dividends. These qualities count for very little in the estimation of the public when compared with the glory of great possessions.

The ownership of millions, no matter how obtained, constitutes a theme of almost national admiration; and if they were stolen outright and their possessor is out of prison, the homage would be about the same. The motto is: "We worship the millions in hand, and no questions asked."

Is it not time that there should be an awakening?

RUSH C. HAWKINS.

IS AVARICE TRIUMPHANT?

BY COLONEL ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

THERE are many people, in all countries, who seem to enjoy individual and national decay. They love to prophesy the triumph of evil. They mistake the afternoon of their own lives for the evening of the world. To them everything has changed. Men are no longer honest or brave, and women have ceased to be beautiful. They are dyspeptic, and it gives them the greatest pleasure to say that the art of cooking has been lost.

For many generations many of these people occupied the pulpits. They lifted the hand of warning whenever the human race took a step in advance. As wealth increased, they declared that honesty and goodness and self-denial and charity were vanishing from the earth. They doubted the morality of well-dressed people—considered it impossible that the prosperous should be pious. Like owls sitting on the limbs of a dead tree, they hooted the obsequies of spring, believing it would come no more.

There are some patriots who think it their duty to malign and slander the land of their birth. They feel that they have a kind of Cassandra mission, and they really seem to enjoy their work. They honestly believe that every kind of crime is on the increase, that the courts are all corrupt, that the legislators are bribed, that the witnesses are suborned, that all holders of office are dishonest; and they feel like a modern Marius sitting amid the ruins of all the virtues.

It is useless to endeavor to persuade these people that they are wrong. They do not want arguments, because they will not heed them. They need medicine. Their case is not for a philosopher, but for a physician.

General Hawkins is probably right when he says that some fraudulent shoes, some useless muskets, and some worn-out vessels were sold to the government during the war; but we must re-

member that there were millions and millions of as good shoes as art and honesty could make, millions of the best muskets ever constructed, and hundreds of the most magnificent ships ever built, sold to the government during the same period. We must not mistake an eddy for the main stream. We must also remember another thing: there were millions of good, brave, and patriotic men to wear the shoes, to use the muskets, and to man the ships.

So it is probably true that Congress was extravagant in land subsidies voted to railroads; but that this legislation was secured by bribery is preposterous. It was all done in the light of noon. There is not the slightest evidence tending to show that the general policy of hastening the construction of railways through the territories of the United States was corruptly adopted—not the slightest. At the same time, it may be that some members of Congress were induced by personal considerations to vote for such subsidies. As a matter of fact, the policy was wise, and through the granting of the subsidies thousands of miles of railways were built, and these railways have given to civilization vast territories which otherwise would have remained substantially useless to the world. Where at that time was a wilderness now are some of the most thriving cities in the United States—a great, an industrious, and a happy population. The results have justified the action of Congress.

It is also true that some railroads have been "wrecked" in the United States, but most of these wrecks have been the result of competition. It is the same with corporations as with individuals—the powerful combine against the weak. In the world of commerce and businsss is the great law of the survival of the strongest. Railroads are not eleemosynary institutions. They have but little regard for the rights of one another. Some fortunes have been made by the criminal "wrecking" of roads, but even in the business of corporations honesty is the best policy, and the companies that have acted in accordance with the highest standard, other things being equal, have reaped the richest harvest.

Many railways were built in advance of a demand; they had to develop the country through which they passed. While they waited for immigration, interest accumulated; as a result foreclosure took place; then reorganization. By that time the country had been populated; towns were springing up along the

line; increased business was the result. On the new bonds and the new stock the company paid interest and dividends. Then the ones who first invested and lost their money felt that they had been defrauded.

So it is easy to say that certain men are guilty of crimes—easy to indict the entire nation, and at the same time impossible to substantiate one of the charges. Every one who knows the history of the star-route trials knows that nothing was established against the defendants, knows that every effort was made by the government to convict them, and also knows that an unprejudiced jury of twelve men, never suspected of being improperly influenced, after having heard the entire case, pronounced the defendants not guilty. After this, of course, any one can say, who knows nothing of the evidence and who cares nothing for the facts, that the defendants were all guilty.

It may also be true that some settlers in the far West have taken timber from the public lands, and it may be that it was a necessity. Our laws and regulations were such that where a settler was entitled to take up a certain amount of land he had to take it all in one place; he could not take a certain number of acres on the plains and a certain number of acres in the timber. The consequence was that when he settled upon the land—the land that he could cultivate—he took the timber that he needed from the government land, and this has been called stealing. So I suppose it may be said that the cattle stole the government's grass and possibly drank the government's water.

It will also be admitted with pleasure that stock has been "watered" in this country. And what is the crime or practice known as watering stock? For instance, you have a railroad one hundred miles long, worth, we will say, $3,000,000—able to pay interest on that sum at the rate of 6 per cent. Now, we all know that the amount of stock issued has nothing to do with the value of the thing represented by the stock. If there was one share of stock representing this railroad, it would be worth three million dollars, whether it said on its face it was one dollar or one hundred dollars. If there were three million shares of stock issued on this property, they would be worth one dollar apiece, and, no matter whether it said on this stock that each share was a hundred dollars or a thousand dollars, the share would be worth one dollar—no more, no less. If any one wishes to find

the value of stock, he should find the value of the thing represented by the stock. It is perfectly clear that, if a pie is worth one dollar and you cut it into four pieces, each piece is worth twenty-five cents; and if you cut it in a thousand pieces, you do not increase the value of the pie. If, then, you wish to find the value of a share of stock, find its relation to the thing represented by all the stock.

It can also be safely admitted that trusts have been formed. The reason is perfectly clear. Corporations are like individuals —they combine. Unfortunate corporations become socialistic, anarchistic, and cry out against the abuses of trusts. It is natural for corporations to defend themselves—natural for them to stop ruinous competition by a profitable pool; and when strong corporations combine, little corporations suffer. It is with corporations as with fishes—the large eat the little; and it may be that this will prove a public benefit in the end. When the large corporations have taken possession of the little ones, it may be that the government will take possession of them—the government being the largest corporation of them all.

It is to be regretted that all houses are not fireproof; but certainly no one imagines that the people of this country build houses for the purpose of having them burned, or that they erect hotels having in view the broiling of guests. Men act as they must; that is to say, according to wants and necessities. In a new country the buildings are cheaper than in an old one, money is scarcer, interest higher, and consequently people build cheaply and take the risks of fire. They do not do this on account of the constitution of the United States, or the action of political parties, or the general idea that man is entitled to be free. In the hotels of Europe it may be that there is not as great danger of fire as of famine.

The destruction of game and of the singing birds is to be greatly regretted, not only in this country, but in all others. The people of America have been too busy felling forests, ploughing fields, and building houses, to cultivate, to the highest degree, the æsthetic side of their natures. Nature has been somewhat ruthless with us. The storms of winter breasted by the Western pioneer, the whirlwinds of summer, have tended, it may be, to harden somewhat the sensibilities; in consequence of which they have allowed their horses and cattle to bear the rigors of the same climate.

It is also true that the seal-fisheries are being destroyed, in the interest of the present, by those who care nothing for the future. All these things are to be deprecated, are to be spoken against; but we must not hint, provided we are lovers of the republic, that such things are caused by free institutions.

General Hawkins asserts that "Christianity has neither preached nor practised humanity towards animals," while at the same time "Sunday-school children by hundreds of thousands are taught what a terrible thing it is to break the Sabbath"; that "museum trustees tremble with pious horror at the suggestion of opening the doors leading to the collections on that day," and that no protests have come "from lawmakers or the Christian clergy."

Few people will suspect me of going out of my way to take care of Christianity or of the clergy. At the same time, I can afford to state the truth. While there is not much in the Bible with regard to practising humanity towards animals, there is at least this: "The merciful man is merciful to his beast." Of course, I am not alluding now to the example set by Jehovah when he destroyed the cattle of the Egyptians with hailstones and diseases on account of the sins of their owners.

In regard to the treatment of animals Christians have been much like other people.

So, hundreds of lawmakers have not only protested against cruelty to animals, but enough have protested against it to secure the enactment of laws making cruelty towards animals a crime. Henry Bergh, who did as much good as any man who has lived in the nineteenth century, was seconded in his efforts by many of the Christian clergy not only, but by hundreds and thousands of professing Christians—probably millions. Let us be honest.

It is true that the clergy are apt to lose the distinction between offences and virtues, to regard the little as the important—that is to say, to invert the pyramid.

It is true that the Indians have been badly treated. It is true that the fringe of civilization has been composed of many low and cruel men. It is true that the red man has been demoralized by the vices of the white. It is a frightful fact that, when a superior race meets an inferior, the inferior imitates only the vices of the superior, and the superior those of the inferior. They exchange faults and failings. This is one of the most terrible facts in the history of the human race.

Nothing can be said to justify our treatment of the Indians. There is, however, this shadow of an excuse: In the old times, when we lived along the Atlantic, it hardly occurred to our ancestors that they could ever go beyond the Ohio; so the first treaty with the Indians drove them back but a few miles. In a little while, through immigration, the white race passed the line, and another treaty was made, forcing the Indians still further west; yet the tide of immigration kept on, and in a little while again the line was passed, the treaty violated. Another treaty was made, pushing the Indians still further toward the Pacific, across the Illinois, across the Mississippi, across the Missouri, violating at every step some treaty made; and each treaty born of the incapacity of the white men who made it to foretell the growth of the republic.

But the author of "Brutality and Avarice Triumphant" made a great mistake when he selected the last thirty years of our national life as the period within which the Americans have made a change of the national motto appropriate, and asserted that now there should be in place of the old motto the words, "Plundering Made Easy."

Most men believe in a sensible and manly patriotism. No one should be blind to the defects in the laws and institutions of his country. He should call attention to abuses, not for the purpose of bringing his country into disrepute, but that the abuses may cease and the defects be corrected. He should do what he can to make his country great, prosperous, just, and free. But it is hardly fair to exaggerate the faults of your country for the purpose of calling attention to your own virtues, or to earn the praise of a nation that hates your own. This is what might be called wallowing in the gutter of reform.

The thirty years chosen as the time in which we as a nation have passed from virtue to the lowest depths of brutality and avarice are, in fact, the most glorious years in the life of this or of any other nation.

In 1861 slavery was, in a legal sense at least, a national institution. It was firmly imbedded in the federal constitution. The Fugitive-Slave Law was in full force and effect. In all the Southern and in nearly all of the Northern States it was a crime to give food, shelter, or raiment to a man or woman seeking liberty by flight. Humanity was illegal, hospitality a misdemeanor,

and charity a crime. Men and women were sold like beasts. Mothers were robbed of their babes while they stood under our flag. All the sacred relations of life were trampled beneath the bloody feet of brutality and avarice. Besides, so firmly was slavery fixed in law and creed, in statute and Scripture, that the tongues of honest men were imprisoned. Those who spoke for the slave were mobbed by Northern lovers of the "Union."

Now, it seems to me that those were the days when the motto could properly have been, "Plundering Made Easy." Those were the days of brutality, and the brutality was practised to the end that we might make money out of the unpaid labor of others.

It is not necessary to go into details as to the cause of the then condition; it is enough to say that the whole nation, North and South, was responsible. There were many years of compromise, and thousands of statesmen, so called, through conventions and platforms, did what they could to preserve slavery and keep the Union. These efforts corrupted politics, demoralized our statesmen, polluted our courts, and poisoned our literature. The Websters, Bentons, and Clays mistook temporary expedients for principles, and really thought that the progress of the world could be stopped by the resolutions of a packed political convention. Yet these men, mistaken as they really were, worked and wrought unconsciously in the cause of human freedom. They believed that the preservation of the Union was the one important thing, and that it could not be preserved unless slavery was protected—unless the North would be faithful to the bargain as written in the constitution. For the purpose of keeping the nation true to the Union and false to itself, these men exerted every faculty and all their strength. They exhausted their genius in showing that slavery was not, after all, very bad, and that disunion was the most terrible calamity that could by any possibility befall the nation, and that the Union, even at the price of slavery, was the greatest possible blessing. They did not suspect that slavery would finally strike the blow for disunion. But when the time came and the South unsheathed the sword, the teachings of these men as to the infinite value of the Union gave to our flag millions of brave defenders.

Now let us see what has been accomplished during the thirty years of "Brutality and Avarice."

The republic has been rebuilt and reunited, and we shall re-

main one people for many centuries to come. The Mississippi is nature's protest against disunion. The constitution of the United States is now the charter of human freedom, and all laws inconsistent with the idea that all men are entitled to liberty have been repealed. The black man knows that the constitution is his shield, that the laws protect him, that our flag is his, and the black mother feels that her babe belongs to her. Where the slave-pen used to be you will find a schoolhouse. The dealer in human flesh is now a teacher; instead of lacerating the back of a child, he develops and illumines the mind of a pupil.

There is now freedom of speech. Men are allowed to utter their thoughts. Lips are no longer sealed by mobs. Never before in the history of our world has so much been done for education.

The amount of business done in a country on credit is the measure of confidence, and confidence is based upon honesty. So it may truthfully be said that, where a vast deal of business is done on credit, an exceedingly large per cent. of the people are regarded as honest. In our country a very large per cent. of contracts are faithfully fulfilled. Probably there is no nation in the world where so much business is done on credit as in the United States. The fact that the credit of the republic is second to that of no other nation on the globe would seem to be at least an indication of a somewhat general diffusion of honesty.

The author of "Brutality and Avarice Triumphant" seems to be of the opinion that our country was demoralized by the war. They who fight for the right are not degraded—they are ennobled. When men face death and march to the mouths of the guns for a principle, they grow great; and if they come out of the conflict, they come with added moral grandeur; they become better men, better citizens, and they love more intensely than ever the great cause for the success of which they put their lives in pawn.

The period of the Revolution produced great men. After the great victory the sons of the heroes degenerated, and some of the greatest principles involved in the Revolution were almost forgotten.

During the Civil War the North grew great and the South was educated. Never before in the history of mankind was there such a period of moral exaltation. The names that shed the brightest, the whitest light on the pages of our history be-

came famous then. Against the few who were actuated by base and unworthy motives let us set the great army that fought for the republic, the millions who bared their breasts to the storm, the hundreds and hundreds of thousands who did their duty honestly, nobly, and went back to their wives and children with no thought except to preserve the liberties of themselves and their fellow-men.

Of course there were some men who did not do their duty—some men false to themselves and to their country. No one expects to find sixty-five millions of saints in America. A few years ago a lady complained to the president of a Western railroad that a brakeman had spoken to her with great rudeness. The president expressed his regret at the incident, and said among other things: "Madam, you have no idea how difficult it is for us to get gentlemen to fill all those places."

It is hardly to be expected that the American people should excel all others in the arts, in poetry, and in fiction. We have been very busy taking possession of the republic. It is hard to overestimate the courage, the industry, the self-denial it has required to fell the forests, to subdue the fields, to construct the roads, and to build the countless homes. What has been done is a certificate of the honesty and industry of our people.

It is not true that "one of the unwritten mottoes of our business morals seems to say in the plainest phraseology possible: 'Successful wrong is right.'" Men in this country are not esteemed simply because they are rich; inquiries are made as to how they made their money, as to how they use it. The American people do not fall upon their knees before the golden calf; the worst that can be said is that they think too much of the gold of the calf—and this distinction is seen by the calves themselves.

Nowhere in the world is honesty in business esteemed more highly than here. There are millions of business men—merchants, bankers, and men engaged in all trades and professions—to whom reputation is as dear as life.

There is one thing in the article "Brutality and Avarice Triumphant" that seems even more objectionable than the rest, and that is the statement, or, rather, the insinuation, that all the crimes and the shortcomings of the American people can be accounted for by the fact that our government is a re-

public. We are told that not long ago a French official complained to a friend that he was compelled to employ twenty clerks to do the work done by four under the empire, and on being asked the reason answered: "It is the republic." He was told that, as he was the head of the bureau, he could prevent the abuse, to which he replied: "I know I have the power; but I have been in this position for more than thirty years, and am now too old to learn another occupation, and I *must* make places for the friends of the deputies." And then it is added by General Hawkins: "*And so it is here.*"

It seems to me that it cannot be fairly urged that we have abused the Indians because we contend that all men have equal rights before the law, or because we insist that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The probability is that a careful reading of the history of the world will show that nations under the control of kings and emperors have been guilty of some cruelty. To account for the bad we do by the good we believe is hardly logical. Our virtues should not be made responsible for our vices.

Is it possible that free institutions tend to the demoralization of men? Is a man dishonest because he is a man and maintains the rights of men? In order to be a moral nation must we be controlled by king or emperor? Is human liberty a mistake? Is it possible that a citizen of the great republic attacks the liberty of his fellow-citizens? Is he willing to abdicate? Is he willing to admit that his rights are not equal to the rights of others? Is he, for the sake of what he calls morality, willing to become a serf, a servant, or a slave?

Is it possible that "high character is impracticable" in this republic? Is this the experience of the author of "Brutality and Avarice Triumphant"? Is it true that "intellectual achievement pays no dividends"? Is it not a fact that America is to-day the best market in the world for books, for music, and for Art?

There is in our country no real foundation for these wide and sweeping slanders. This, in my judgment, is the best government, the best country, in the world. The citizens of this republic are, on the average, better clothed and fed and educated than any other people. They are fuller of life, more progressive, quicker to take advantage of the forces of nature, than any other of the children of men. Here the burdens of government are

lightest, the responsibilities of the individual greatest, and here, in my judgment, are to be worked out the most important problems of social science.

Here in America is a finer sense of what is due from man to man than you will find in other lands. We do not cringe to those whom chance has crowned; we stand erect.

Our sympathies are strong and quick. Generosity is almost a national failing. The hand of honest want is rarely left unfilled. Great calamities open the hearts and hands of all.

Here you will find democracy in the family—republicanism by the fireside. Say what you will, the family is apt to be patterned after the government. If a king is at the head of the nation, the husband imagines himself the monarch of the home. In this country we have carried into the family the idea on which the government is based. Here husbands and wives are beginning to be equals.

The highest test of civilization is the treatment of women and children. By this standard America stands first among nations.

There is a magnitude, a scope, a grandeur, about this country—an amplitude—that satisfies the heart and the imagination. We have our faults, we have our virtues, but our country is the best.

No American should ever write a line that can be sneeringly quoted by an enemy of the great republic.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

COMPULSORY PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MEATH.

IT CAN hardly be doubted that the conditions of modern city life are not favorable to the physical development of the human race. It is true that in cities are to be found the cleverest physicians and the best opportunities for the cure of maladies and the preservation of life. It is true that, owing to the advances made in science and medicine, the vital spark has been kept alight in many a body which in former times would not have been able to sustain the flickering flame. But this preservation of weakly existences is, from a physical point of view, a doubtful benefit to mankind.

In rougher times the strong alone survived, and handed on their strength to succeeding generations ; now the weaklings are enabled to transmit their weaknesses to posterity. Men live more and more in towns and less in the country. Their occupations require, as a rule, less physical strength than those of agriculturists. Mechanical appliances are continually being invented to relieve them from the necessity of exercising their muscles. There are many engaged in sedentary occupations in the large centres of population who have entirely ceased to take any active exercise. They drive to their places of business ; they do not even care to mount the few steps leading to their offices, but prefer to ascend in elevators or lifts ; they remain seated the entire day and drive back to their homes at night, to spend the evening resting on sofas or easy chairs until it is time for bed.

It may be said that this is true only of the rich, and only of a small number even of them ; but, unfortunately, the want of exercise is not confined to them. The extension of easy and cheap means of communication in the large towns of both England and America tempts all classes but the very poorest to start later

and drive by omnibus or train to and from their places of business or occupation. Workingmen also in large numbers make use of the train and the tram, and there are now few trades or occupations in which machinery does not relieve man of much of the hard work which formerly strengthened his limbs.

It is, however, more especially to the physical condition of the children of the working classes living in large cities that I desire now to draw attention. Amongst the lowest strata of society, confinement in crowded workshops and badly-ventilated rooms, unwholesome and ill-cooked food, close courts, narrow streets, and public-house or saloon life conduce to ill health ; and ill health is the parent of weakly children. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the physique of the masses dwelling in cities should slowly but steadily degenerate. That this is the case can hardly be doubted. Compare children in the most neglected village in the country with those to be met in the denser portion of the large towns of England or America. Compare these children with those living in the less crowded parts of the city. In Great Britain, at all events, since the establishment of board schools such a comparison can easily be made. It will be found that the denser and poorer the neighborhood the lower will be the physique of its children. A competition in drill takes place annually between board schools of London, and upon these occasions the above fact becomes distinctly apparent. The School Board of London has shown itself most anxious to counteract amongst the rising generation the physically-deteriorating influences of city life, but until recently its hands have been tied by foolish legislation. Now for the first time board schools throughout England are permitted to teach physical exercises to their scholars, and presumably, therefore, to pay for the necessary instruction and apparatus.

This is a most decided step in advance, but we British must go still further, and not only *permit* school boards to develop the bodies as well as the minds of the children committed to their care, but rather compel or bribe them to take interest in the subject. It will be easier to accomplish the latter than the former, and with this view at the last session I introduced a bill into the House of Lords placing physical exercises, as regards schools in towns with a population of over 15,000, in the category of those subjects which must be taught by every school authority desiring

to obtain the highest government grant. As was naturally to be expected, the government declined to accept the bill, and it had to be withdrawn; but the refusal was couched in terms which give hope that the Education Department is not blind to the needs of the country in this respect, and that it will on a future occasion yield, if the subject be brought forward with sufficient support both inside and outside the House. The bill was a very short one, and contained only one clause, which was as follows:

"The school authority for every elementary school in any populous town shall make fit and proper provision, to the satisfaction of the inspector, for the instruction and practice of all scholars of both sexes in physical education and exercises connected therewith, and no school or department of a school shall receive the higher of the two principal grants under section one hundred and one of the new code of regulations issued by the Education Department during the present session of Parliament, or under any other code for the time being in force, unless the requisition of this section be complied with to the satisfaction of the inspector as aforesaid."

The chairman of the Physical-Education Committee of the London School Board lent most valuable assistance in drafting the bill, and the National Physical-Recreation Society, of which the Right Hon. Herbert Gladstone, M. P., is chairman, on considering the subject, unanimously passed a resolution in favor of physical exercises being compulsory in national schools, and made the following recommendations:

1. That any system of education in which mental training is excessive and bodily training neglected is injurious to the health, strength, usefulness, and happiness of the people, and dangerous to the welfare and safety of the nation.

2. That one half-hour a day, in the afternoon, and not too soon after a meal, should be devoted to bodily training.

3. That the bodily training of boys under eight years of age should consist of marching and free exercises, with or without music.

4. That the bodily training of boys over eight years of age, and under eleven, should consist of marching, running, light dumb-bell and wand exercises, with or without music.

5. That the bodily training of boys over eleven years of age should consist of marching, formation and drill exercises, running, dumb-bells, Indian clubs, horizontal and parallel bars, with or without music.

6. That boys and girls should be taught swimming where practicable.

7. That the bodily training of girls under eight years of age should consist of marching and free exercises, with or without music.

8. That the bodily training of girls above eight years of age should consist of marching, figure-marching, running, free exercises, light dumb-bells, wands, or light Indian clubs, with or without music.

9. That children considered by medical men too weak for bodily training should be exempted therefrom.

10. That such bodily training should be compulsory in all national schools receiving government grants.

11. That the cost of gymnastic apparatus should be defrayed, one-half by the government, and the other half by rates in case of board schools, by subscriptions in the case of denominational schools.

12. That the exercises should take place in the open air in fine weather, or otherwise in schoolrooms, the desks and benches, which should not be fixed to the floor, being removed to the ends of the room.

13. That measurements of the circumference of the chest, arms, and legs, and of the height and weight of the body should be registered half-yearly.

14. That candidates for the office of a national schoolmaster or schoolmistress should be instructed in the training colleges to teach suitable physical exercises.

Although greatly hampered by want of legislative sanction, the London School Board has of late years done much to promote physical exercises. Owing to a grant by the Metropolitan Public-Gardens Association of £400, it was enabled in 1883 to obtain the services of a professional from Sweden to instruct its teachers in the Ling system. These in their turn have imparted instruction to their scholars, and now in most of the London schools Swedish drill without apparatus is taught to the girls, and military drill to the boys.

Until last year not a penny could be expended by a board school on physical exercises, and if it had not been for outside assistance London boys and girls could not have received the above most useful and necessary instruction. What is now wanted in England is some incentive to induce school boards less progressive and intelligent than that of London to look after the physical instruction of their scholars, and it is to be hoped that Parliament will pass some measure which will have this effect. School boards should be encouraged to do more than simply instruct their scholars in military drill. Military drill is by no means to be neglected. It is invaluable as a means of teaching prompt obedience and alertness of mind and body; but Dr. Brookes, of Much Wenlock, has clearly proved by a series of practical experiments that military drill cannot compare with gymnastics in the development of chest and limbs. If a school board cannot afford to purchase gymnastic apparatus, then it should cause both boys and girls to be instructed in Swedish drill, which is in a great measure independent of apparatus, and is scientifically calculated to strengthen in equal degree every muscle in the human body.

The following figures show the difference in the development

of the human frame under a course of gymnastics combined with military drill, and under the latter only:

Statistics of the Drill and Gymnastic Training given to Twelve Boys in the Much Wenlock National School from August 21, 1871, to February 21, 1872.

DRILL AND GYMNASTICS.

Increase, after six months, in the circumference—

Boy.	Of chest.	Of upper arm.	Of forearm.
	Inches. Inches.		
1	From 27½ to 28¾ = 1¼ inch	¼ inch.	Nil.
2	" 28 " 29¾ = 1¾ "	⅛ "	¼ inch.
3	" 30 " 31¾ = 1¾ "	⅛ "	Nil.
4	" 27½ " 29 = 1½ "	⅛ "	Nil.
5	" 28¼ " 30¼ = 2 inches	⅛ "	Nil.
6	" 27½ " 30¼ = 2¾ "	¾ "	½ inch.

Average increase in circumference of chest = 1⅞ inches; *i. e.*, nearly 2 inches.
Exercises: Indian club, vaulting-horse, horizontal and parallel bars.

DRILL ALONE.

Increase, after six months, in the circumference—

Boy.	Of chest.	Of upper arm.	Of forearm.
	Inches. Inches.		
7	From 24½ to 24¾ = ¼ inch	¼ inch.	Nil.
8	" 27¼ " 27¾ = ½ "	¾ "	½ inch.
9	" 29½ " 30 = ½ "	¼ "	¼ "
10	" 26¼ " 26¾ = ½ "	¼ "	Nil.
11	" 25½ " 26 = ½ "	¼ "	¼ inch.
12	" 25¼ " 25¾ = ½ "	¼ "	Nil.

Average increase in circumference of chest = ¼ inch; *i.e.*, nearly ½ inch.

W. P. BROOKES, Trustee.
EDWARD STROUD, Schoolmaster.

Great Britain is almost the only great European state which does not insist upon its school authorities caring for the bodies as well as the brains of its children. In Germany, France, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland physical instruction is compulsory in all schools. As long ago as 1804 Grossmuth, who deserves to be regarded as the first teacher of gymnastics in Germany, published his "Gymnastik für die Jugend" ("Gymnastics for the Young"), and in 1815 his "Turnbuch für Söhne des Vaterlands" ("Gymnastic Guide for the Sons of the Fatherland"). He was followed by Jahn and Eiselen. Grossmuth taught in the school. Jahn extended gymnastic instruction to the masses by means of organizations. But both insisted that the gymnastic instructor must be not a mere athlete, but an educator—a man capable of developing the spiritual and moral as well as the physical nature of his pupils. In 1816 he published his "Deutsche Turnkunst zur Einrichtung

der Turnplätze" ("The German Art of Fitting up Gymnasia"). In 1840 A. Speiss introduced "free exercises" into the German system, and established at Darmstadt a school for the training of teachers, as he was strongly of the opinion that the schoolmaster and the gymnastic instructor should always be one and the same person. This is the system pursued at the present day in Germany, where every national schoolmaster has to pass an examination in the theory and practice of gymnastics before receiving his certificate.

Whilst Jahn was working in Germany, Ling was establishing in Sweden his system, which required in the teacher a thorough acquaintance with the anatomy of the human body and some physiological and psychological knowledge. Swedish drill requires little or no mechanical apparatus, and aims at the scientific and systematic development of all parts of the body. Rothstein, a follower of Jahn, exclaims: "Marvellous! A skilled horse-trainer is expected to possess some knowledge of animal anatomy, and to have studied the art of the veterinary surgeon, in order that he may be able to understand the cure of horses, and not hurt or weaken them in the training; and is the study of human anatomy and physiology not to be required of the teacher of gymnastics, who is intrusted with a much higher duty—the physical development and strengthening of men? Is there no necessity for him to be acquainted with the health-giving powers of gymnastics? to know how they are to be utilized, and how by a faulty system the human frame can be weakened and health destroyed?"

In the fulfilment of the above idea institutions were in 1853 established in Berlin and Dresden for the systematic training in gymnastics of schoolteachers. In both Prussia and Saxony before receiving his diploma, a school teacher has—

1. To write an essay on a set theme relating to the teaching of gymnastics.

2. To undergo a vivâ-voce examination in the theory of gymnastics:

   A. With reference to the art of teaching physical exercises.

   B. On anatomy, physiology, and dietetics.

3. To show his practical knowledge of the teaching of gymnastics:

   A. By personal performance.

   B. By instructing a class.

In 1862 to 1869 similar regulations in regard to the training of gymnastic instructors came into force in Austria, Würtenberg, and Baden. Teachers visiting the training institutions stay one to six months, according to the extent of their previous knowledge of the subject. In addition to these establishments for the training of national teachers in physical exercises, the municipalities of Berlin and Leipsic have established similar schools in order to provide perfectly-fitted instructors for the numerous private gymnastic associations throughout Germany.

It is of more importance than is at first apparent that the gymnastic instructor and schoolteacher should be one and the same person : —

1. For reasons of economy, which should not be overlooked, as many districts would be unwilling or unable to pay the salary of an additional teacher.

2. For the sake of the teacher himself, who would be benefited by being obliged to devote a certain portion of each day to his own physical development.

3. For the sake of discipline, which could be much more easily maintained by the regular schoolmaster than by any outsider.

4. Because proficiency in physical exercises would enhance the respect of the scholars for their teacher.

5. Because there would be no danger of divided authority, or of one-sidedness on the part of schoolteacher or gymnastic instructor.

For all these reasons it is to be hoped that our English training colleges for teachers will introduce gymnastics and Swedish drill into the curriculum of these institutions, and that school boards, in making new appointments, will nominate only teachers, both male and female, who have passed an examination, suitable to sex, in the theory and practice of physical exercises.

The gymnastic instruction given to children in German schools is limited to two hours a week. If these two hours a week during school life represented all that was done in Germany for physical development, the race of men in that country would not be as fine as it is ; but it must not be forgotten that the three years' military training of every German youth constitutes a school in which during the whole of that period the training of the human body occupies a very prominent position.

As there is no compulsory military service in Great Britain,

we must not be satisfied with two hours a week, which would be quite inadequate, but must endeaver to get at least an hour a day set apart for physical instruction in our national schools—if possible, divided into two half-hours, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. When we consider the number of hours a day which it is thought necessary that British public-school boys of the richer classes should spend in playing athletic games in the open air, it cannot be said to be excessive if we ask that poor city children, who have little or no means of exercising their limbs in this healthy fashion, shall have physical exercise for an hour a day under the direction of skilled instructors. If this be necessary for British city-bred children, the experience gained in three visits to America, during which I visited many of the largest towns of the Union, would lead me to believe that it is even more needed there than in my own country. The British climate is better suited than the American for the taking of physical exercise all the year round. It is never too hot and never too cold, whereas there are few parts of the States where during some portion of the year it is not uncomfortable, if not actually dangerous, to take violent exercise in the open air.

The result is that, whereas in England every available field in the neighborhood of our large cities is snatched up for football or cricket, and thousands of clerks, factory hands, and young artisans, especially in the northern towns, struggle of a Saturday afternoon for room in which to play these invigorating national games, in America athletics are in a great measure confined to the universities, the schools, the richer classes, and the professionals. Although physical instruction is not yet compulsory in British national schools, almost all of them possess small playgrounds, often fitted up with gymnastic apparatus. In America I was informed that in the large cities schools thus provided were the exception rather than the rule. The numerous American parks which I visited during the autumn (the finest portion of the year in which to take active exercises) were, with the exception of Central Park, New York, comparatively deserted. The explanation given was that the summer was over, and that the people were hourly expecting the advent of winter. I suspect that another reason is to be found in the distance at which most American parks are situated from the crowded parts of the city.

Whilst staying in Boston in 1869 I had the honor of receiving

an invitation to be present and speak at a conference on physical education. On this occasion the different European systems were thoroughly considered and discussed, and a very general opinion was expressed that Americans would do well to introduce some kind of physical instruction into the schools attended by the poorer children of the large cities. It should never be forgotten that the brain and nerves are material substances largely dependent for their proper action on the health of the body.

The future destinies of the world will probably lie, in a great measure, in the hands of the sons and daughters of Anglo-Saxon blood.

Let it not be said that through our neglect any of these children of the future, by reason of physical deterioration, were made incapable of the highest thought and action.

MEATH.

THE LAW AND THE LYNCHERS.

BY GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS.

The first question submitted to me by the editor of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is in the following words:

"Suppose that the State of Louisiana were to pass a law banishing all Italians from her territory after thirty days; what remedy would the United States government have, if any? and how would the United States government then be able to maintain its treaty obligations with Italy?"

No State in this Union can banish from its territory any foreigners who are residents or travellers therein, and whom the government of the United States has permitted to come into the country, whether there is or is not a subsisting treaty between the United States and the nation to which such foreigners belong, guaranteeing protection to the citizens or subjects of each country in the dominions of the other. The law of nations is a part of the law of every civilized country, and it obliges every civilized government to protect the persons and property of foreigners who are within its limits. Such foreigners pay all taxes that are levied on them, and are bound to obey the laws. Owing a qualified and temporary allegiance to the country in which they are, they are entitled to its protection. Many governments have compelled semi-civilized or barbarian nations to atone for wrongs and injuries done to their subjects or citizens.* If such a bill as

*Grotius mentions a Scythian tribe, the Taurians, who sacrificed strangers to Diana. He maintains that all other nations had a right to unite together to chastise them. General Jackson, when President, sent a naval force, which summarily demolished a whole town of similar barbarians who had treated some of our countrymen in the same manner. These barbarians had a regular government; but I believe it was never ascertained that the murder of the "Friendship's" crew was an act of that government; it was done by a handful of irresponsible savages—what in a civilized country is called a mob. But the walls of Quallah Battoo had to fall for it, notwithstanding.

is suggested were to be introduced into the Legislature of Louisiana, it would be the duty of the government of the United States to remontrate against it, and prevent its passage if possible. If it were to be passed, it would be the duty of our national government to cause it to be judicially declared to be unconstitutional, by taking up and prosecuting the case of one or more of the foreigners banished from the State. Such a State law could never be enforced.

I will now answer the remainder of the inquiries by stating the substance of the positions taken in Mr. Blaine's letter of April 14 to the Marquis Imperiali, and will give the reasons why I consider Mr. Blaine's positions as entirely sound. His letter is one of the ablest and clearest despatches I have ever read. It is eminently creditable to our diplomacy and to Mr. Blaine himself. He holds first that the State of Louisiana is bound to punish the individual rioters who murdered the Italian subjects in New Orleans, and that the United States cannot punish them criminally. Murder, whether of a foreigner or of a citizen, committed on the soil of a State, and not within the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the United States, is a crime cognizable only in the courts of the State. I know of no way in which an indictment for this murder of Italian subjects committed in New Orleans could be framed in the name of the United States and made cognizable in a Federal court.

The editor observes that "Mr. Blaine has committed himself to the view that the Federal government can do nothing toward punishing the New Orleans mob leaders, though Mr. William Henry Hurlbert insists that article 3 of the constitution makes it possible for the Federal government to try such offenders in a Federal or United States court." I agree with Mr. Blaine, and I differ from Mr. Hurlbert. Under article 3 of the constitution the judicial power of the United States does not extend, and, in my opinion, cannot be made by Congress to extend, to the cases of the individuals who killed the Italians. It is true that the judicial power extends to all cases in law and equity arising under the constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority. "Cases arising under treaties" are those in which some party other than the United States has a controversy with another party, capable of judicial determination,

and requiring for its adjudication an interpretation of a treaty. Cases arising in the execution of a treaty between the United States and a foreign nation are not within the judicial power, for the reason that they are cognizable only in the department of our government which holds and exercises the treaty-making power. Italy now has a controversy with the United States, which is whether some of the subjects of Italy have had in this country the protection which the treaty guaranteed to them. This is a controversy between nation and nation. It is cognizable only in the diplomatic department of our government. The difficulty with legislation which should now undertake to make this offence cognizable in the judicial department of the Federal government would be twofold : first, as to these past cases it would be an *ex-post-facto* law ; secondly, as to future cases there would be no basis for the jurisdiction.

The United States have no common law. Crimes against the United States which can be made cognizable in a Federal court are such offences as have been made crimes or misdemeanors by some Federal statute. In the case supposed the indictment would charge that an offence had been committed against the United States by citizens of New Orleans, whereas there is no law of the United States which has made it an offence against the United States to kill a foreigner who is under the protection of a treaty. The power of Congress to pass a law for the special protection of United States officers when in the discharge of their duty—which was suggested by the attack made by Terry on Mr. Justice Field in California—is a very different matter. The treaty with Italy itself determines what protection is under it. It casts on every State in the Union the duty of so administering its laws as to punish individuals who on the soil of the State injure Italian subjects in their persons or property. It casts on the United States the duty of indemnifying the families of the murdered persons for the loss of their lives. Mr. Blaine has, in my opinion, clearly defined the obligations which the treaty did or did not impose on the government of the United States. He says :

"The United States did not by the treaty with Italy become the insurer of the lives or property of Italian subjects resident within our territory. No government is able, however high its civilization, however vigilant its police supervision, however severe its criminal code, and however prompt and inflexible its criminal administration, to secure its own citizens against violence promoted by individual malice or by sudden popular tumult. The for-

eign resident must be content in such cases to share the same redress that is offered by the law to the citizen, and has no just cause of complaint or right to ask the interposition of his country if the courts are equally open to him for the redress of his injuries.

"The treaty, in the first, second, third, and notably in the twenty-third, articles, clearly limits the rights guaranteed to the citizens of the contracting powers in the territory of each to equal treatment and to free access to the courts of justice. Foreign residents are not made a favored class. It is not believed that Italy would desire a more stringent construction of her duty under the treaty. Where the injury inflicted upon a foreign resident is not the act of the government or of its officers, but of an individual or of a mob, it is believed that no claim for indemnity can justly be made unless it shall be made to appear that the public authorities charged with the peace of the community have connived at the unlawful act, or, having timely notice of the threatened danger, have been guilty of such gross negligence in taking the necessary precautions as to amount to connivance."

I have carefully examined the texts of the treaty to which Mr. Blaine refers, and I have no doubt about the rule by which they ought to be interpreted. They should be interpreted with reference to the general principles of the law of nations, with reference to other treaties of the like kind which we have with other nations, and with reference to our complex form of government. What the general principles of international law on this subject are I have already stated. We have many similar treaties with other nations besides Italy, and some of them have subsisted for a long time. They are all framed in accordance with the general principles of public law, and they are evidence of what the public law is on this subject.

Now, in regard to the peculiarities of our form of government, the editor observes in his note to me that "foreign nations are inquiring with serious curiosity whether our internal relations between State and Federal powers are really such that we cannot be sure of carrying out our treaties, and no one has yet given any satisfactory pronouncement." While foreign governments are not expected to know all the niceties of our constitutional law, they are bound to know that our Federal government is one of limited powers, which are carefully defined by a written constitution.

Foreign governments were informed in the most impressive manner half a century ago by Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, that, when a State of this Union has jurisdiction over a crime committed within its limits, the government of the United States must await the action of the State authorities. In 1841 one

Alexander McLeod, a Canadian, was indicted in the State of New York for the murder of a citizen of New York, and he was held for trial. The act of McLeod was avowed by the British government to have been done by its authority as an act in defence of Canadian territory, and his surrender was demanded of the government of the United States. Instead of yielding to this demand, Mr. Webster informed the British government that, while the government of the United States admitted that the avowal of his act as done by the authority of the British government would be a good defence on the trial of the indictment, yet the United States could not prevent such a trial. He took steps, however, to furnish McLeod with proof that his act was avowed and adopted by the British government, and he sent the Attorney-General of the United States to the place of trial to watch the proceedings and to make suggestions to the counsel for McLeod. He also, by permission of the President, sent an officer of the army to the place of trial with a file of picked men in citizens' dress, with secret instructions, in case of McLeod's conviction, to take him out of the hands of the sheriff and transport him to Canada.*

Mr. Blaine is a worthy successor of the great man who was Secretary of State in 1841, and I have entire confidence in his management of our foreign relations. There is no danger whatever of a war between Italy and the United States growing out of this affair. Italy cannot demand that the United States government shall take the punishment of the murderers out of the hands of the State authorities ; and Mr. Blaine has defined with entire precision all that the United States can or ought to do. He has declared that, if it shall appear that the local authorities connived at the doings of the mob, the President will ask Congress for an appropriation of money to indemnify the families of the murdered Italians for the loss of their lives. With this Italy must be content.

GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS.

* This last circumstance was not publicly known at the time, but it is a fact. I was informed of it by Mr. Webster years afterwards, and I was acquainted with the army officer who was intrusted with this delicate duty. The whole case and all its circumstances are described in the second volume of my life of Mr. Webster.

A TRIP ABROAD.

BY PHINEAS T. BARNUM.

I HAVE been asked to describe the impressions formed during my recent visit to Europe. I do not pretend to possess the subtlety of our great author, Hawthorne, or the balanced wisdom of Emerson, as shown in his incomparable book, "English Traits." But perhaps my mind, moulded to business and saturated with worldly affairs, will reflect a light which, if commonplace in comparison with theirs, may not be entirely devoid of interest.

If I liked London and the English people before, I had during my last visit a chance that was unparalleled to test and like them still more. I doubt if I am an exception among Americans in saying that the English, with all their differences from Americans, with all their slow conservatism, and, no doubt, certain insular prejudices, are a more interesting people than those of any other nation in the world. They have some ideas that seem curiously absurd to us; they do certain things because they always did do them and can't conceive of any better way to accomplish the results aimed at.

But they have a strong and positive character; perhaps all the stronger on account of their tenacity to old customs. They stand up for their rights as we Americans do not. If anything goes wrong, they struggle and contest points until justice is done and wrong is righted. And in saying that, after all, their best traits are more closely allied to ours than those of any other people, it is what I should have said years ago, and long before I married an English wife.

There is something interesting, too, if it is occasionally ridiculous, in their subservience to ancient manners and laws. They will not let you marry your deceased wife's sister yet, nor anybody's sister after 12 o'clock noon; but if you have had the

privilege of crossing certain estates by a turnstile, or in any way, for a long period,—no matter what great lord owns the estate,—you can keep on doing it, and nobody can stop you. Justice and right, as they understand these things, are with them irrepealable. This idea, however, sometimes brings them into a strange attitude toward certain questions. The long debate in the House of Lords not long since on the chasing of hares over farms covered with growing crops, promiscuously and without respect to the crop-owner's rights, is rather an anomaly. It is wonderful to an American, who only expects his Congress to quarrel over something as important as the tariff, to see this minor question so arouse and convulse a great and intelligent nation.

So small a matter as a game law is settled here often, at least in part, by the supervisor of a township in certain States; or in the last resort, by a State legislature. In England the subject touches the immemorial rights of the aristocratic class, and is, apparently, as serious a thing to them as the partition of Poland was to the civilized world when it took place. Therefore it commands the most serious attention of what is, perhaps, the most august legislative body in the world.

I told a writer for *Murray's Magazine*, who asked me my opinion of London, that I knew London pretty well before he was born. During my stay there in 1844 I availed myself of my editorial faculty, then freshened by practice, to send a considerable series of letters about the city to a New York journal. It was a great and wonderful city nearly half a century ago. But it is a marvel now. Another such hive of human beings does not certainly exist on the earth. I believe it is admitted that the estimated populations of the great oriental cities—never accurately ascertained by any intelligent census—have always been greatly exaggerated. I am sure, at any rate, that London is easily the greatest city that is or ever was.

In my correspondence from there written so long ago and referred to above, I described what I found—the heart of English hospitality. And I had its favor repeated for me over and over again.

One of the most durable and constant impressions that I have got from London, and from England too, is the solidity of everything there. The English people do not believe in shams or sham work. Their docks and public monuments, and all their public

works, express a sense of permanence. They are built, apparently, to hold the planet down, and to stay. If it is a seat in the park or a watering-trough you are noticing, it is no less thoroughly made than the Thames Embankment. Indeed, the trough and the seat will be found hewed out of solid stone. I said, many years ago, when I was abroad, that Paris makes a thing to last for a day, America makes it to last a week, but England makes it to last forever. They have good roads,—far better than ours,—but they do not take to light road wagons like ours. The frames of some of their vehicles are as heavy as, if not heavier than, the balloon frames we put in our houses.

And how ashamed it makes one of New York to see, as one does in London, the smooth and well-paved streets, and carriages going over them equipped with rubber tires to deaden the noise! Asphalt is now the common pavement, and the one most preferred, although certain streets are macadamized in a fine and thorough way. The asphalt pavement becomes so smooth that the horses, when they go down a hill over which it lies, do not lift up their feet, but slide—almost skate—down the inclination. Their intelligence has taught them that this is the easiest and most practicable way. On the other hand, horses that have never been away from a prairie, or extremely level country, do not learn the use of the breeching on a harness, and go down hill, if they are ever removed to a country of different topography, without attempting to hold back, and without knowing how.

The business day in London with business men is extremely brief. From 10 to 4 it lasts; and in the commercial exchanges perhaps it is even briefer. But it must not be supposed that business men are inefficient there. On the contrary, their methods and system are so arranged with reference to doing things without delay or long talking that they accomplish a marvellous amount. They do not dicker like the Yankee or the Hebrew. They almost invariably stick to one price, and make that plainly apparent to whoever inspects their goods. If they give a discount, it is usually a regular one offered for cash or subject to amount of sales. They expect you to trade if you make them unlimited trouble; for they feel that they are prepared to give you no reasonable excuse for refusing to do so.

Another business trait with the London shopman is that he

shuts off business conversation with the shutting-up of his shop. Outside of that you may meet him on any occasion and not know or be able to guess what his business is.

The Englishman is a notable diner-out. He can eat more dinners than Chauncey Depew goes to, to make false motions over, and partake of something of all of them. He goes to several on a single night. He has a eupepsy that is marvellous and ostrich-like. It makes no difference to what class or order he belongs,—he is a regular diner-out. He is often engaged for a week or ten days ahead, so that if you wish to give a dinner in England, you must make all arrangement for your invitations a long way in advance.

Getting up late is the English rule. It was said that Dr. Johnson never saw the sun rise, and that the poet Thomson spent a good part of the day in bed. But with some abatement of these perhaps extreme cases, the statements are very deceptive. I actually knew a wealthy Englishman many years ago—a Londoner —who told me he never got up until 5 P. M. All his activities occurred from that hour to far on in the morning,—so far that perhaps he *did*—what it was said Dr. Johnson did *not* do—occasionally see the sun rise.

I was invited to more dinners in London on this last visit than all the space in a magazine would enable me to describe. The actor Irving is a somewhat famous dinner-giver, and he attracts about his mahogany any number of literary men, artists, and other notabilities. He dines and gives his dinners at a quarter past eleven at the Beefsteak Club, which is next door to his own theatre. The Lord Mayor, with his huge golden chain, the symbol of his authority, is often to be seen among Irving's guests. When Irving asked me to dine with him, I told him his hour was altogether too late for my habits or my health. "Oh," said he, "you can leave as early as two, though the rest of us will remain until after four."

A dinner in England must be served with wines or it would not be a dinner. Smoking is, of course, a sequel. As I did not attempt to impose my different habits upon those who were about me, I simply adhered to them and looked on without moralizing in a way that would be impolite, ineffective, and unsuitable. I once met a prominent English bishop who was a teetotaler, like myself, and he said that, although he did not drink wines and

intended to abstain from them, he always provided them at his own table for those who did not abstain.

One of my pleasantest experiences in England was in meeting the daughter and husband of Jenny Lind. I dined with Mr. Goldschmidt, and we had many old and tender recollections to interchange. He has a house in London and a country house, and his daughter, Mrs. Maude, has a country house near by his own. Mrs. Maude's husband holds some government office. She herself reminded me somewhat of her mother, whose vocal power has to some extent been inherited by her. Jenny Lind's only other child is an officer in the army.

I want to say here, as a matter of interest and justice, that Mr. Goldschmidt is a most delightful and worthy man. There was a period, many years since, when a number of baseless and cruel stories about him were circulated through the foreign press, and they were carefully copied and widely disseminated in our own country. He did himself the justice to show their falseness in a court of law, and to fully vindicate himself. Indeed, it was proved that, instead of squandering his wife's money, as was alleged, it was doubled in amount in his hands. Everything else that was said unfavorably of him was also utterly without foundation.

Jenny Lind died very rich, being a millionaire. But it is not generally known, I suppose, that every dollar of her American earnings was bequeathed to educational institutions or benevolent foundations in Sweden, the city of Stockholm getting the lion's share. She was, in fact, the soul of benevolence, and possibly was a little too easily touched by human sympathy, for she was always giving and could not resist benevolent acts. Even good-hearted people need to use a wise discretion in giving, or must risk being imposed upon sometimes. I always called her angelic, in thinking of her boundless sympathy and her good deeds.

The English people, though so much like us and so much unlike us,—and for that reason,—deserve and will repay much study. I think I can see plainly enough that America within recent years has become a specially interesting country to them. They have not yet fully learned our geography; but since the close of our Civil War we have gained immensely in their recognition and respect. They never tire of asking questions about us. Many of our ways they take kindly to and are in-

clined to adopt. It has been hard for them to perceive the point of an American joke, and when you are telling them a series of stories, they often do not see the point of one until it is dismissed and the next one is well under way. But this is not true of all of them. I found not a few who were as quick to see the pith of a narrative in our broad style as an American audience would be. And when they do see it, their enjoyment is unbounded and heartily expressed.

It may be said, to be sure, that Americans do not always notice the hilariousness of the English witty paper. The notable London *Punch* seems to many of our countrymen slow; and yet it is full of ability and keenness. Wit and humor have, of course, national forms and variations. But *Punch* has no small foreign and American circulation, and such celebrated English humorists as Thomas Hood and Douglas Jerrold are instantly understood wherever our common language is spoken.

In travelling on the highway, the English have, as is well known, an opposite way from ours of turning out where two vehicles meet. And I think it is much more rational than ours. The driver there turns to the left when he passes you, as you must do in driving past him. This gives the two drivers a much better chance of avoiding accidents, for they can each see the exact situation and the distance between the vehicles. I said one day to the driver of a cab: "I see you always turn to the left." "Yes," said he, "but those fools over in France turn to the right." "Well," said I, "we Americans are just the same kind of fools."

Free as the government of England is in all essential particulars, it does not in some respects carry freedom to recklessness in the way we often do here. Its laws and regulations for public safety are more strict than ours. The English make human life and its preservation a more serious and constant concern than we do. In a public hall the seats must not be too closely packed, and the aisles and modes of egress must be numerous and broad. In a thousand ways, in fact, England takes pains that one man's liberty shall not make another man's, or the public's, safety and comfort suffer from his caprice or greed. It is a feature that we ought to admire, and that we must learn to copy before our population becomes as dense as that of the British Islands.

I had a pleasant experience when I lectured in Lord Aber-

deen's Indian saloon, in his Grosvenor Square palace. A full audience came, at half a guinea a head, simply—so far as my part went—to hear me tell stories. These were drawn from an unlimited repertory which I have, and they are all of the Yankee stamp. Lord Aberdeen was industriously active and persistent in looking after the entertainment, which was given for the benefit of the Irish Home Charities, for which good cause it netted £70—in our currency $350.

I have often indulged myself in telling stories, and have been led to believe that it is a form of communicating with the public that suits my faculties and temperament. To me cheerfulness is a gospel as much as it was to Mark Tapley, and I like to cultivate it in times of disaster, as well as in the days of prosperity. However it may be, I seemed to be able to interest the English in stories that were not of their home-made pattern, until I was called upon everywhere in public and private to relate some of my anecdotes. The more preposterous they were the better they were enjoyed.

So far my talk has omitted the country in England, and has been devoted mainly to intercourse had in London. On this last visit of mine I went into the country but a little distance and only a few times, as the winter season, as well as my business, detained me in town. But the English country is the place for a charming sojourn at the proper time of year. When everything is green and growing, no country is more beautiful or attractive than England. Man covers it so closely that it is all kept as cultured and humanized as a garden. The rains keep it moist, and extensive and persistent treatment with the plow, scythe, and hoe make it a paradise to look upon. In Cobbett's "Rural Rides"—perhaps not a book much read now—and in the notes of all travellers, the features I have merely hinted at are emphasized with picturesque details. It is, of course, pleasant to be out of doors there in all suitable weather, and it is truly said that even the rain does not stop English pedestrianism.

When an English man or an English woman wishes to take a walk,—and both walk more and further than Americans,—he or she takes it "*weather*" *or no.* It is true, the good roads invite walking as ours do not, but the climate and the attractions of their landscape seem to prompt this exercise, too.

I was struck particularly with the strong, solid step of the

women everywhere. They walk, even in London, with a firm tread, so well put down that it is noticeable. And they are healthy-looking to an extent that we cannot match in any of our women in America. So rosy and rubicund are the faces of the country women who come into London from their homes that you would make an affidavit almost, if you did not know to the contrary, that they are painted. And they are marvellously well developed in form. There is a beauty in this superb health that is matchless in itself, even where chiselled charms and perfect outline in feature are wanting.

Large families, and a majority of them girls, are everywhere common. To meet a family of fifteen children, nine of them girls, is not at all the event there that it would be here. But the English girl is not a constituted member of the social circle until she gets quite old. Even then she lacks the vivacity and knowingness of the American girl. It seemed to me that all the girls I saw of twenty-one and under were kept in the tutelage and background which we apply to the girls in smallest pinafores here. They are all silent and subdued. They even dress to some extent like little girls, and display no knowledge beyond that to be acquired in the nursery, even if they are not as simple as they seem.

But the English woman and girl are not butterflies of idleness, or of mere fashion and society. They are always doing something, and doing something that is practical. And yet what the nation is going to do with them all I cannot imagine. The father of eleven asked me if there was not a wide opportunity for their activities here. If they should come, they would make welcome immigrants, surely, and I am sure those accustomed to the better conditions in life would make excellent wives, as domesticity and the homely virtues are the product of their training.

Do you ask me if I like England? It ought not to be a difficult matter for the reader who has followed me so far in this sketch to guess. I can still appreciate without diminution of sentiment the glory of "Hail, Columbia!"; but I have reason to feel also a close sympathy with the spirit that sings "God Save the Queen!"

P. T. BARNUM.

ANOTHER VIEW OF GETTYSBURG.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN GIBBON.

It is said of General Taylor that he, on one occasion, after listening to several stories told of the battle of Buena Vista, remarked that he sometimes wondered whether he himself was present at that battle, so marked was the contrast between what he *heard* of it and what he had seen and heard at the battle.

I have been much interested in reading the several contributions in the March number of The North American Review on the battle of Gettysburg, and fear that Meade, could he read them, might be reminded of General Taylor's remark. He would certainly be reminded of the fact that fighting a battle is one thing, and fighting it afterwards on paper by the participants is a very different thing.

I once sat for several hours a day, for some days, in the studio of an artist whilst he was painting a picture of the battle of Gettysburg, chatting with him as he painted, and telling him what I knew of the battle, and referring him to others who could tell him more of the particular phase of the battle which he had chosen as the scene to be painted. In the course of these talks it came out that all the statements the artist had received did not agree, and in some of them the facts were so glaringly perverted, with the selfish object of exaggerating the services of particular individuals and commands, that I made the remark that the artist, in his endeavors to get at the truth, so as to present a faithful picture of the battle, must, from the varying statements made to him by the different participants, have formed a very poor idea in regard to the character of military men, their spirit of fairness, their little petty jealousies, and their ambitions. To my surprise he said "No"; on the contrary, he was generally impressed with their spirit of fairness and desire to give what they thought

to be facts. If this was the conclusion of an impartial investigator, who desired simply to get at the facts for the purpose of representing them on canvas, it is to be hoped that an impartial public will look at the subject in the same way when the narrators confine themselves to *facts* viewed as they received them.

When, however, they drop the statements of facts, and resort to speculation as to what might, could, would, or should have taken place, if all the facts now known had been as clearly known at the time, or if the conditions had been different from what they were, it is possible that an impartial public may not be as charitable as the artist.

The efforts to belittle General Meade's services in the battle of Gettysburg have been persistent, and are shown in a very marked manner in some of these papers. His best friends do not claim for General Meade any very remarkable manœuvres on the field of battle itself, but they do claim that he varied his plan of campaign to suit the circumstances of the case; that three days after taking command of the army he concentrated his force at Gettysburg, placed it in position, and fought the battle to a successful issue under some considerable disadvantages.

There are those who will be disposed to question the assertion that "Hooker had no superior in manœuvring a large army"; and the campaign of Chancellorsville is generally regarded amongst military men as anything but a monument of "his strategical skill." How Gettysburg can be regarded as another monument of Hooker's strategical skill, it is difficult to understand. Even if he had, with the foresight of a prophet, designated Gettysburg as the scene of the coming conflict, he does not stand alone in that prediction; and certainly he had nothing whatever to do with placing the army there: Meade had, and not only placed it there, but *kept* it there. Meade's manœuvre of his army before the battle cannot be belittled by the introduction of Hooker's name in a resolution of Congress, or in a narrative, any more than can his services during the battle be underrated by claiming all the meritorious parts of it for subordinates.

Whether "accident overruled the plans of Meade" and did drift him towards "a *better battlefield* than he had himself chosen," is a proposition which can never be established, since the battlefield once proposed by Meade was never fought on, and the battlefield of Gettysburg was. Once decided to give up his

proposed battle-ground and accept that of Gettysburg, at the recommendation of one in whose military judgment he placed great confidence, and who had been sent to the front to decide that very question, Meade lost no time in concentrating his army there. "And so swift was the concentration of his forces, *under the direction of the chief of staff*, that on the morning of the 2d of July his army was in position," etc. Under whose direction would he naturally make it but that of his chief of staff or his adjutant-general? Both are sometimes used; sometimes other officers; and sometimes the commanding general of an army does it verbally. As a commander at the time of one of the component parts of that army (the Second Corps), I can testify that the order to move to Gettysburg was received from General Meade's own lips before the receipt of Hancock's report from the front, and it was repeated in *the same way* at my camp after midnight as General Meade rode that night towards the field of Gettysburg.

The chief of staff, therefore, cannot claim all the merit for this "swift concentration." The same chief of staff acted for Hooker when he was building the "monument of his strategical skill" at Chancellorsville. It might be pertinent to ask, Was the chief of staff entitled to the credit of the "strategical skill" in that case? and did the chief of staff, or General Hooker, display "strategical skill" when, two columns of our troops having emerged from the Wilderness and pushing on towards Fredericksburg, without any enemy in sight, they were ordered back to that tangled Wilderness which proved so disastrous to our arms?

The question in regard to the movements of the Third Corps at Gettysburg is revived in these papers. Whatever can be said in favor of the forward movement of that corps on the 2d of July, the facts remain that it was placed in a position to which it was *not ordered* by General Meade; that it was attacked in that position by the enemy and, in spite of the reënforcements sent to it, forced back with heavy loss to the position General Meade originally designed it to occupy—one of the positions which General Newton refers to as those into which we were *hammered*, and out of which the enemy could not and did not whip us. That the corps and the troops with it did good fighting no one can ever justly deny. Whether it can be said of those operations that *victory* remained with us, depends a good deal upon what we mean by "victory." It is not usual to claim victory for the troops who

are driven from the ground, leaving their dead and wounded behind; otherwise the First and the Eleventh Corps might claim a *victory* after their hard fight against superior forces on the 1st of July. If by "victory remaining with us" is meant that the Army of the Potomac maintained possession of its main line of battle, the statement is correct; but of that fact the commander of the Third Corps was not aware at the time he was carried from the field; and towards the maintenance of that main line General Meade himself contributed by leading forward in person reënforcements to the threatened line after the disaster to the Third Corps.

General Sickles says "that as soon as our troops on the left [the Third Corps and its supports] equalled those of the enemy the battle was decided in our favor." How decided in our favor? By those troops being driven from the advanced position they occupied? "If," he continues, "this equality had existed at the outset of the conflict, our victory would have been decisive early in the action, and the Sixth Corps," etc.; "and if Buford's division of cavalry had remained on the left flank," etc. All of which *sounds* very much like saying *if* the writer had been in command, instead of General Meade, results would have been more satisfactory. This is another one of those questions which can *never* be decided, and even the future historian will probably ignore it and describe the features of the battle with Meade in command, and state the circumstances as they *actually existed*; mindful of the fact that Gettysburg is not the only great battle in the history of the world, nor even in the history of our own country, with regard to which attempts have been made to underrate the services of the commander and overrate those of some subordinate.*

I do not understand what General Sickles means by saying "at the close of the battle of the 2d, after the enemy retired, the disposition of our forces remained as already described," for certainly no description in his article preceding that remark can apply to any portion of *his command*. He says: "We pass over the council of war on the night of the 2d without comment, since it had *no result*." This is a somewhat remarkable statement, since General Meade's enemies have openly and persistently asserted that he wanted to retreat; in fact, had given orders to retreat, and would have retreated but for the "result" of that council. The

* One of our greatest commanders once characterized this sort of thing as "the pruriency of fame not earned."

statement made by General Sickles, who was not present at the council, is not at all in accord with that of General Newton, who was. General Newton says: "The council unanimously voted to fight it out on the position we held." Surely this cannot be called "no result."

General Newton, in commenting on the council, says: "All agreed, so far as I remember, that the position in itself was a good one, but I suggested the possibility of an attempt to turn our left," etc. This recollection agrees substantially with my own, and General Newton was the only one in the council whom I heard make any objection to the position. That he did make some objection is made all the more distinct in my memory from the fact that he was the only *engineer* officer in the council (Warren being asleep on the floor). His objection, therefore, came with especial force, and for a little while conversation on that point between General Newton and myself occupied the attention of the members. The objection to the position that it could be turned on the left was made by General Hancock in his first report sent from the front to General Meade on the 1st of July, and was, I presume, the cause of Hancock sending me orders to halt the Second Corps short of the battlefield that night, from which place General Meade soon after midnight ordered me forward, as before stated. There could, at that time, have been no doubt in General Meade's mind about Gettysburg being a place in which to fight a battle.

So much stress has been laid upon the unanimity with which those present at this October meeting agreed in attributing to General Meade a certain form of expression that it will not be out of place to put side by side the names of the corp commanders who were present at the council of war on July 2d and the names of those present twenty-seven years after, who determined, with so much unanimity, that General Meade was held to the battlefield only by the votes of his subordinates.

Those who voted on the several questions submitted to council.	Those present at the Gettysburg meeting in 1890.
1. SEDGWICK.	
2. SLOCUM.	1. SLOCUM.
3. HOWARD.	2. HOWARD.
4. HANCOCK.	
5. SYKES.	
6. NEWTON.	3. NEWTON.
7. BIRNEY.	
8. WILLIAMS.	
9. GIBBON.	

Even were the three present "in entire accord" regarding General Meade's assertion, two of the number must have changed their opinions on the subject since they first expressed themselves.*

But in any event it will be the province of the future historian to weigh in the balance the testimony of three members given twenty-seven years after the battle with that of seven out of the nine officers comprising the council of war placed on record soon after the battle. From the balance must necessarily be excluded the testimony of two present at the meeting in October, 1890, since they were not present at General Meade's council. The other officer (General Butterfield) present at the council and at the meeting twenty-seven years afterwards, it has been publicly asserted, was the one who, as General Meade's chief of staff, wrote out the order for the army to retreat from Gettysburg, and it was stated in the newspapers soon after the battle that a corps commander had this order in his pocket when he ordered an advance of his corps. It was intimated also that he ordered the corps forward for the very purpose of bringing on a fight, and *preventing a retreat.* This allusion was, of course, to General Sickles and the Third Corps. What truth there was in the newspaper reports I have no means of knowing. It is, however, a remarkable fact that no copy of that order has ever been produced, not even the copy alluded to in the newspaper reports, and that General Meade always declared that he never directed any such order to be made out; and all the world knows that no such order was executed, nor any attempt made to execute it.

Our army commanders during the Civil War are, of course, now that the war is over, proper subjects for fair criticism, though theories and speculations regarding what might have happened, had the circumstances been different, are, as a general thing, idle. Of course, had Hooker remained in command, the Army of the Potomac might have defeated Lee quite as well as, possibly better than, it did under Meade; but the feeling in the army was generally one of apprehension that a commander who had, not two months before, been badly outgeneralled with nearly three times

* General Newton, in a letter dated March 10, 1864, says: "I was frequently with the commanding general on that day [2d], and was likewise present at the council, and nothing that I heard him say has ever given me the impression that he insisted on the withdrawal of the army from before Gettysburg." General Howard, in a letter dated June 9, 1883, says: "I did not hear your father [General Meade] utter a word which made me think that he then favored a withdrawal of his troops."

the force that Lee had at his disposal, might, in the open country of Pennsylvania, be outgeneralled again.

In this the army *might* have been proved mistaken, but a lack of confidence in the ability of its leader is a very heavy handicapping on the eve of a great battle, and in this respect Meade, although comparatively unknown, had a great advantage—an advantage increased very considerably by the results of the battle of Gettysburg.

It is not unusual in war to criticise army commanders for not taking full advantage of their successes in great battles, and in the Civil War it was a very common mode of criticism on both sides. At the very start General Joseph E. Johnston was blamed in some quarters for not pursuing our army of fugitives from the field of Bull Run, and taking possession of the capital, with an army of green volunteers, never in battle before, and scarcely able to move itself, to say nothing of its supplies.

The following year there were not lacking critics who commented on the fact that Lee failed to adopt Stonewall Jackson's suggestion to attack Burnside's army at Fredericksburg, after its repulse, and drive it into the river. Loud complaints were made against McClellan for not driving Lee's army into the Potomac after the battle of Antietam; and so on.

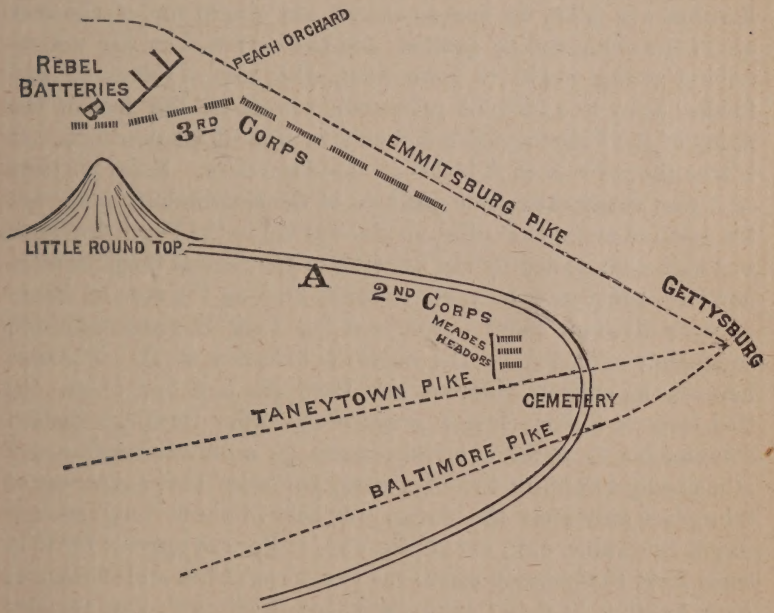
So that it appears to be expecting too much of human nature that the critics should abstain from complaints that Meade failed to follow up his victory by capturing Lee's army, either by hurling against it, after the repulse of Pickett's charge, the whole of the Twelfth Corps from the extreme right of our line, supported in "the pursuit" by a division of the Sixth Corps, or afterwards by attacking Lee's army in its intrenched position at Falling Waters, even against the earnest advice of most of his prominent generals.

I am decidedly of the opinion that, if Meade had had at his disposal a division of cavalry to hurl against Lee's centre on the repulse of Pickett's charge, or, more properly speaking, the void left in that centre when the charge was repulsed, Lee's army might have been irretrievably cut in two; but Meade's cavalry divisions had their hands full on the rear and flanks of our army in protecting those from "the force sent to our rear," or rather *proposed* to be sent to our rear, for it never got there, not so much because Sickles's position on the second day had prevented

Longstreet's junction with the force as from the fact that the gallant fight of our cavalry prevented it, and it took Longstreet so long a time to force the Third Corps and its supports back into the position originally intended for it that the question of his making a junction with the force originally intended to go to our rear was no longer one for consideration then, and hence, as General Butterfield says, it is needless to speculate about it *now*.

The attempt to show that the main battle of Gettysburg took place on the 2d of July, and that the affair of the 3d was a mere episode, will, I think, prove a failure, for the simple reason that the facts do not justify that idea.

The rough sketch herewith will serve to give the general reader a fair idea of the situation.



There can be no question, I think, that General Meade intended originally the Third Corps to occupy the position marked A, in the line of battle (defined in my sketch by double lines). General Sickles, I believe, declares he never received any orders to that effect. Neither did he *receive any orders to go where he did go.*

In cases of this kind there is and can be but *one* rule in armies. If a soldier is ordered to go to a certain point on a field

of battle, he goes there, *if he can.* If he does not get orders to go there, he does not go, with the one single exception that overwhelming necessity requires him to make the move, and this when he is so situated that he cannot solicit or receive the orders of his commanding officer. One of the principal reasons for selecting corps commanders is to obtain generals possessed of the qualifications and judgment requisite for the exercise of such discretion. General Sickles himself exemplifies the rule in disregarding an order he had from the commanding general in his pocket, and marching from Emmitsburg to Gettysburg. He marched "towards the enemy," and the results justified his judgment.

In the other case, in moving forward on the battlefield to the Emmitsburg pike, *he had no orders,* was almost under the very eye of the commanding general, and the very fact of his not receiving orders ought to have been, with him, a reason for still further delay in a forward movement on which the fate of the Army of the Potomac did not turn (nor that of his position). It is true the position at A had some disadvantages. Some portions of it were lower than some portions of the Emmitsburg pike, but the position along that pike, all the way up to the Peach Orchard, was well commanded by the batteries of the Second Corps, which, however, could not be used without hurting the men of Humphreys's division, Third Corps, as it fell back in great confusion completely enfiladed by the enemy's batteries at B. The case here was an entirely different one from the first case cited. In that General Sickles had a *preparatory* order from his distant commander to make a certain move on a certain contingency (the enemy assuming the offensive), but even that move was to take place only after the enemy was held in check long enough to get the trains, etc., out of the way. Earnest appeals for help came from Gettysburg, where the two corps (First and Eleventh) were fighting hard to "hold the enemy in check"; and General Sickles decided, and decided properly, to go to their assistance, and marched "to the sound of the guns."

In the other case General Sickles claims to have received no orders, although almost in sight of the army commander, and on his own responsibility he placed his corps in a faulty position, in which, to avoid his left flank being "in the air," he was obliged to form a "broken line," and bend his left back towards Little

Round Top, thus increasing the weakness of his line and compelling him to call for help almost immediately after the enemy commenced the attack upon him. This enforced action of the Third Corps involved a heavy struggle, which included, besides that corps, one division of the Second and most of the Fifth, seriously endangered a rupture of our main line, and resulted in the advanced line being *hammered* into the position which we held to the last, and which General Meade intended originally should be held from the first.

JOHN GIBBON.

A CHAT ABOUT NEWFOUNDLAND.

BY LADY BLAKE.

ALTHOUGH England's oldest colonial possession, Newfoundland is in some ways a very young colony, as for upwards of two centuries stringent laws were enacted to prevent permanent settlements from being made on the island. Any sea-captain leaving one of his crew there was liable to a heavy fine, and, with a view to preventing the formation of family ties in a land which England sought to keep merely as a fishing-station, women were strictly forbidden to go out to it. It is true that colonization had been attempted in the troublous days of Charles I. and during the Protectorate, but all such efforts had failed, and, once the fishing season had passed, the island was left to desolation, save for a few hundred Indians in the interior, a handful of men left to take care of boats and fishing-gear, and a sprinkling of ne'er-do-weels who dared not return to Europe.

It is generally easier to make laws than to enforce them, and in spite of regulations to the contrary population began to accumulate on the island; but there was no law, no rule, save that of the fishing admiral, as the first sea-captain who arrived at a port was termed during the ensuing fishing season. In 1670 an attempt was made to break up such settlements as existed by driving all such settlers six miles inland; any one refusing to comply was "to be driven out of the country." For two years misery and outrages reigned in the island, till at length a Mr. Downing, one of the residents, obtained an order from Charles II. preventing further persecution of those already there, though immigration was still strictly forbidden. Petitions were sent home by the settlers praying that a governor might be sent out to them, but the shipowners and others engaged in the bank fishery opposed the request, and at their instance it was rejected.

Some years previously the French had established a settlement on the beautiful bay of Placentia, and to this day portions

of land there are held under a grant from Louis XIV., the deed with his signature being carefully treasured by a family living in the picturesque little town. Their French neighbors were a source of constant annoyance to the English, and hostilities between the two were frequent, and were carried on with the utmost ferocity. In 1696 a French force landed from Cape Breton, attacked, and, after a resistance of three days, captured the town of St. John's. On this occasion they distinguished themselves by scalping alive an unfortunate man whom they had made prisoner, by name William Drew, and in this condition they sent him into the fort to assure his countrymen that they would all be served in like manner unless they forthwith surrendered.

This was no solitary instance of savage barbarity on the part of the French, as the war in North America furnished many illustrations of a civilized nation descending to the level of the aborigines. The habit of employing Indian auxiliaries, from which neither side was clear, had a demoralizing influence on their employers. English scalps were presented as trophies to the viceroy of New France by the chiefs of the Abenaquis, and the annual register of 1753 states that on the capture of St. John's Island Lord Rollo found the house of the French governor decorated with the scalps of Englishmen who had been slain by the Indians.

Even after Newfoundland had been recognized as something more than a mere fishing-station, when a governor had been sent out and a few magistrates had been appointed, in distant ports—"out-harbors," as they are there termed—little law was known save that administered by fishing admirals, and the island was in a state little better than barbarism. As late as 1765 there was not a single school or church in the colony; those who migrated from England had never seen a clergyman since leaving their native land; those born in Newfoundland had never seen one in their lives. The history of the island in those days is deplorable. Oppression, violence, debauchery, and profanity were well-nigh universal. A clergyman of the name of Jackson had been sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as early as 1705; he received a stipend of £50 a year, and £30 for his voyage. However, he was unable, single-handed, to do much to improve a demoralized population scattered over a country nearly as large as England, without roads or any regular means of communication; and

he seems before long to have resigned a task that was, under the circumstances, hopeless.

It is impossible in a short paper to trace the influences that led to the passing-away of the old state of things and the dawn of better days in the colony; but suffice it to say that the opening of the present century saw a great change in Newfoundland. The people, formerly negligent of all forms of religion, became scrupulous in attention to their religious duties; schools were established wherever practicable; churches of various denominations arose on all sides; and a general improvement in morals and manners was everywhere apparent.

Accustomed for several generations to a daily hand-to-hand fight against the "perils of the deep," storms, cold, and fare of the hardest, the Newfoundlanders are a hardy race. Large-boned and powerfully built, they are a clear case of the "survival of the fittest," delicate children rarely being able to battle up to manhood against the severity of the climate. In manner they are taciturn and homely, with a substratum of genuine kindliness and sturdy self-reliance. A large percentage of the islanders are of Irish descent, and retain much of the warm-heartedness of their ancestry; but the hard life and different surroundings have somewhat modified the buoyant and "happy-go-lucky" Irish nature, and made them graver, less excitable, possibly more reliable than their brethren in the old country.

Still, however, they treasure the traditions and many of the customs of their motherland, and it is interesting to find the superstitions of Mayo or Galway cropping up in this far-off island; such, for instance, as the "fear-gurtha," or hungry-grass, which is said to render it dangerous to traverse the hills of Erris or Tyrawley, in the west of Ireland, unless one has taken the precaution to put a cold potato or two or a piece of bread in one's pocket. Woe betide the man who steps on the hungry-grass without being provided with something to eat; he falls faint from hunger, and speedily expires if he cannot get some food, though a few grains of oatmeal or some crumbs of bread, if within reach, would save his life. The "fear-gurtha" is said to grow in some parts of the peninsula of Avalon, in Newfoundland, and the people, when starting on a journey, take precautions to save themselves should they be unfortunate enough to trample on it.

In Ireland it is considered unlucky, or, at any rate, disrespectful, to carry a corpse to the grave by the shortest road. Sometimes, when the grave is dug, before being deposited in the ground the coffin is carried three times round the enclosure of the graveyard. In a wild district in the west of Ireland I once passed a ruined chapel, where two men were carefully, though not without difficulty, carrying a coffin on their shoulders, over the hillocks and heaps of stones that marked the resting-place of generations of Celts. The rest of the people had gone, the grave was open, but they remained to pay the last tribute of respect to their dead relative, as their fathers and forefathers had done from generation to generation. It struck me as a touching and simple ceremony, consecrated by centuries, and a pleasing contrast to the repulsive mutes and mourning-coaches of the city undertakers.

The idea of the longest road being the one that a funeral ought to go survives in Newfoundland also. A somewhat comical instance took place not long ago. A poor old woman lay dying, and sent for a priest well known and greatly respected in St. John's. The woman had always been extremely poor and lived on the verge of want, but she confided to her priest that for years she had been putting by money, which she had saved in order that it might be spent on giving her a fine funeral. She wished to go to the grave "with two horses under her." This money she now intrusted to the priest, and, having thus relieved her mind, she sank back. The good father, thinking that all was over, was about to go, when the old dame once more opened her eyes and exclaiming, "Mind, father, the round of the town," gave up the ghost.

On Candlemas Day the Roman Catholics used to crowd the chapels to receive a few drops on their hats and clothes from the blessed candles, and a piece was carried home and kept to preserve the house from evil spirits. This, in days gone by, as every one knows, was recognized all over Europe as a remedy against such undesirable visitors. Those who have travelled in the west of Ireland, if they happen to have been out late on the eve of St. John's Day, must have observed bonfires burning on the hillsides and at the cross-roads. The *Baal-tinné*, now called St. John's fires, have been burnt in Ireland on that mysterious night since the days when the Celts were pagans and human victims were burnt to appease the wrath of the infernal gods. And the Irish

who have sought a new home across the Atlantic have carried the ancient custom with them, and on the eve of Midsummer's Day the hills and cliffs shutting in the picturesque harbor of St. John's are aglow with fires now kindled in honor of the Christian saint.

The isolation of life in the distant parts of Newfoundland during winter is extreme. Outside the peninsula of Avalon there are hardly any roads, and, even if they existed, snow and ice would render them impassable. Out to sea stretches a vast icy pavement, through which it is often impossible for even a steamer to ram its way. So all the long winter months the little hamlets lie surrounded by the great snow blanket, and cut off from communication from all mankind save those who inhabit their little settlement. Should the store of provisions run low, the situation is perilous, for there is no possibility of getting supplies unless a "lead" opens in the ice and allows a steamer to get along the coast; or, if she be not ice-bound at too great a distance, perhaps some of the men go out over the frozen sea to meet the vessel, and carry home food to their families. Should the ship fail to come, the people are sometimes driven to eat their dogs, of which several are usually kept in order to draw home wood from the forests on sleds. So great is the difficulty of communication during winter that a clergyman relates that on one occasion, as near to the capital as Trinity Bay, forty shillings had been demanded, and twenty-five were actually paid, for the conveyance of a single letter overland to the city by a cross-country guide. While the coast is ice-bound the direct steamers from England do not touch at Newfoundland, but the mails are brought up from Halifax in a small wooden steamer, expressly built for facing the ice; but even this vessel cannot always manage to get in, and mails have to be carried ashore seven or eight miles over the ice on men's backs.

The centre of Newfoundland is, to a great extent, *terra incognita*, except to a few trappers and sportsmen and the indefatigable head of the Newfoundland geological survey. Great lakes, larger than any in the United Kingdom, with the exception of Lough Neagh; sclemn pine forests; vast tracts of moorland, or barrens, as they are locally termed, where feed herds of cariboo deer; rapid rivers and streams innumerable, lie neglected and uninhabited, though rich mines are contained in many of the hills, and good soil in many of the valleys, more certain of rewarding toil

expended on it. Much of the scenery is very striking and beautiful, and in the summer and autumn, when the barrens are bright with azaleas, kalmias, blue irises, golden-rod, and the brilliant crimson leaves of the whortleberries, the coloring is very fine.

A very beautiful, but fatal, phenomenon is not infrequently seen during winter, namely, the silver thaw. When a night of sharp frost succeeds a foggy day, the next morning every branch, each stick and stone uncovered with snow, is seen coated and sparkling with a delicate film of ice. Should the day be sunshiny, the effect is lovely in the extreme, but fatal to the trees, whose branches are often broken by the weight of their crystal load. In France, Germany, and even in Italy, a similar phenomenon occurs. In France it is known as "verglas," in Germany as "glatteis," and in Italy as "verde ghiaccio." In the latter country its occurrence is disastrous to the olive-trees and brings despair to their owners. In 1820 it wrought such wholesale destruction in some places that the Grand Duke of Tuscany, out of pity for the distress of the peasantry, remitted taxation to the amount of over six thousand pounds. The beautiful silver thaw is not so much dreaded in Newfoundland, though sometimes cruel enough, as the unhappy grouse find, which during severe snow-storms at night allow the snow to drift over them, and no doubt congratulate themselves on the nice warm nest they have found below it. But sometimes after the storm the silver thaw sets in, the incrustation becomes too thick for the poor birds to break through in the morning, and great numbers perish in their frozen cage.

As most people have their unpleasant moods, so most countries have their unpleasant time, and in Newfoundland the spring is extremely disagreeable and trying. The ice and snow are melting; so skating and sleighing are at an end, but the deep slush renders walking a penance, and great drifts block up the roads every now and then, so that driving is an impossibility. It is a blessing when the sight of women and children dotted over the fields tells one that summer is nigh at hand. They are looking for the young shoots of dandelion, which are taken to market and find a ready sale, as early potatoes and spring lettuce do at home.

How gladly the poor, frozen-in dwellers in the out-harbors must emerge from their isolation and return to their wonted occupation of fishing! Fishing is the staff of life in Newfoundland, and

cod is the only denizen of the deep acknowledged as fish in the island. In conversation with a fisherman one day we inquired if he had had luck so far that year. "I've taken a sight o' salmon," was his answer, "but no fish yet this season." When the capelin strike the coast, it is a gay and picturesque sight to see the shores of the various bays thronged with an eager crowd ladling the glittering mass of little silver fish, about the size of sprats, into carts and baskets. The sea is alive with capelin swarming in headlong haste and heedlessness to the destruction that awaits them on land. Whence they come and whither they go is unknown. Possibly they resolve on committing suicide on the first land they encounter, rather than fall into the jaws of the relentless whales that follow in their wake. In such masses are they taken that they are used to manure the land, no method having yet been found of preserving them with any success. They are a very delicate fish to eat and a bait irresistible to cod.

When the capelin have disappeared, their place as bait is supplied by herrings, and after these arrive the squid. The latter are in great shoals, and the individuals measure about six inches when the shoals are first seen, and have attained to almost a foot and a half in length when, like the capelin, they disappear and are seen no more. Whether individuals survive, some of which develop into the large cuttle-fish, with arms sixteen feet long, which are occasionally taken in the nets or cast ashore by the waves, has not been as yet ascertained.

It is a grand spectacle in July and August to see the huge icebergs slowly sailing along the coast, or aground in shallower water near the rocks. Sometimes as far as the eye can reach from the high cliffs overhanging the sea, every bay and cove in sight has one or more icebergs anchored in it. The effect of icebergs with a foreground of fir-trees and larches is particularly singular and beautiful. The icebergs are of all sizes, from a mile long downwards. In shape, too, they vary greatly, the very big ones resembling alabaster islands, others recalling pyramids and pinnacles. Sometimes a cascade is seen pouring from their tops, and now and then a polar bear has found its way to Newfoundland on one of these icy rafts.

Some few years ago, at the fishing village of Petty Harbor, ten miles from St. John's, a boy took up his position on one of

the fish-flakes jutting out into the sea. He had an old musket with him, loaded with small shot, for the purpose of shooting little birds, and it was in the hope of seeing some that the boy went to the fish-flake. Suddenly he beheld two gigantic paws appear over the edge of the flake, and the next minute the muzzle and head of a large polar bear came in sight of the terrified boy, who instinctively discharged his fowling-piece, and at such close quarters that the charge entered the bear's head like a bullet, and the animal fell back stone-dead. The skin was afterwards sold in St. John's.

The country parts of Newfoundland ought to be visited in summer. The flora is varied and beautiful; butterflies and moths of great beauty are plentiful, swallow-tails and Camberwell beauties, so rare in England, being there comparatively common; and the fly-fishing, both for salmon and trout, is excellent. In autumn there is first-rate grouse-shooting, and cariboo deer are found in abundance in the interior.

To appreciate St. John's, the capital city, it should be seen in winter, when snow is piled five feet high in the streets, and icicles from six feet to six inches long hang in a glittering fringe from eaves and waterspouts. The town is well situated on a steep declivity overhanging the fine harbor. Most of the streets are exceedingly steep, and, in spite of police regulations to the contrary, there is hardly one down which a string of delighted youngsters does not continually come tobogganing. Those who can afford it are provided with "coasters," but when these are not to be had a tea-tray is not a bad substitute, and is often used for the purpose. Sleighs, the horses covered with bells and the occupants with furs, glide pleasantly along, till a "gulch" in the road almost dislocates the necks of those who sit in the sleigh. Every now and then comes a little sledge, sometimes drawn by a tiny cur; sometimes a pair of dogs are in the traces, possibly a large black one and a small tan mongrel; and, wherever circumstances admit, boys and girls are skating in the gutters. As with the toboggans, so with the skates: the well-to-do have "acmes" or English skates; the "johnnies" improvise them out of the backs of blacking-brushes. The meat exposed in the butcher's shops is all frozen; so are the cabbages, which, by-the-by, are also sold by the butchers. Frozen hares, frozen grouse, and occasionally frozen caribou venison are also offered for sale.

St. John's boasts two fine rinks and several large assembly halls, all built of wood. Churches are numerous, the gem of them architecturally being the Anglican Cathedral, an edifice of which any city might be proud. It is by many considered Sir Gilbert Scott's best work, and is said to be the best specimen of Gothic on that side of the Atlantic. All the churches are provided with porches, and in winter a man waits with a brush of twigs to brush off any snow that may be adhering to one's garments. The churches are all heated with hot-air pipes, and to enter with snowflakes on one would cause great discomfort.

Socially St. John's is gayest during the winter. The people are fond of music, and devote themselves to it with enthusiasm. The educated classes are fond of society, hospitable, warm-hearted, anxious to please and be pleased, and ever ready with their purses and time to aid any good work. There is considerable theatrical talent in the place; so, what with plays, operettas, bazaars, ice-carnivals, concerts, balls, moonlight toboggan parties, skating and sleighing, the inhabitants have not a bad time of it, let the winter be as severe as it may.

EDITH BLAKE.

THE A B C OF MONEY.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

I SUPPOSE every one who has spoken to or written for the public has wished at times that everybody would drop everything and just listen to him for a few minutes. I feel so this morning, for I believe that a grave injury threatens the people and the progress of our country simply because the masses—the farmers and the wage-earners—do not understand the question of money. I wish therefore to explain "money" in so simple a way that all can understand it.

Perhaps some one in the vast audience which I have imagined I am about to hold spellbound cries out: "Who are you—a gold-bug, a millionaire, an iron-baron, a beneficiary of the McKinley Bill?" Before beginning my address, let me therefore reply to that imaginary gentleman that I have not seen a thousand dollars in gold for many a year. So far as the McKinley Bill is concerned, I am perhaps the one man in the United States who has the best right to complain under it, for it has cut and slashed the duties upon iron and steel, reducing them 20, 25, and 30 per cent.; and if it will recommend me to my supposed interrupter, I beg to inform him that I do not greatly disapprove of these reductions, that as an American manufacturer I intend to struggle still against the foreigner for the home market, even with the lower duties fixed upon our product by that bill, and that I am not in favor of protection beyond the point necessary to allow Americans to retain their own market in a fair contest with the foreigner.

It does not matter who the man is, nor what he does,—be he worker in the mine, factory, or field, farmer, laborer, merchant,

NOTE.—At the request of Mr. Carnegie, the editor waives, in the case of this article, the restrictions that he is usually obliged to impose as to the length of excerpts taken from contributions to THE REVIEW. Newspapers and periodicals are therefore requested to copy as freely as they choose from Mr. Carnegie's contribution to the present number.—EDITOR NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

manufacturer, or millionaire,—he is deeply interested in understanding this question of money, and in having the right policy adopted in regard to it. Therefore I ask all to hear what I have to say, because what is good for one worker must be good for all, and what injures one must injure all, poor or rich.

To get at the root of the subject, you must know, first, why money exists; secondly, what money really is. Let me try to tell you, taking a new district of our own modern country to illustrate how "money" comes. In times past, when the people only tilled the soil, and commerce and manufactures had not developed, men had few wants, and so they got along without "money" by exchanging the articles themselves when they needed something which they had not. The farmer who wanted a pair of shoes gave so many bushels of corn for them, and his wife bought her ~~sun~~-bonnet by giving so many bushels of potatoes; thus all sales and purchases were made by exchanging articles—by barter.

As population grew and wants extended, this plan became very inconvenient. One man in the district then started a general store and kept on hand a great many of the things which were most wanted, and took for these any of the articles which the farmer had to give in exchange. This was a great step in advance, for the farmer who wanted half a dozen different things when he went to the village had then no longer to search for half a dozen different people who wanted one or more of the things he had to offer in exchange. He could now go directly to one man, the storekeeper, and for any of his agricultural products he could get most of the articles he desired. It did not matter to the storekeeper whether he gave the farmer tea or coffee, blankets or a hayrake; nor did it matter what articles he took from the farmer, wheat or corn or potatoes, so he could send them away to the city and get other articles for them which he wanted. The farmer could even pay the wages of his hired men by giving them orders for articles upon the store. No dollars appear here yet, you see; all is still barter—exchange of articles; very inconvenient and very costly, because the agricultural articles given in exchange had to be hauled about and were always changing their value.

One day the storekeeper would be willing to take, say, a bushel of wheat for so many pounds of sugar; but upon the next visit of the farmer it might be impossible for him to do so. He might require more wheat for the same amount of sugar. But if the

market for wheat had risen and not fallen, you may be sure the storekeeper didn't take less wheat as promptly as he required more. Just the same with any of the articles which the farmer had to offer. These went up and down in value; so did the tea and the coffee, and the sugar and the clothing, and the boots and the shoes which the storekeeper had for exchange.

Now, it is needless to remark that in all these dealings the storekeeper had the advantage of the farmer. He knew the markets and their ups and downs long before the farmer did, and he knew the signs of the times better than the farmer or any of his customers could. The cute storekeeper had the inside track all the time. Just here I wish you to note particularly that the storekeeper liked to take one article from the farmer better than another; that article being always the one for which the storekeeper had the best customers—something that was most in demand. In Virginia that article came to be tobacco; over a great portion of our country it was wheat,—whence comes the saying, "As good as wheat." It was taken everywhere, because it could be most easily disposed of for anything else desired. A curious illustration about wheat I find in the life of my friend, Judge Mellon, of Pittsburg, who has written one of the best biographies in the world because it is done so naturally. When the Judge's father bought his farm near Pittsburg, he agreed to pay, not in "dollars," but in "sacks of wheat"—so many sacks every year. This was not so very long ago.

What we now call "money" was not much used then in the West or South, but you see that in its absence experience had driven the people to select some one article to use for exchanging other articles, and that this was wheat in Pennsylvania and tobacco in Virginia. This was done, not through any legislation, not because of any liking for one article more than another, but simply because experience had proved the necessity for making the one thing serve as "money" which had proved itself best as a basis in paying for a farm or for effecting any exchange of things; and, further, different articles were found best for the purpose in different regions. Wheat was "as good as wheat" for using as "money," independent of any law. The people had voted for wheat and made it their "money"; and because tobacco was the principal crop in Virginia, the people there found it the best for using as "money" in that State.

Please observe that in all cases human society chooses for that basis-article we call "money" that which fluctuates least in price, is the most generally used or desired, is in the greatest, most general, and most constant demand, and has value in itself. "Money" is only a word meaning the article used as the basis-article for exchanging all other articles. An article is not first made valuable by law and then elected to be "money." The article first proves itself valuable and best suited for the purpose, and so becomes of itself and in itself the basis-article—money. It elects itself. Wheat and tobacco were just as clearly "money" when used as the basis-article as gold and silver are "money" now.

We take one step further. The country becomes more and more populous, the wants of the people more and more numerous. The use of bulky products like wheat and tobacco, changeable in value, liable to decay, and of different grades, is soon found troublesome and unsuited for the growing business of exchange of articles, and they are therefore unfit to be longer used as "money." You see at once that we could not get along to-day with grain as "money." Then metals proved their superiority. These do not decay, do not change in value so rapidly, and they share with wheat and tobacco the one essential quality of also having value in themselves for other purposes than for the mere basis of exchange. People want them for personal adornment or in manufactures and the arts—for a thousand uses; and it is this very fact that makes them suitable for use as "money." Just try to count how many purposes gold is needed for, because it is best suited for those purposes. It meets us everywhere. We cannot even get married without the ring of gold.

Now, because metals have a value in the open market, being desired for other uses than for the one use as "money," and because the supply of these is limited and cannot be increased as easily as that of wheat or tobacco, these metals are less liable to fluctuate in value than any article previously used as "money." This is of vital importance, for the one essential quality that is needed in the article which we use as a basis for exchanging all other articles is fixity of value. The race has instinctively always sought for the one article in the world which most resembles the North Star among the other stars in the heavens, and used it as "money"—the article that changes least in value, as

the North Star is the star which changes its position least in the heavens; and what the North Star is among stars the article people elect as "money" is among articles. All other articles revolve around it, as all other stars revolve around the North Star.

We have proceeded so far that we have now dropped all perishable articles and elected metals as our "money"; or, rather, metals have proved themselves better than anything else for the standard of value, "money." But another great step had to be taken. When I was in China, I received as change shavings and chips cut off a bar of silver and weighed before my eyes in the scales of the merchant, for the Chinese have no "coined" money. In Siam "cowries" are used—pretty little shells which the natives use as ornaments. Twelve of these represent a cent in value. But you can well see how impossible it was for me to prevent the Chinese dealer from giving me less than the amount of silver to which I was entitled, or the Siam dealer from giving me poor shells, of the value of which I knew nothing. Civilized nations soon felt the necessity of having their governments take certain quantities of the metals and stamp upon them evidence of their weight, purity, and real value. Thus came the "coinage" of metals into "money"—a great advance. People then knew at sight the exact value of each piece, and could no longer be cheated, no weighing or testing being necessary. Note that the government stamp did not add any value to the coin. The government did not attempt to "make money" out of nothing; it only told the people the market value of the metal in each coin, just what the metal—the raw material—could be sold for as metal and not as "money."

But even after this much swindling occurred. Rogues cut the edges and then beat the coins out, so that many of these became very light. A clever Frenchman invented the "milling" of the edges of the coins, whereby this robbery was stopped, and civilized nations had at last the coinage which still remains with us, the most perfect ever known, because it is of high value in itself and changes least. An ideally-perfect article for use as "money" is one that never changes. This is essential for the protection of the workers—the farmers, mechanics, and all who labor; for nothing tends to make every exchange of articles a speculation so much as "money" which changes in

value, and in the game of speculation the masses of the people are always sure to be beaten by the few who deal in money and know most about it.

Nothing places the farmer, the wage-earner, and all those not closely connected with financial affairs at so great a disadvantage in disposing of their labor or products as changeable "money." All such are exactly in the position occupied by the farmer trading with the storekeeper as before described. You all know that fish will not rise to the fly in calm weather. It is when the wind blows and the surface is ruffled that the poor victim mistakes the lure for a genuine fly. So it is with the business affairs of the world. In stormy times, when prices are going up and down, when the value of the article used as money is dancing about—up to-day and down to-morrow—and the waters are troubled, the clever speculator catches the fish and fills his basket with the victims. Hence the farmer and the mechanic, and all people having crops to sell or receiving salaries or wages, are those most deeply interested in securing and maintaining fixity of value in the article they have to take as "money."

When the use of metals as money came, it was found that more than two metals were necessary to meet all requirements. It would not be wise to make a gold coin for any smaller sum than a dollar, for the coin would be too small; and we could not use a silver coin for more than one dollar, because the coin would be too large. So we had to use a less valuable metal for small sums, and we took silver; but it was soon found that we could not use silver for less than ten-cent coins, a dime being as small a coin as can be used in silver; and we were compelled to choose something else for smaller coins. We had to take a metal less valuable than silver, and we took a mixture of nickel and copper to make five-cent pieces; but even then we found that nickel was too valuable to make one- and two-cent pieces, and so we had to take copper alone for these—the effort in regard to every coin being to put metal in it as nearly as possible to the full amount of what the government stamp said the coin was worth.

Thus for one cent in copper we tried to put in a cent's worth of copper; in the "nickel" we tried to put in something like five cents' worth of nickel and copper; but because copper and nickel change in value from day to day, even more than silver, it is impossible to get in each coin the exact amount

of value. If we put in what was one day the exact value, and copper and nickel rose in the market as metal, coins would be melted down by the dealers in these metals and a profit made by them, and we should have no coin left. Therefore we have to leave a margin and always put a little less metal in these coins than would sell for the full amount they represent. Hence all this small coinage is called in the history of money "token money." It is a "token" that it will bring so much in gold. Anybody who holds twenty "nickels" must be able to get as good as one gold dollar for them in order that these may safely serve their purpose as money. Nations generally fix a limit to the use of "token money," and make it legal tender to a small amount. For instance, in Britain no one can make another take "token money" for more than ten dollars, and all silver coins there are classed as "token money."

I cannot take you any more steps forward in the development of "money," because in the coined-milled metals we have the last step of all; but I have some things yet to tell you about it.

Although one would think that in coined metal pieces we had reached perfection, and that with these the masses of the people could not be cheated out of what is so essential to their well-being,—"honest money,"—yet one way was found to defraud the people even when such coin was used. The coins have sometimes been "debased" by needy governments after exhausting wars or pestilence, when countries were really too poor or too weak to recover from their misfortunes. A coin is called a "debased" coin when it does not possess metal enough to bring in the open market the sum stamped upon the coin by the government. There is nothing new about this practice, which always cheats the masses. It is very, very old. Five hundred and seventy-four years before Christ the Greeks debased their coinage. The Roman emperors debased theirs often when in desperate straits. England debased hers in the year 1,300. The Scotch coin was once so debased that one dollar was worth only twelve cents. The Irish, the French, German, and Spanish governments have all tried debased coin when they could wring no more taxes directly out of their people, and had therefore to get more money from them indirectly. It was always the last resort to "debase" the coinage. These instances happened long ago. Nations of the first rank in our day do not

fall so low. I must pause to make one exception to this statement. I bow my head in shame as I write it—the republic of the United States. Every one of its silver dollars is a "debased coin." When a government issues "debased coin," it takes leave of all that experience has proved to be sound in regard to money. Sound finance requires the government only to certify to the real value possessed by each coin issued from its mints, so that the people may not be cheated. Every time the government stamps the words "One Dollar" upon 371¼ grains of silver, it stamps a lie; disgraceful, but, alas! too true, for the silver in it is worth to-day not a dollar, but only seventy-eight cents.

Another delusion about money has often led nations into trouble—the idea that a government could "make money" simply by stamping certain words upon pieces of paper, just as any of you can "make money" by writing a note promising to pay one hundred dollars on demand. But you know that when you do that, you are not making "money," but making "a debt"; so is any government that issues its promise to pay. And there is this about both the individual and the government who take to issuing such notes upon a large scale: they seldom pay them. The French did this during their Revolution, and more recently the Confederate States "made money" at a great pace, and issued bonds which are now scarcely worth the paper they are printed upon. Every experiment of this kind has proved that there can be no money "made" where there is not value behind it. Our own country issued bonds, and the people of other nations bought them for forty cents upon the dollar, although they bore and paid interest at 6 per cent. in *gold*, so great was the fear that even the bonds of this country would not prove an exception to the usual fate of such securities issued during trying times. Only because the government kept strict faith and paid the interest and principal of these bonds in gold, and never in silver or in any depreciated currency, has the value of its bonds advanced, and the credit of the United States become the highest in the world, exceeding that even of Great Britain. There has never been a better illustration of the truth that in dealing with "money," as in everything else, "honesty is the best policy." Our government also issued some notes known as "greenbacks." But the wise men who did this took care to provide a fund of one hundred millions of dollars in gold to redeem them, so that any

man having a greenback can march to the treasury and receive for it one dollar in gold.

But I am now to tell you another quality which this basis-article of metal has proved itself to possess, which you will find it very difficult to believe. The whole world has such confidence in its fixity of value that there has been built upon it, as upon a sure foundation, a tower of "credit" so high, so vast, that all the silver and gold in the United States, and all the greenbacks and notes issued by the government, only perform 8 per cent. of the exchanges of the country. Go into any bank, trust company, mill, factory, store, or place of business, and you will find that for every one hundred thousand dollars of business transacted, only about eight thousand dollars of "money" is used, and this only for petty purchases and payments. Ninety-two per cent. of the business is done with little bits of paper—checks, drafts. Upon this basis also rest all the government bonds, all State, county, and city bonds, and the thousands of millions of bonds the sale of which has enabled our great railway systems to be built, and also the thousands of millions of the earnings of the masses deposited in savings-banks, which have been lent by these banks to various parties, and which must be returned in "good money" or the poor depositor's savings will be partially or wholly lost.

The business and exchanges of the country, therefore, are not done now with "money"—with the article itself. Just as in former days the articles themselves ceased to be exchanged, and a metal called "money" was used to effect the exchanges, so to-day the metal itself—the "money"—is no longer used. The check or draft of the buyer of articles upon a store of gold deposited in a bank—a little bit of paper—is all that passes between the buyer and the seller. Why is this bit of paper taken by the seller or the one to whom there is a debt due? Because the taker is confident that if he really needed the article itself that it calls for—the gold—he could get it. He is confident also that he will not need the article itself, and why? Because for what he wishes to buy the seller or any man whom he owes will take his check, a similar little bit of paper, instead of gold itself; and then, most vital of all, every one is confident that the basis-article cannot change in value. For remember it would be almost as bad if it rose in value as if it fell; steadiness of value being one essential quality in "money" for the masses of the people.

When, therefore, people clamor for more "money" to be put in circulation,—that is, for more of the article which we use to effect an exchange of articles,—you see that more "money" is not so much what is needed. Nobody who has had wheat or tobacco or any article to sell has ever found any trouble for want of "money" in the hands of the buyer to effect the exchange. We had a very severe financial disturbance in this country only three months ago. "Money," it was said, could not be had for business purposes; but it was not the metal itself that was lacking, but "credit," confidence, for upon that, as you have seen, all business is done except small purchases and payments which can scarcely be called "business" at all. To-day the business man cannot walk the street without being approached by people begging him to take this "credit" at very low rates of interest: at 2 per cent. per annum "money" (credit) can be had day by day. There has been no considerable difference in the amount of "money" in existence during the ninety days. There was about as much money in the country in January as there is in March. It was not the want of money, then, that caused the trouble. The foundation had been shaken upon which stood the ninety-two thousand of every one hundred thousand dollars of business. The metal itself and notes—real "money," as we have seen—only apply to the eight thousand dollars. Here comes the gravest of all dangers in tampering with the basis. You shake directly the foundation upon which rests 92 per cent. of all the business exchanges of the country,—confidence, credit,—and indirectly the trifling 8 per cent. as well which is transacted by the exchange of the metal itself or by government notes; for the standard article is the foundation for every exchange, both the ninety-two thousand and the eight thousand dollars. So, you see, if that be undermined, the vast structure, comprising all business, built upon it, must totter.

I have finished telling you about "money." We come now to apply the facts to the present situation, and here we enter at once upon the silver question; and I am sure you are all attention, for it is the most pressing of all questions now before you. You see that the race, in its progress, has used various articles as "money," and discarded them when better articles were found, and that it has finally reached coined pieces of valuable metal as

the most perfect article. Only two metals are used among civilized nations as the standard metal—gold in some countries, silver in others. No country can have two standards. Centuries ago silver was adopted as the standard in China, India, and Japan, and more recently in the South American republics ; and it still is the standard in these countries. When adopted it was a wise choice ; silver had nearly double its present value, and was then steady, and it answered all the needs of a rural people.

The principal nations of Europe and our own country, being further advanced and having much greater business transactions, found the necessity for using as a standard a more valuable metal than silver, and gold was adopted; but as silver was used as money in many parts of the world as the standard, and used in these gold-basis countries for "small change," it was advisable for these nations to agree upon the value in gold which would be accorded to silver, and this was fixed at fifteen and one-half ounces of silver to one of gold. Please note that this was then as nearly as possible the market value of silver as a metal compared with gold as a metal. The nations did not attempt to give to silver any fictitious value, but only its own inherent value. And, more than this, each of these nations agreed, when the agreement came to an end, to redeem all the silver coin it had issued in gold at the value fixed. Everything went well under this arrangement for a long time. The more advanced nations were upon a gold basis, the less advanced nations upon a silver basis, and both were equally well served.

What, then, has raised this *silver question* which everybody is discussing ? Just this fact : that while the supply, and therefore the value, of gold remained about the same, great deposits of silver were discovered, wonderful improvements made in mining machinery, and still more wonderful in the machinery for refining silver ore ; and as more and more silver was produced at less cost, its value naturally fell more and more ; one ounce of it, worth $1.33 in 1872, being worth to-day only $1.04. It has fallen as low as 93 cents. It has danced up and down ; it has lost fixity of value. To all countries upon a silver basis there have come confusion and disaster in consequence. The question in India, with its two hundred and eighty-five millions of people, is most serious ; and you see how our South American republics are troubled from this fall in the value of their basis-article, by

which all other articles are measured. Even the European nations which are upon a gold basis are troubled by this "silver question," for under the agreement to rate fifteen and a half ounces of silver as worth an ounce of gold some of these nations have had enormous amounts of silver thrust upon them. Most of them saw what was coming many years ago, and ceased to increase their silver: some disposed of a great deal of what they had, and placed themselves strictly upon the gold basis; but there are still in European countries eleven hundred millions of dollars of silver legal-tender coins, not counting the amount of "token" silver money used for small change. It is not safe to say that less than twenty-five ounces of it would be found equal to one ounce of gold if put in the market, instead of the fifteen-and-a-half-ounce basis upon which these countries have obtained it.

All European countries have been, and are still, trying hard to escape from silver. In 1878 those comprising the Latin Union, which fixed the price of silver,—France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and Greece,—finally closed their mints to legal-tender silver. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark in 1873 and 1875 ran out from under the silver avalanche, and now stand firmly upon a gold basis. Holland also, in 1875, took its stand practically upon gold. Austria-Hungary has not coined silver since 1879, except a small amount of "Levant silver thalers" for a special trade purpose. Even half-civilized Russia took the alarm, and ran as fast as she could out of the silver danger, for in 1876 she shut her mints to the further coinage of the dangerous metal, except such small amount as China wished to take promptly from her. So you see that all those countries that have tried silver and found out the evils which it produces, and its dangers, have been, and are now, using every means to rid themselves of it. For thirteen years it has been cast out of their mints, for during this long period no full legal-tender silver coins have been issued in Europe. Only our republic, among nations, is boldly plunging deeper and deeper into the dangers of silver coinage. When we have had the experience of older nations as to its operations, we may and, I think, surely will wish, like them, to retrace our steps when it is too late. So, you see, there is trouble wherever there is silver. What to do with their silver, which has fallen so low in value, is a serious problem in all these countries. It hangs like a dark cloud over their future.

So much has silver fallen in all parts of the world and disturbed everything that several conferences have been called by the nations in recent years, to which the United States has sent delegates. The object of these was to see whether the chief commercial nations could not agree again upon a new gold value for silver. But the conclusion has always been that it was too dangerous to attempt to fix a new value for silver until it could be more clearly seen what the future was to show about its supply and value, for perhaps it might fall so low that twenty-five or thirty ounces of it would not be worth more than an ounce of gold; no one can tell. As our country has already gone so far into the danger as to have four hundred and eighty-two millions of dollars in depreciated silver, we had to confer with our neighbors in misfortune, and appear as creditors have to appear at meetings held to try to support the bad business of a failing debtor.

Perhaps you are asking yourselves why, when I spoke of all the European countries in relation to silver, I did not state the amount of silver held in reserve by our principal rival, Great Britain. Listen one moment, and then ponder over the reply. *Not one dollar.* France has no less than six hundred and fifty millions of dollars in silver in her bank; but every dollar of Britain's reserves are in the one steady, unchangeable basis-article—gold. Wise old bird, the dear mother-land sits upon her perch, whistling away out of all danger from this silver trouble. She has made London the financial centre of the world. If anything be bought or sold in foreign lands, a draft upon London is demanded; because every one knows that, come what may, it will be paid in the best article, which cannot fall in value—gold. No draft upon Paris or Vienna or New York for wise men. Why? Because the nations represented by these cities have become involved in great possible losses by their huge piles of silver, and may attempt by legislation to make drafts payable in that metal, which fluctuates so in value.

I wish the people of the United States would watch Britain carefully. She is keeping her own counsel; she is treating the silver-loaded nations with cool politeness in the conferences, which she graciously condescends to attend only because India, over which she rules, is unfortunately upon a silver basis; if it were not for that, she would probably politely decline. When they talk about

fixing a gold value upon silver, she says that she really does not know what she will decide upon in the matter. What she is praying for is that the United States will continue to go deeper and deeper into silver until retreat is impossible, and she will keep her old policy, which has made her supreme in finance. Her only possible rival is not to be found in Europe, but here in the United States. What a grand thing for Britain if our country could be brought down to a silver basis—forced to relinquish the one standard which can alone give a nation front rank in the financial world! Silver for the republic, Gold for the monarchy: this is what Great Britain is hoping may come to pass, and what every American should resolve never shall. Governments may pass what laws they please about silver: the world heeds them not. Every business transaction between nations continues to be based on gold exclusively—nothing but gold—and will so continue. Britain knows this and acts accordingly.

I think I hear you ask indignantly: "How came our country to have three hundred and twelve millions of silver dollars in its vaults, like France, instead of having its reserves in the sure gold, like our rival, Britain, when, like Britain, we have gold as our basis?" That is a question every farmer and every toiler should ask, and demand an answer to, from his representative in Congress. The reason is easily given. Here is the history. Silver, as we have seen, had fallen in value, and was likely to fall still more. European nations were loaded down with many hundreds of millions of dollars, and all anxious to get rid of it; owners of silver and of silver mines were alarmed; what was to be done to prop the falling metal? Evidently the government was the only power which could undertake the task; and towards that end all the influence and resources of the silver power were bent—alas! with eminent success; for the masses of the people were represented as in favor of silver. If true, they were going with the speculators against their own interests, in the most direct way possible.

The first act which aimed to give by legislation a value to silver was passed in 1878. It required our government to buy at least two million ounces of silver every month, while all other governments had stopped coining it, because it had become dangerously erratic in value. The silver men insisted that these purchases would raise its value; but were they right? No. It did not

advance in price. What was to be done then? "Ah!" said these silver-tongued speculators, "the trouble is, the government has not gone far enough; only increase the amount; let the government buy four and a half million ounces per month of our silver instead of two million per month, and this will take all that the country's mines yield, and more too, and so silver must advance in value." They were right in stating that four and a half millions per month are more than the total yield of the United States silver mines; and then eight to ten millions of silver are taken and used every year for other purposes than coining into "money," leaving not more than, say, four millions per month for coinage. Many people were persuaded that if the government bought so much silver per month the value of silver must advance. The price did advance, because many of these mistaken people bought it upon speculation before the bill passed. Silver rose from 96 to 121—almost to its old rate in gold.

But what has been the result since the passage of the new bill? The answer is found in the quotation for silver to-day. It is back from 121 to 97, and here we are again. So, instead of being free from the silver trouble, as Britain is and we should have been, these men have succeeded in unloading upon the government already three hundred and ninety millions of dollars of their silver, and we are getting almost as badly off as France; but with this difference: France and other nations prudently stopped adding to their burdens of silver thirteen years ago, while our government is adding to its store four and one-half millions of ounces every month, costing a little more than that amount of dollars. The United States is trying to ignore the changed position of silver, and to make it equal to gold, against the judgment of all other first-class nations. To succeed, we shall have to buy not only what our own mines produce, but a great deal of what all other mines produce throughout the world, the total yield of silver being enough to make one hundred and sixty-eight millions of our silver dollars every year; and then we must, in addition, be prepared to buy the eleven hundred millions of dollars' worth with which European governments are now loaded down, and which they are so anxious to sell.

So far from the government purchases of silver having raised its value, the government could not to-day sell the three hundred

and thirteen millions of dollars' worth in its vaults without losing some millions upon the price it has paid the silver-owners for it. You will scarcely believe that the accounts of the treasury state that the government has made, so far, sixty-seven millions of profit upon its silver purchases. This is claimed because for the amount of silver put in a dollar it has paid only about eighty cents. All this "profit" is fictitious. You see, the nation has been led into very foolish purchases of silver. Four and a half millions of your earnings are taken through taxes every month, not for the constitutional purposes of government, but in an effort to bolster a metal by paying prices for it far higher than it otherwise would command. Your government is being used as a tool to enrich the owners of silver and silver mines. This is bad indeed, but hardly worth mentioning compared with the danger of panic and disaster it brings with it through the probable banishment of the steady gold basis and the introduction of the unsteady basis of silver.

The republic had the disgrace of slavery, and abolished it. Until this year it was disgraced in the eyes of the world because it had no law which secured to others than its own citizens the right to their literary productions. That disgrace has passed away also; but there has come upon it the disgrace of "debased coinage." The great republic issues dishonest coin, and it is the only nation in the world which does so, except Mexico, which still coins a little silver. But while the disgrace is upon us, the financial evils of "debased" coinage are yet to come; for, although the government issues debased coin, it agrees to receive it as worth a dollar in payment of duties and taxes, and makes it legal tender, and so it passes from hand to hand for the present as worth dollars. In this way the government has been able so far to prevent its depreciation. How long it can continue issuing four and a half millions more of these notes or coins every month and keep them equal to gold nobody can tell. But one thing is clear: ultimately the load must become too heavy, and, unless silver rises in value, or enough is put into the dollars to represent their value in gold, or the purchase of silver by the government is stopped, we must sooner or later fall from the gold basis to the condition of the Argentine and other South American republics.

This is how these silver dollars will act which have not metal enough to sell for dollars when the world begins to lose confidence

in the ability of the government issuing them to pay gold for them when asked. Suppose a number of you had decided to carry a huge log from the woods, and you all got under, and, bending your necks, took its weight upon your shoulders, and then some doubted whether you really could stagger on under the load; and suppose two or three of you, after casting timid glances at each other, concluded you had better get from under: what would be the result? The lack of confidence would probably result in killing those who were foolish enough to remain. It is just so with this delicate question of the measure of values. A few speculators or "gold-bugs" will resolve that, come what may, they will make themselves safe and get from under.

Even in the mind of the most reckless there will be some doubt whether the United States alone can take the load of the world upon its shoulders and carry it, when all the other nations together are afraid to try it, and when no nation in the history of the world has ever succeeded in giving permanent value, as a standard for money, to a metal that did not in itself possess that value. Mark this: that our government has only succeeded so far in doing this with its silver dollars because it has issued only a limited quantity, and has been able to *redeem them in gold*—just as you could take a piece of paper and write on it, "This is good for one dollar, and I promise to pay it." That would be your "fiat" money. The question is, How long could you get people to take these slips for dollars? How soon would some suspicious man suggest that you were issuing too many? And then these slips would lose reputation; people would begin to doubt whether you could really pay all the dollars promised if called upon; and from that moment you could issue no more. Just so with governments: all can keep their small change afloat, although it may not contain metal equal to its face value; and it is a poor government which cannot go a little further and get the world to take something from it in the shape of "money" which is only partially so. But then, remember, any government will soon exhaust its credit if it continues to issue as "money" anything but what has intrinsic value as metal all the world over. Every nation has had eventually to recoin its "debased" coin or repudiate its obligations, and go through the perils and disgrace of loss of credit and posi-

tion. In many instances the "debased" coin never was redeemed, the poor people who held it being compelled to stand the loss.

There is, however, one valuable feature of the present silver law which, if not changed, may stop the issue of many more "debased silver dollars." It requires that two millions of the four and a half millions of ounces of silver purchased each month shall be coined into money for one year. After that, only such amounts are to be coined as are found necessary to redeem the silver notes issued. As people prefer the notes to the silver, little or no coinage of silver dollars will be necessary, and only silver notes will be issued. When the government ceases to coin silver dollars, it will stand forth in its true character before the people—that of a huge speculator in silver, or, rather, as the tool of silver speculators, piling up in its vaults every month four and a half millions of ounces, not in the form of "money," but in bars. Surely this cannot fail to awaken the people to the true state of affairs, and cause them to demand that the reckless speculation shall cease.

It is in every respect much less dangerous, however, to keep the silver purchased in bullion than to coin it in "debased dollars," because it renders it easier at some future day to begin the coinage of honest silver dollars—that is, coins containing the amount of silver metal that commands a dollar as metal; instead of 371 grains of silver, 450, or 460, or more or less, should be used. This is just about the amount the government gets for each dollar. No possible act of legislation that I know of would produce such lasting benefit to the masses of the people of this country. But beyond material benefit something much higher is involved—the honor of the republic. The stamp of its government should certify only that which is true.

I do not suppose that there are many men in the United States, except owners of silver, who would vote that silver take the place of gold as the standard of value. If the people understood that the question was whether the one metal or the other—silver or gold—should be elected as the standard, the vote would be almost unanimous for gold, its superiority is so manifest. Yet such is surely the issue, although the advocates of silver disclaim any intention to disturb the gold standard, saying they only desire to elevate silver and give it the position which gold has as money. But you might as well try to have two horses come in

"first" in a race or to have two "best" of anything. You might as well argue for two national flags in one country. Just as surely as the citizen has to elect the banner under which he stands or falls, so surely must he elect gold or silver for his financial standard. The standard article cannot be made to share its throne with anything else, any more than the stars-and-stripes can be made to share its sovereignty with any other flag in its own country; for there is this law about "money": the worst drives the best from the field. The reason for this is very clear.

Suppose you get in change a five-dollar gold piece and five dollars in silver, and there is some doubt whether an act of Congress will really prove effective in keeping silver equal to gold in value forever: ninety-nine people out of a hundred may think that the law will give this permanent value to silver, which the article itself does not possess; but one man in a hundred may have doubts upon the subject. I think the more a man knows about "money," the more doubts he will have; and, although you may have no doubts, still the fact that I have doubts, for instance, will lead you to say: "Well, he may be right; it is possible I may be wrong. I guess I will give Smith this silver for my groceries to-morrow, and give the old lady this beautiful bright golden piece to put by; it needs no acts of Congress—all the acts of Congress in the world cannot lessen its value; the metal in it is worth five dollars anywhere in the world, independent of the government stamp; these five pieces of silver are worth only three dollars and seventy-five cents as metal. Yes, I shall let Smith have the silver—*gold is good enough for me.*"

And you may be sure Smith unloads the silver as soon as he can upon Jones. And many people will believe and act so, and the gold in the country will disappear from business, and silver alone will be seen and circulate; every man that gets it giving it to another as soon as he can, and so keeping it in active circulation; and every man that gets a bit of gold holding it, and thus keeping it out of circulation. So instead of having more money, if we go in for trying by law to force an artificial value upon silver in order to to use it as money, we shall really soon have less money in circulation. The seven hundred millions of gold which is now in circulation, and which is the basis of

everything, will speedily vanish, the vast structure of credit built upon it be shaken, and the masses of the people compelled to receive silver dollars worth only seventy-eight cents, instead of being, as now, redeemable in gold and always worth one hundred cents. For, remember, as I have told you, 92 per cent. of all operations conducted by "money" depends upon people having absolute confidence in the "money" being of unchangeable value.

Issue one hundred dollars of "debased" coin more than all men are sure can be kept of unchangeable value with gold—panic and financial revolution are upon you. More "money," you see, which could only be used in 8 per cent. of our smallest financial transactions, can easily be so issued as to overwhelm all the important business of the country by shaking "confidence," upon which 92 per cent. rests. To be always free from danger is to issue only such "money" as in itself has all the value certified by the stamp upon it. So jealously does Britain, our only rival, adhere to this that she is spending two millions of dollars just now to recoin gold coins which have lost a few cents of their value by wear. Her government stamp must always tell the truth. The republic should not be less jealous of its honor.

As you have seen, the silver-men were disappointed at the failure of acts of Congress to advance the value of their silver. Twice the government has been induced to do as they asked, under assurances that compliance would surely get the country out of its dangerous position as the owner of silver; twice it has been deceived. You would think the silver-owners would now admit their error and help the government to get back to safe ground with as little loss as possible. Far from it; instead of this they have taken the boldest step of all, and urged upon Congress what you have heard a great deal about—the "free coinage of silver." Now, what does that mean? It means that our government is to be compelled by law to open its mints and take all the silver with which European governments are loaded down, and part of all the silver mined in the world, and give for every seventy-eight cents' worth of it one of these coins, which you are compelled to take as a full dollar for your labor or products. It means that the European merchant will send silver over here, get it coined at our mints or get a silver-dollar note for it, and then buy a full dollar's worth of your wheat or corn, or anything he wants, for the silver he could get only seventy-eight cents for in Europe or any-

where else in the world. Europe is doing this every day just now with India, the Argentine Republic, and other countries upon a silver basis. The British merchant buys wheat in India upon the depreciated silver basis, takes it to Europe, and sells it upon the gold basis. He has thus to pay so little for Indian wheat that it has become a dangerous competitor to our own in Europe, which it could not be except that by the fall in silver the Indian farmer gets so little value for his products.

It is only a few months since the new Silver Bill was passed requiring the government to more than double its purchases, and already eight millions of dollars of silver more than we have exported has been sent into this country from abroad—something unknown for fifteen years, for we have always exported more silver than we have imported. Now we are buying all our own mines furnish, and being burdened with some from Europe, for which we should have received gold. In eighteen days of the month of April we have sent abroad nine millions of dollars in gold; so that under our present Silver Law you see Europe has already begun to send us her depreciated silver and rob us of our pure gold—a perilous exchange for our country and one which should fill our legislators with shame. Understand, please, that hitherto, under both bills compelling the government to buy silver, bad as these were, yet the government has got the metal at the market price, now about seventy-eight cents for 371¼ grains; and only this amount the government has put into the so-called dollar. Under "free coinage" all this will change. The owner of the silver will then get the dollar for seventy-eight cents' worth of silver. For pure, cool audacity I submit that this proposition beats the record; and yet when the Farmers' Alliance shouts for free coinage, this is exactly what it supports—a scheme to take from the people twenty-two cents upon each dollar and put it into the pockets of the owners of silver. Surely you will all agree that if seventy-eight cents' worth of silver is to be made a dollar by the government, then the government, and not the silver-owner, should get the extra twenty-two cents' profit on each coin, if it succeeds. The government needs it all; for, as I told you before, the silver bought by the government only at market value could not be sold to-day without a loss of millions.

If the free coinage of silver becomes law, our farmers will find themselves just in the position of the Indian farmer; and yet we are told that they are in favor of silver. If this be true, there can be only one reason for it—they do not understand their own interests. No class of our people is so deeply interested in the maintenance of the gold standard and the total sweeping-away of silver purchases and debased coinage as the farmer, for many of his products are sold in countries that are upon the gold basis. If the American farmer agrees to take silver in lieu of gold, he will enable the Liverpool merchant to buy upon the lower silver basis, at present seventy-eight cents for the dollar; while for all the articles coming from abroad that the farmer buys he will have to pay upon the gold basis. He will thus have to sell cheap and buy dear. This is just what is troubling India and the South American republics. Prices for this season's crops promise to be higher than for years. *See that you get these upon the gold basis.*

Open our mints to the free coinage of silver, and thus offer every man in the world who has silver to sell a one-dollar coin stamped by the government, and taken by it for all dues, for which he gives only 371¼ grains of silver, worth seventy-eight cents, and every silver mine in the world will be worked day and night and every pound of silver obtained hurried to our shores. The nations of Europe, with eleven hundred millions of depreciated silver already on hand, will promptly unload it upon us; they will demand gold from us for all that we buy from them, and thus rob us of our gold while we take their silver. With "free coinage" in sight, we shall fall from the gold to the silver basis before the bill is passed. The last words of the late lamented Secretary Windom will prove true:—

> "Probably before the swiftest ocean greyhound could land its silver cargo in New York, the last gold dollar within reach would be safely hidden in private boxes and in the vaults of safe-deposit companies, to be brought out only by a high premium for exportation."

It is a dangerous sea upon which we have embarked. You should ask yourselves why you should endanger the gold basis for silver. Does any one assert that the silver basis would be better for you or for the country? Impossible. No one dares go so far as this. All that the wildest advocate of the change ventures to say is that he believes that silver could be made as good as gold.

Everybody knows that nothing could be made better. Let us ask why any one but an owner of silver should wish silver to be made artificially anything else than it is intrinsically. What benefit to any one, except the owner of silver, that the metal silver should not remain where natural causes place it, like the metals copper and nickel? Why should it be credited with anything but its own merits? There was no prejudice in the mind of any one against it. It has had a fair race with gold; the field is always open for it, or for any metal, to prove itself better suited for the basis of value. If silver became more valuable in the market and steadier in value than gold, it would supplant gold. Why not give the position to the metal that wins in fair competition? Gold needs no bolstering by legislation; it speaks for itself. Every gold coin is worth just what it professes to be worth in any part of the world; no doubt about it; no possible loss; and what is equally important, no possible speculation; its value cannot be raised and cannot be depressed. The speculator, having no chance to gamble upon its ups and downs, does not favor it; but this is the very reason you should favor that which gives you absolute security of value all the time. Your interests and the interests of the speculator are not the same. Upon your losses he makes his gains.

One reason urged why silver should be purchased and coined is that the country has not enough "money," and that free coinage of silver will give it more. But if we need more "money," the only metal which it is wise to buy is gold. Why issue your notes for silver, which is falling in value and involves unknown dangers, when for these same notes you can get the solid, pure article itself, real money, *gold*, which cannot possibly entail a loss upon the country? But is it true that the country has not enough "money"?—that is, you remember, the coined article used for exchanging other articles. If so, it is a new discovery. We have not suffered for want of coined money in times past, and yet there is for each man, woman, and child five dollars more "money" in circulation than there ever was. We have more circulating medium—that is, "money"—per head than any country in Europe, with one exception, France, where the people do not use checks and drafts as much as other similar countries—a fact which makes necessary many times more coined money than we require. Still, there is little objection to

having just as much coined money as is desired, provided it is not debased, but honest money; and the only way to be sure of that is to buy gold and coin it into "money"—not silver, the future value of which is so doubtful, and the purchases of which have so far been a losing speculation. Ask the advocate of more money why gold is not the best metal for the government to buy and coin into money for the people, and see what he has to say. Gold is as much an American product as silver; our mines furnish more than two millions of dollars of it every month. He could have no objection except that this would not tend to keep up the price of his own product, silver. He could not deny that it would give safer money for the people.

There is another plea urged on behalf of silver. Many public men tell us that silver coinage "is in the air," that people want it because they think that it will make money "cheap," and that, silver being less valuable than gold, the debts of people could be more easily paid. But let me call your attention to one point just here. The savings and the property of the people could only be thus reduced in value if the gold standard fell. As long as all government notes were kept equal to gold, as at present, no matter what amount of silver the government bought or coined, not the slightest change is possible. Only after the financial crisis had come, and the gold standard had gone down in the wreck, and every dollar of gold was withdrawn and held for high premiums, could any change occur to favor one class or another. If any man is vaguely imagining that he is to save or make in some way by the government becoming involved in trouble with its debased silver coin and silver purchases, let him remember that, in order that this vain expectation can be realized, there must first come to his government a loss of ability to make good its determination to keep its silver dollar equal to gold, when gold would at once vanish and command a premium. A wise Secretary of the Treasury has truly foretold the result: —

"This sudden retirement of $600.000,000 of gold, with the accompanying panic, would cause contraction and commercial disaster unparalleled in human experience, and our country would at once step down to the silver basis, when there would no longer be any inducement for coinage, and silver dollars would sink to their bullion value."

The man who tries to bring about this disaster in the hope to profit by it is twin brother to him who would wreck the ex-

press train for the chance of sharing its contents, or would drive the ship of state on the rocks for the chance of securing a part of the wrecked cargo. He is a wrecker and a speculator. His interests are opposed to the interests of the toiling masses.

Again, we are constantly told that the masses of the people favor "free silver coinage," or at least uphold the present silver laws, because they have received the impression, somehow or other, that the more silver there is coined the more money will come to them. Let us look into that. When the government buys silver bullion, it gives its own notes or silver dollars for it. Who gets these? The owners of the silver bullion. How can these be taken from their pockets and put into the pockets of the people? From what we know of the silver-men, we cannot expect them to present many of their dollars to anybody; it will only be when they buy the labor or the products of the people that they will give these dollars at the value of a hundred cents which have cost them only seventy-eight. Will they give more of these seventy-eight-cent dollars than they would have to give of one-hundred-cent dollars for the same labor or products? No, not until or unless the effort of the government to give an artificial value to silver broke down, and our money lost value, when a dollar might not be worth half a dollar in purchasing power; calculated upon gold value, they would always give less value than before. How, then, can the working people or the farmers be benefited? It is the owners of the silver, who will give the government seventy-eight cents' worth of bullion and get for it a dollar, who will make the profit. Surely this is clear. Up to this time the dollar which the farmer or workingman receives is still worth a dollar because the government has been able, by trying hard, to keep it worth this; but when "free coinage of silver" comes, the silver dollar must fall to its real value—seventy-eight cents—and the farmer and workingman will be defrauded; so that the interests of the farmer, mechanic, laborer, and all who receive wages are that the "money" they get should be of the highest value, and not cheap—gold, and not silver.

Up to this time we have held fast to gold as the standard. Everything in the United States is based upon gold to-day, all silver notes or coins being kept equal to gold. Has that been a wise or an unwise policy? Would it now be best to let the

gold standard go, to which the advanced nations cling, and especially Britain, and adopt the silver standard of our South American neighbors? Upon the solid rock of gold as our basis-article we have built up the wealthiest country in the world, and the greatest agricultural, manufacturing, and mining and commercial country ever known. We have prospered beyond any nation the sun ever shone upon. In no country are wages of labor so high or the masses of the people so well off. Shall we discard the gold basis, or even endanger it? This is the question before the people of the United States to-day.

The New York *Evening Post* is a free-trade organ, but it has recently said that it would rather be the party to pass ten McKinley Bills than one Silver Bill such as was urged; and I, a Republican and a believer in the wisdom of protection, tell you that I would rather give up the McKinley Bill and pass the Mills Bill, if for the exchange I could have the present Silver Bill repealed and silver treated like other metals. In the next presidential campaign, if I have to vote for a man in favor of silver and protection, or for a man in favor of the gold standard and free trade, I shall vote and work for the latter, because my judgment tells me that even the tariff is not half so important for the good of the country as the maintenance of the highest standard for the money of the people.

Would it not be well for you to listen to men who have your confidence, and who have been compelled by their official positions to investigate and study this silver question well? President Harrison is well known as a most conscientious man. He is not rich; he is poor. If he has anything at heart, it is the good of the plain working people of his country. He has had to study this subject, and he tells you that he finds that the first thing a debased silver dollar will do is to go forth and cheat some poor man who has to take it for his products or labor. Ex-President Cleveland, like President Harrison, is a poor man; his sympathies are with the plain working people—the masses. He had to study the question that he might act upon it; and although many of his party have been led away into the crusade for silver,—temporarily, it is to be hoped (for to its credit, let me say, the Democratic party has hitherto been the stanch friend of the best money for the people),—Mr. Cleveland felt that he must tell the truth and denounce the free-silver-coinage idea,

because he found that it must injure the workers of the nation. His recent letter gives another proof that he is a natural leader of men—a brave man and not a coward. His personal prospects he weighs not against the true welfare of the toilers who once made him President. In addition to these, no abler, purer, or grander Democrat ever managed the finances of this nation than Mr. Manning; no abler, purer, or grander Republican ever did so than Mr. Windom. These men were friends of the masses, if ever the masses had friends. Both had to investigate the silver question that they might learn what was best and act so as to promote the permanent welfare of the people. Both became deeply concerned about the impending danger of "debased money," and used all their powers to stop representatives in Congress from forcing the government to imperil the interests of the workingman, who must have the best money for his labor or products, or be the prey of speculators. These great men, two of them exalted to the highest political office upon the earth by your suffrages, had and have at heart only the good of the many as against the possible enrichment of the few. Political opponents as they were or are, that they should agree upon this question must surely give every farmer, mechanic, and workingman in the United States grave reason for believing that they, and not the advocates of silver, are his wisest counsellors.

I close with one word of advice to the people. Unless the government ceases to burden itself month by month with more silver, or if the free coinage of silver be seriously entertained, *avoid silver;* when you lay by anything, let it be in gold; when you deposit in the savings-bank let it be a gold deposit—ask the bank to give you a gold receipt therefor. There is no use in the poor taking any risk. If you do not thus act promptly, you will find no gold left for you. The speculators and those closely identified with business will have it all. It is a fact full of warning that no bonds could be sold to advantage to-day which were not made specially payable in *gold.* There is danger ahead. Whatever happens, you can sleep soundly upon gold. Silver will bring bad dreams to wise men. Our government can do much; it is very strong; but there are two things which it cannot do: it cannot—by itself, against the world—permanently give to silver a higher value than it possesses throughout the world as metal,

though this is what it is trying to do; and it cannot lessen the value of gold. Some day, perhaps, you may have reason to thank me for the advice I have given you, although I hope not.

Do not think, however, that I despair of the republic —never; even if dragged into the difficulties inseparable from silver, and matters become as bad with us as they are to-day in the Argentine Republic, where one gold dollar is worth two and a half currency dollars, there is no occasion to fear the final result. The good sense of the people will restore the gold basis after a time, and the republic will march on to the front rank among nations; but the silver experiment will cost much; and it is better that the direct loss should fall as much as possible upon the few of the moneyed class than upon the masses of the people. At best the latter must suffer most, for moneyed men know better than others can how to protect themselves. All this loss, I am sure, the people would prevent if they could only be made to understand the question; for their interests, far more than those of the rich, lie with honest money, and their wishes have only to be expressed to their representatives to prevent the threatened crisis.

Silver, owing to changes of value, has become the tool of the speculator. Steady, pure, unchangeable gold has ever been, and never was so much as now, the best instrument for the protection of the masses of the people.

I have written in vain if this paper does not do something to explain why this is so, and to impel the people to let their representatives in Congress clearly understand that, come what may, the stamp of the republic must be made true, the money of the American people kept the highest and surest in value of all money in the world, above all doubt or suspicion, its standard in the future, as in the past, not fluctuating Silver, but unchanging Gold.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SECRETARY RUSK AND THE FARMERS.

THE Hon. Jeremiah M. Rusk, who is at the head of the Department of Agriculture, tells us in the April REVIEW of a serious and ominous present plight of American agriculture. Unfortunately, he uses the language of the rostrum. This is always a difficult language from which to winnow, but, briefly stated, his case seems to be this:

(1) One-half of our population depends directly on agriculture; the prosperity of all is founded on it; it is the basis of society.

(2) Farmers constitute a "class," and this class has not got its fair share of the good things American prosperity has yielded. We cannot expect them not to feel sore over this, and their discontent threatens "a grave disturbance in the equilibrium of national affairs."

(3) Those who are not farmers are deplorably ignorant as to the real condition of the farmer, the needs of American agriculture, and its relation to other industries and to the general prosperity.

(4) The duty of the hour is to undertake at once an earnest and thoughtful study of American agriculture and to learn the needs and conditions of American farmers.

The precise way in which the results of this study are to be made effective in ameliorating the condition of the farmer is not indicated. After all, is not the Secretary's entire fabric founded on a fiction?

(1) It is quite true that society cannot be maintained without food-producers. Neither can it be maintained without millers and butchers and grocers and cooks and the whole round of purveyors and workers. Nor can American agriculture be carried on without the help of wheelwrights and blacksmiths and tailors and milliners and others who work in the service of civilization.

Farming is the basis of the social organization only in the sense of having been its beginning. The first settlers of a new country are, as a rule, all farmers. Later, those suited to handicrafts and to trade take advantage of the chance to improve their condition that the growing prosperity of the community offers, and the community benefits by their work. In the advanced condition the work of the carpenter is as important as that of the farmer.

The fact that those in one industry outnumber those in another does not give them a greater claim to consideration. A farmer is not a farmer because farming is the basis of society; he is a farmer because his circumstances, his tastes, or his capacity indicates that farming is the business or the labor by which he can best make his way in the world. If his neighbor selects another occupation, he follows it without the least obligation to do more for

the farmer, nor need the farmer do more for him, than ordinary business considerations suggest. Both are free men, and both are entitled to what they can fairly get in the struggle for existence. If either has made a mistake, he suffers the consequences.

What is "truly the basis of our national prosperity" is not farming, nor any other occupation, nor is it "labor." It is industry, skill, frugality, and fair dealing. The sphere in which these are applied is immaterial.

(2) If farmers constitute a "class," it is a class that is not chained to the tilling of the ground. It has, with us, the opportunities that our institutions provide for all; and it takes full advantage of them. The farmer's son not only may, but does, seek his fortune in other fields; he sometimes finds it, too. The majority of the very small—the comparatively insignificant—number of "rich men of the city" are removed from the farm by hardly more than a single generation. Many adventurers fail, but all may seek, and those whose spirit of caution deters them from seeking have no mean consolation in the certain livelihood that even reasonably good farming insures. The shiftless and the incompetent fail in farming as they fail elsewhere, but thrift and industry and intelligent adjustment to conditions succeed there, perhaps to a less degree, but with more certainty, than elsewhere. It is a question, not of class, but of personal equation. The equilibrium of national affairs will be gravely disturbed, not when farming does not pay so well as other industries, but when industrious and frugal men have to bolster up the indolent and shiftless, or when the national arm shelters one industry at the cost of another.

(3) Those who are not farmers will render the best service to the world by close and intelligent application to the work they find to their hands, and by seeking no favors at the cost of others. Farmers themselves, if a fair chance is allowed them, can and will look out for their own condition more effectively than others can. The needs of American agriculture can then safely be left to them; and the general prosperity will be best subserved if every man attends well to his own business and allows others an equal chance to attend to theirs. A sentimental sympathy with farmers will do them no good, and may do them harm.

(4) Our duty of the hour, so far as the farmer is concerned, is to see that he has a fair field. With this, he need ask no favor. One thing he has a right to demand, and is justified in seeking by every means he can compass; that is, free access to the markets of the world. His most serious trouble is that he is penned in a corner by those who are working him as a source of profit. Through his necessities, which are imperative, he is squeezed like a lemon by those who make his tools and his clothing and nearly all he has to buy. In this regard he is no worse off—and he could be no worse off—than are the rest of our working population. He has, indeed, the advantage that he can provide himself with the barest sustenance without buying; he need not actually starve.

It is one of his great misfortunes that he is subjected to the deluding flattery—often unconscious—of those who talk of him and to him, after the manner of Mr. Secretary Rusk. He is told that the world cannot get on without him, with an implication that this places him in an exceptionally proud position, and he is often simple enough to look with special confidence on those who tell it to him. He is simple enough, too, to think that he could so wield the great power of the agricultural vote as to better his condition by legislation. He little knows the men who rule him. They do not live by

labor. They live by the business of politics; by the controlling of elections and the use of that control for profit. What with the offices they are permitted to distribute and the corruption-funds they collect from men who are interested in class legislation, they make their business pay handsomely, directly and indirectly. Enough of the business element of politics is allied with manufacturing industries to make manufacturers sometimes our most dangerous, though not our most conspicuous, politicians. Through them the farmer and the workingman generally are overtaxed right and left. They are made to pay tribute to trusts and combinations, to the pension agents, and to the bummers and deadbeats who discovered their wounds only a quarter of a century after they had fled from their last battlefield. In spite of their overwhelming numbers, the farmers are powerless to protect themselves, mainly for lack of intelligence to see their situation as it is. They are peculiarly susceptible to the presentation of false issues, and are easily misled by the flattery and buncombe of the demagogues of both parties.

The conclusion from all this must be that there is a duty of the hour which we owe the farmer, very different from that which the Secretary of Agriculture sets forth—the duty of relieving him from the unequal burden of taxation to which he is now subjected, by allowing him to buy what he does not produce, as he is compelled to sell what he does produce, in the world's markets at the world's prices. With this chance given him, and with the level-headed realization that he needs no petting and no flattery, he will get out of his work all that it is capable of yielding, and "the needs of American agriculture" will be satisfied.

That the present Alliance movement will directly improve the situation is not likely. There are already indications that professional politicians will buy farms, will pay the expense of Alliance meetings, and will capture the Alliance vote. This done, they will go on in their old familiar way, with the old familiar result, until farmers learn to do more of their own thinking.

GEO. E. WARING, JR.

CHANGES IN THE BALLOT LAW.

THE people of the Empire State have been wrestling for more than three years with the problem of ballot reform. In January, 1888, an election bill was introduced in the New York Assembly which reproduced the main features of what is generally known as the Australian system. This was probably the first measure of the kind ever presented to an American legislature. Although it passed both houses, it did not become a law, having met with executive disapproval. The same fate befell two other bills of similar character passed during the sessions of 1889 and 1890.

In the mean time the movement was rapidly gathering headway. The tide of popular demand was rising higher and higher—a demand based upon the conviction, which had found a lodgment in the hearts of our best citizens, that the evils having their roots in our loose election laws threatened the integrity of our institutions. Immense petitions were sent to Albany asking for the enactment of a statute that would give some promise of accomplishing what was so earnestly desired. The pulpit and press put forth the most strenuous efforts to bring about the result. While we were at a standstill, unable to take a forward step because of this deadlock between

the Governor and Legislature, other States had adopted the Australian system in its entirety. The pressure finally became so strong that to resist it longer was impossible. Those who had so long stood in the way made up their minds that, as a matter of prudence, they had better "pander to the moral sentiment" of the people. Just as the session was drawing to a close last year, after one ballot-reform bill had been vetoed, a compromise measure was passed by a substantially unanimous vote and approved in the executive chamber.

This new law was fully tested at the election held in November last. A test of the system which it aimed to establish could not have been made under less favorable conditions. The machinery of the law was about as cumbersome and complicated as it well could be. The expense of putting it in working order was unnecessarily large. A new registry law, imposing additional burdens upon voters, went into effect at the same time. The newspaper discussions about the right way to fold ballots gave many the impression that the act of voting was an exceedingly difficult and delicate operation. All these circumstances conspired to excite prejudice against the new method, which resulted not only in sending some voters to the polling-places in a very critical and fault-finding mood, but in keeping others away entirely.

There are certain classes of people who can always be depended upon to array themselves against anything in the nature of an innovation. When the ballot first began to be talked about in England, fifty or sixty years ago, the idea was generally ridiculed. Sydney Smith called the ballot-boxes "mouse-traps," and spoke of "voters in dominoes going to the polls in sedan chairs with closely-drawn curtains." But as the "use that doth breed a habit in a man" would make a polling-place now seem incomplete without the ballot-box, so the day is not very far ahead when it will be a source of wonder that a vote by ballot, which essentially implies absolute secrecy, should ever have been taken without the aid of those instruments which alone make such secrecy possible.

I believe that, in spite of all adverse influences, the popular verdict has already been pronounced in favor of the measure. There are some who will not agree with me in this opinion. It is unfortunate that so many people are always inclined to regard every public question from a partisan or purely selfish stand-point. Hobbes wrote several centuries ago that, "if any interest or passion were concerned in disputing the theorems of geometry, different opinions would be entertained respecting them." Those who think that the law worked to the disadvantage of their party, or to their own personal loss, will loudly exclaim that it is a failure. But the facts cannot be denied or explained away. The people know that at the first trial of the law bribery and intimidation were reduced to a minimum; and that the self-respecting man, for the only time perhaps in his life, was able to cast his ballot without feeling degraded by his surroundings or blushing, as an American citizen, that so much baseness attended the ordinary exercise of the voting privilege.

The good effects of the law are directly traceable to the adoption of certain principles which the friends of ballot reform have always advocated. In bringing about the compromise, however, a departure was taken in two important particulars from the simplicity of the Australian system. The experience we have already passed through ought to convince everybody that the measure should at once be restored to its original form.

The most important of these changes was the one requiring the use of separate ballots instead of the so-called "blanket" ballot. The bill that was vetoed last year prescribed that the ballot should contain the names of all candidates who had been nominated for the various offices, arranged in groups with the appropriate party or political designation at the head of each group. For example, if that bill had become a law, there would have been but one ballot paper given out to voters last fall at the polling-places, except that a separate municipal ballot would have been required wherever municipal elections were held. The names of Republican candidates would have been found in one column, the names of Democratic candidates in another, the names of Prohibition candidates in another, and perhaps the names of some independent candidates in still another. There would also have been a blank column, in which those very particular voters who could not find any one to suit them in the printed list might have written such names as they pleased. The ballot would have been prepared for voting by crossing off the names of all candidates except those for whom the vote was to be cast. The bill required that the ballot should be folded when delivered to the election officers.

Instead of this very simple scheme, the law actually in force required a separate ballot for each list of candidates. They were delivered to voters unfolded, and without a word or sign upon them to indicate what party any particular ticket represented. In the county where I live there were six different kinds of ballots. Before delivering them the ballot clerks had to write their initials on each one. The voter would take a full set into the booth and there fold them all precisely alike, after determining which one he wanted to vote. I received a letter some time ago from a gentleman residing in the Twenty-third Ward of New York city, informing me that the voters of that ward had to handle and fold fifteen different kinds of ballots on election day. "Every sensible man," wrote he, "was disgusted with the extra and useless labor."

Besides all this, mistakes are very likely to occur. When the voter comes from the booth with ten or fifteen different tickets all looking exactly alike, if he is a little awkward or confused, he is very likely to hand the wrong one to the inspectors. The election officers themselves, putting aside the possibility of wilful error, can easily make the mistake of placing the wrong ballot in the box. There is no doubt that thousands of such mistakes actually happened last election day, although from the nature of the case but few of them were brought to light.

It is true that so large a number of separate ballots as were printed in New York city is an indication that the privilege of making independent nominations under the law was grossly abused. One of the ballots that was found at every polling-place contained only the name of the Socialistic Labor candidate for Judge of the Court of Appeals. The cost of printing these ballots all over the State could not have been less than $10,000; and very few of them were cast outside of New York city. Such abuses will probably become more and more frequent so long as the law remains in its present shape. The power of making independent nominations, under such conditions as now exist, will be used chiefly for selfish ends, because it offers every facility for "splitting" tickets and blackmailing candidates. There is but one adequate remedy, and that lies in the blanket ballot; not such a blanket ballot as the vetoed bill of 1890 prescribed, because I am convinced that it is not practical, but the genuine blanket ballot, now in use in Massachusetts

and other States, upon which names of candidates are printed in alphabetical order under the titles of the offices for which they have been respectively nominated.

The other grave defect in the law is found in the clause permitting the voter to use unofficial paster ballots. This really violates a principle which is recognized and enforced in other parts of the statute. The bill that was vetoed last year allowed a voter to write or paste any name upon the official ballot. That provision might have been construed into a permission to use a paster ballot, although it was never intended to have that effect. But the law that was passed emphasized the paster ballot, making it one of the prominent features. The design doubtless was to bring it into general use.

Those who insisted upon introducing this feature declared that their object was to aid the illiterate voter. Experience has shown that it is entirely insufficient for such purpose. The voter who was unable to read had great difficulty in comprehending how the paster should be used. There are other aids that may be given to him which will prove far more effectual.

The fact is apparent that the paster ballot is useless except as an instrument that may be effective in defeating the purposes of the law. It perpetuates the unofficial ballot, with all its dangerous tendencies. It invites a continuance of oppressive assessments upon candidates. It furnishes occupation for the poll-worker. It suggests a method of invading that secrecy with which the law intends to surround the voter while engaged in preparing his ballot. It sends out the only ray of hope that cheers those who still cling to the old system. We may be sure that the evils inherent in that system will never be entirely eradicated until the paster ballot is abolished.

CHARLES T. SAXTON.

FLOODS AND FORESTS.

A CHRONICLE of the early middle ages records a strange tradition about the last prince of the Heruli, who became so deeply interested in a game of chess that he failed to heed the uproar caused by the approach of a hostile army, and had just managed to "castle" his king when the gates of his own castle yielded to the battle-axes of the Longobards.

The historians of the future may credit us with a taste for equally absorbing studies, if they should try to explain our indifference to the significance of an omen which, in the course of the last fifteen years, has repeated its warnings at half a hundred different points of our national territory.

About sixty years after the arrival of the first Caucasian colonists it was first noticed that the lower river valleys became subject to inundation that had been unknown at the time when the Atlantic slope from Florida to the Gulf of St. Lawrence was covered with continuous forests. Still, those floods were too rare to cause serious alarm; but soon after the celebration of our first national centennial it became evident that the climate of North America must have undergone a permanent, though rather sudden, change for the worse. Spring floods of increasing destructiveness became phenomena of almost yearly occurrence, even in districts where there had been no appreciable increase in the rate of forest destruction. All along the lower course of the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Cumberland, the Arkansas, and the Missouri freshets caused an amount of havoc suggesting the conjecture that the rainfall in the headwater regions of those rivers must have more than doubled. The records of the meteorological observatories refuted that

theory; yet the suddenness of the change can be fully explained. In all new colonies offering a choice between lowlands and highlands, the valleys of the foothills attract the largest number of permanent settlers. The tide-water regions repel by their malarial swamps, and mosquitoes are as troublesome in eastern New Jersey as in eastern Georgia, while the higher mountains are too inaccessible to carts and ploughs to encourage rapid settlement. In central New York, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas millions of acres had thus been cleared when the forests, both of the coast plains and the highlands, were still large enough to afford shelter to the solitude-loving hearts of the wilderness.

The rapid increase of population, however, soon invaded those sylvan solitudes. The recoil of the westward exodus was followed by a woodward overflow of the stream of home-seekers. Droughts, fuel-famines, and locust-swarms had taught thousands to prefer the shaggy mountains to the naked plains. The increasing price of lumber attracted attention to the virgin forests of the highlands. The song of the mountain thrush was silenced by the sound of countless axes and the crash of falling trees. In the Adirondacks, in the southern Alleghanies, even in the cloud-capped Unakas of eastern Tennessee, every "cove" containing a few acres of arable land was cleared and settled. Hundreds of tramways, "timber roads" as they are significantly called, connected the main railway lines with the lumber-camps of the uplands.

Those uplands have now become accessible enough, but also rather uninviting by the contrast of their treeless slopes with the magnificent forest and "wild-hanging woods" of former years. And here we find the key to the enigma of the remarkable change in the frequency of spring floods. The reckless destruction of woodlands in extensive plains may avenge itself by the disappearance of insect-eating birds and the liability to protracted droughts; but local floods are caused only by the most violent rains, since the drainage of level fields is mostly absorbed by the soil before its overflow can materially affect the valley rivers. In treeless highlands, on the other hand, rain-water runs down a steep mountain slope as from a roof, and, where such waters are swelled by rills from extensive banks of melting snow, a few wet days may turn brooks into torrents and small rivers into surging seas.

Hence the destructiveness of spring floods since the middle of the last decade. For while in the valleys the area of treeless lands has only doubled once in twenty years, it has doubled yearly in the highlands, and will soon extend to the very summit regions of every east-American mountain range accessible to the skilled road-builders of Yankeedom. The prospective exhaustion of the Maine and Michigan pineries has warned speculators to turn to new fields of enterprise, and some three million acres of mountain forests, representing the last remains of the old east-American *sylvania*, have already been doomed to the axe.

We cannot hope that such secular trifles as the preservation of national parks should employ the leisure of statesmen engaged in the enactment of laws for the suppression of popular pastimes on the day on which ninety-nine in every hundred workingmen find their only chance for recreation; the "plea of the wood-bird" has no chance against the eloquence of the anti-forest-law lobbyist; but before the end of this century the folly of tree-destruction will be illustrated by an *argumentum ad hominem* conveying a memorable lesson in the less resistible logic of dollars and cents.

The ways of nature are less incalculable than those of our American party politicians, and as sure as the devastation of our highland forests is permitted to continue, the time is near when the lowlands of the Mississippi valley will be damaged at the average rate of a hundred million dollars a year, and when some fifty fine cities will have to undergo the horror of an annual deluge, equivalent to the havoc of a yearly bombardment. On the other side of the Atlantic rivers not much larger than the second-class tributaries of the Ohio have caused devastations almost exhausting the resources of once-prosperous communities; and, unless the progress of the evil is obviated in time, the same causes will produce the same effects in Pittsburg, Allegheny City, Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, Evansville, Nashville, and New Orleans. In Nashville alone a thousand houses had this year to be abandoned before the middle of March, the latter half of which month generally brings the heaviest freshets; 560 in Cincinnati, 710 in Allegheny, with fears of the worst in the lower quarters of New Orleans, where a rapidly-rising river has already passed the high-water mark of 1885. And yet the winter of 1890-91 was not remarkable for excessive rainfalls or for sudden thaws, the three weeks from the 20th of February to the 14th of March having been cooler than the corresponding period of any winter during the last seven years. What if the western Alleghanies should become as bare as the southern Cevennes, and the accumulated snow of a severe winter should be melted by heavy and far-spread rains!

"We will reforest our hills," say our temporizing friends, "as soon as the magnitude of flood calamities has awakened the masses to a sense of their danger; we will plant forest trees, and the birds will return, droughts will become less severe, and winter floods will cease."

Optimists of that sort ought to read the last report of the French Forest Commission, or, better yet, the memorandum of a Virginia gentleman who tried to turn a lot of worn-out old fields into a timber plantation. The basis of his operations was a five-thousand-acre tract on the lower Chesapeake, where the climatic conditions would be supposed to be much more favorable to the growth of young trees than on the arid plains of the far West, or on the torrent-swept terraces of a steep mountain range. The owner (Mr. Burnett Landreth) procured several thousand dollars' worth of the best seed and seedlings, which he planted in well-ploughed furrows, according to the most approved rules of arboriculture; yet here are the results of his experiment: A small patch of white pine prospered fairly well. Of 150 bushels of black-walnuts a large percentage sprouted, but the trees grew too slowly to encourage an extension of the grove. Some 70,000 black locusts reached a height of twelve feet, and had already begun to form shady arcades, when

"one September the locust-tree borer mysteriously descended in swarms upon our groves, laying millions of eggs, which produced myriads of grubs, which by the next midsummer had ruined every tree. We had to cut the trees and pull out the roots with oxen at the expense of $25 per acre.

"Next the Swiss and Scotch larch gave out, piping of the trunks, the main stem breaking off at about ten feet in height. It did not promise well at any time, and we had to strike it off the list, as well as the southern deciduous cypress.

"Of hickory and pecan the nuts planted were, to a great extent, stolen by the squirrels, woodchucks, and field-mice, and those which did vegetate made such slow growth that we ploughed them out and replanted the ground with catalpa.

"The tulip-poplar was not a success; the rabbits and field-mice during winter ate off from the tender seedlings the sweet, juicy bark, and destroyed nearly every plant.

"The Italian sumac, planted for its leaves, still stands, but the percentage of tannic acid in its foliage is not greater than in the leaves of the wild Virginia sumac; so its cultivation does not offer much hope for profit.

"The white-oak acorns were largely stolen by squirrels, woodchucks, rabbits, and field-mice, which ate the bark of the young seedlings, as they did of the poplar."

The fact is that outraged nature at last refuses to be propitiated. Destructive insects haunt the grave of the slain primeval forests, and trees perish in the worn-out soil which still nourishes weeds and thorns.

The "storage-lake project" would lead to still more expensive disappointments. In order to prevent the sudden descent of highland floods it has been proposed to construct artificial reservoirs, which would have to be filled before the swollen streams could pursue their coastward career of destruction, and which in midsummer could be utilized as feeders of irrigation canals. It would employ a thousand workmen for twenty years to dig out a pond large enough to check the floods which some of the upper tributaries of the Ohio roll down in a single week. The difficulties of the job might, indeed, be lessened by damming up a mountain valley at its narrowest point, but the enterprise would, after all, be wrecked by a frequent and wholly unavoidable contingency—the fouling of the reservoir by the accumulation of sand and other sediment. In the course of a rainy winter a muddy torrent not wider than the James River at Lynchburg would pile its diluvium to the brink of the deepest pond now on this planet, and the removal of that sediment would perpetuate the expensiveness of the project, besides depopulating the neighborhood of the reservoir by the effluvium of ever-dripping mud hillocks. A similar result would follow the attempt to raise the levees of the valley rivers above the maximum of high-water marks. The mud and sand stratum at the bottom of the stream would gradually rise to the level of the dikes; the embankments would have to assume the proportion of chains of artificial hills, and the breaking of a single link in that chain would flood the adjacent lowlands with lakes which the next summer would turn into as many pestilential lagoons.

Prevention, indeed, is not only easier than cure, but much cheaper. The hundredth part of the direct and indirect expense involved in the construction of adequate flood-gate lakes and the planting of climate-redeeming forests, would suffice to buy up all the summit woods of the east-American highlands and guard them against fire and timber-pirates for the next hundred years.

All the New England States, all the States of the southern Alleghanies and the Ohio valley, will be confronted with that inevitable alternative, and the time for decision is getting very short. Prevention or cure is still our choice, under tolerable conditions; a few years hence it will be pond-cure or plant-cure—the construction of half a thousand Moeris lakes, with their gnat- and miasma-breeding surroundings, or else the planting and nursing of some twenty billion slow-growing seedlings, requiring constant assistance in their struggle for survival in a soil swarming with "gophers, rats, rabbits, field-mice, and chipmunks," not to mention the grubs of the locust or the locust-tree borer.

FELIX L. OSWALD.

THE CONTAGION OF LEPROSY.

DURING the past winter and spring a number of articles have appeared in the daily papers asserting that leprosy was in our midst. Such headlines as "Is It the Dread Scourge?" or "A Leper in Mott Street" have startled and alarmed New-Yorkers. The Board of Health received numerous letters from frightened citizens, calling its attention to persons who, they thought, might have the disease. Zealous newspaper reporters brought innocent and guileless

Chinamen to the Bureau for Contagious Diseases to have harmless skin eruptions diagnosed as leprosy.

Is this great fear of leprosy justified by its contagiousness? No, it is not. Yet the disease is one to be justly dreaded, and certain safeguards should be enforced against it.

Let me qualify this. Leprosy is caused by a specific germ or bacillus, called the bacillus lepræ, discovered by Dr. Armaner Hansen, a celebrated Norwegian student of the disease. It is an accepted fact that all diseases caused by germs or bacilli are transmissible from one human being to another; in other words, that they are either contagious or infectious. It is also an accepted truth that all the transmissible diseases are transmissible in different degrees to different individuals, and that the degree of transmissibility, or the susceptibility, if you will, to contagion, is determined by certain physical conditions of the human system. Physicians use a word to cover these conditions—idiosyncrasy or temperament. We meet with persons whose temperament is such that it resists contagion, and with others whose peculiar temperament causes them to catch every contagious disease to which they are exposed. The modern history of leprosy shows beyond a doubt that it is not contracted by persons whose systems are well nourished. The most competent observers agree that it is not a disease of modern civilization.

Prolonged exposure to leprosy *may* be followed by its development in persons whose systems have been debilitated by improper diet or by certain diseases. The experience of ages shows that two factors are necessary to effect its spread: (1) prolonged intimate exposure; (2) debilitated systems.

The knowledge of leprosy on the part of the masses is derived from the accounts of it contained in the Bible. These accounts have given people distorted notions of its contagion and characteristics. The horrible picture of unfortunates who went about with heads hidden in sackcloth and ashes, ostracised, crying "Unclean," is impressed upon the mind of nearly everybody with a force and vividness never to be effaced. If to-day the presence of a leper should be announced in any public place, a general stampede would follow.

It is probable that in Biblical times the temperament of people was different from the temperament of human beings of to-day. The diet of the ancients and their manner of living, their habits and their sanitary surroundings, were sufficiently different from ours to have effected a difference in idiosyncrasy or temperament sufficient to account for the susceptibility to the contagion of leprosy that their writings indicate they possessed.

It is interesting to study the disease and its course during the middle ages. We may judge of its prevalance and of its decline by the amount of attention bestowed upon it by writers of the various periods. Sir Morrell Mackenzie in an instructive article alludes particularly to this. At times they have much to say, and then for long lapses of times we learn little or nothing concerning the disease. These lapses are usually found to correspond to periods of prosperity, and the prevalence of the disease is noted during or immediately after periods of hardship and want. When the vitality of the people was lowered by long wars and their consequences, the disease spread and afflicted great numbers, while during prosperous times it declined. After the crusades Europe suffered most severely from the effects of leprosy. Its spread was effected by constant intercourse with the East, in those days its pecular habitat. It was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the disease was at its height in European countries. No less

than 19,000 lazarettos are said to have then been in existence. Voltaire says that the only permanent result of the crusades was the introduction of leprosy into the civilized countries of the world.

The wane of the disease commenced about the middle of the fifteenth century, and within one hundred years it disappeared from the civilized world, except in isolated communities. The present habitats of leprosy are without exception, so far as can be ascertained, countries, or parts of countries, whose inhabitants are shiftless, lazy, and ignorant, who live upon unwholesome food, and who habitually violate moral and sanitary laws. Leprosy has never made any headway among enlightened, prosperous peoples. Its persistence among those addicted to a more or less exclusive fish diet led many medical men into the mistaken belief that it was due directly to excessive fish-eating.

At the present day we find leprosy more or less prevalent in China, India, Norway, New Zealand and the Pacific islands, British Guiana, the West Indies, the Sandwich Islands, Spain, Italy, and Turkey. We also find it in some of the South American countries, and—I regret to record it—in Mexico, New Brunswick, Minnesota, Louisiana, and South Carolina. It cannot be ascertained just when the disease was introduced into the countries of North America. Gayarré, the Louisiana historian, states that the Spaniards established lazarettos in their Gulf colonies some time during the eighteenth century, and that as late as 1785 one still existed in New Orleans. Leprosy, it is said, prevailed among the negroes in Florida about 1776, but it has died out, and no cases are known to have existed during the present century. In Louisiana no cases can be ascertained to have existed within the memory of the oldest inhabitant prior to 1866, when an old woman, whose father came from the south of France, was found suffering from the disease. She died in 1870. In 1871, a year after her death, one of her sons developed leprosy, and a year later two others, also her sons, were afflicted with it. In 1876 her nephew was found to be leprous, and a little later a young woman who had been in constant attendance on her became a leper. In 1878 an able article by Dr. Salamon, of New Orleans, was published in the New Orleans *Medical and Surgical Journal*, recording the cases I have just given, and twenty-one other cases found in several parishes near the city.

In 1846 South Carolina contained leprosy, and since that date some sixteen cases occurred. All the victims have, I believe, died without the development of others.

The disease was introduced into Minnesota by Norwegian immigrants, most of whom were leprous before leaving their native land. In 1863 there were eighteen cases; in 1879 fifteen.

The first case that occurred in New Brunswick, about 1815, was that of a poor women whose mother came from Normandy. The disease is confined mainly to her descendants. In 1849 a lazaretto was established on Sheldrake Island, in the Miramichi River, with a residential population of thirty-two lepers. There are at present, I believe, only twelve or thirteen cases in it.

The close commercial relations between California and China have introduced quite a number of lepers into the former from the latter country. A leper hospital in San Francisco has contained as many as fifty-two unfortunates, all of whom were Chinese. No cases, however, have developed from these among the inhabitants of any of the Pacific States.

In New York city there have been half a dozen isolated cases during the past ten years, and at the present time the writer knows of five cases of leprosy within the city limits.

Leprosy is a relic of the barbarous ages, and it is, I think, slowly disappearing from the earth. Civilization and progress will in time complete its effacement. It is but another instance of the "Belated Crab" of Mr. Jackson, and we may join with him in praying heaven to soon remove it. We must not neglect certain safeguards against it, however, for it is an insidious disease. Half a century is often necessary to effect its development in a community, and it may gain a foothold without attracting attention. The action of the government in rigidly quarantining against it is commendable. Lepers, to say the least, are not desirable citizens, and such as reach our shores should be sent back to the places whence they came.

The establishment of a national lazaretto has been advocated for such cases as have developed among us. I believe it should be done, and hope to see it in the near future, as it will undoubtedly prevent some cases from occurring that would otherwise occur.

As a nation we have nothing to fear from leprosy. The conditions do not exist here to cause or even permit the spread of the disease, and it is not conceivable that they will exist until civilization proves a failure.

CYRUS EDSON, M. D.

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